

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION and CIVIL WARS
IN
ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Passages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Conclusion thereof by the KING's blessed RESTORATION, and RETURN, upon the 29th of *May*, in the Year 1660.

Written by the Right Honourable

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

Late Lord High Chancellor of *England*, Privy Counsellor in the Reigns of King CHARLES the First and the Second.

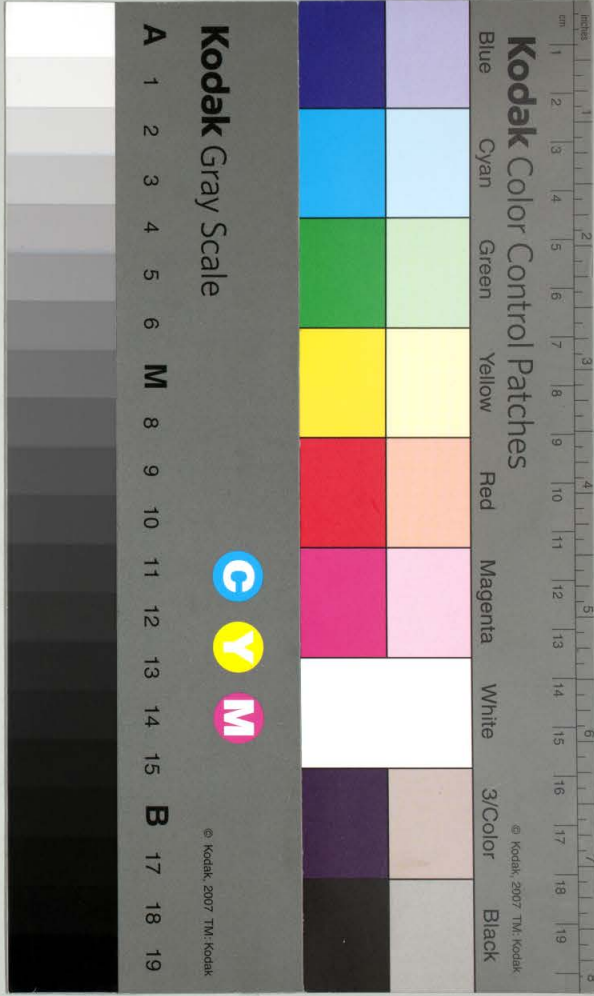
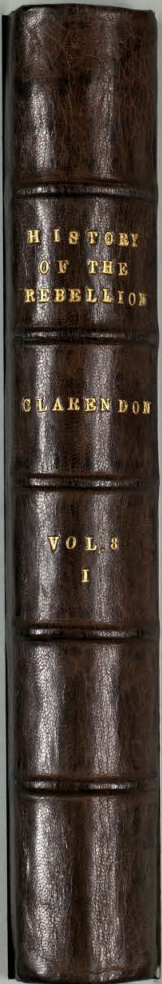
Κτῆμα ἐς αἰ. Thucyd.

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

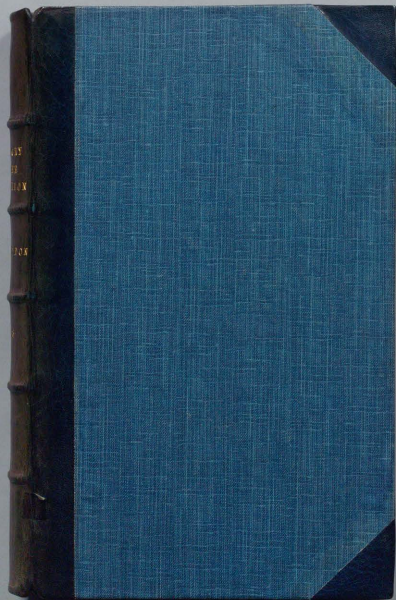
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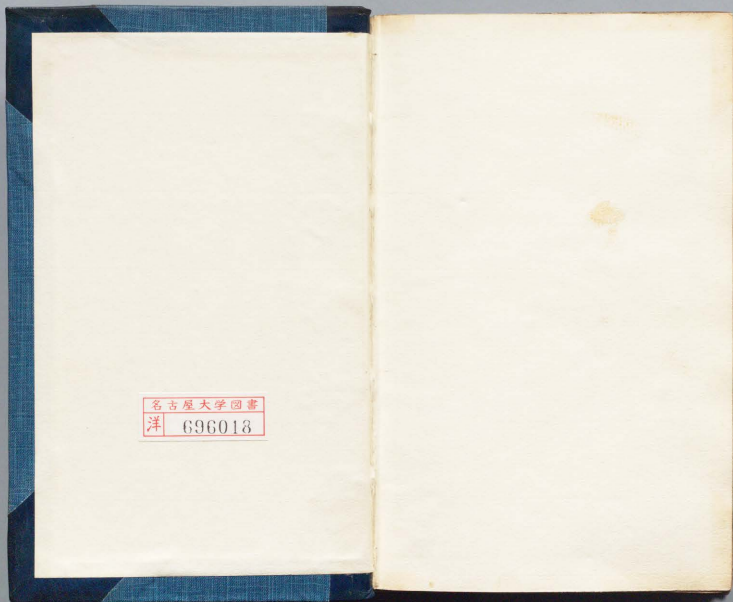
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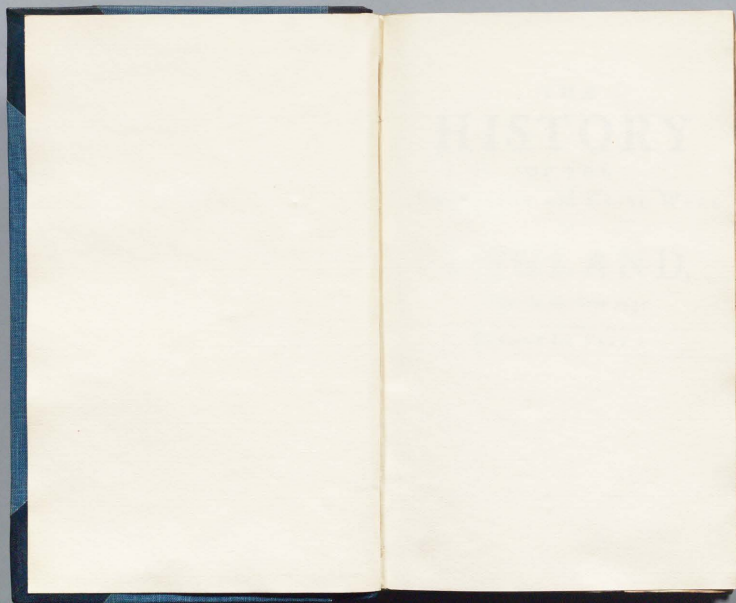
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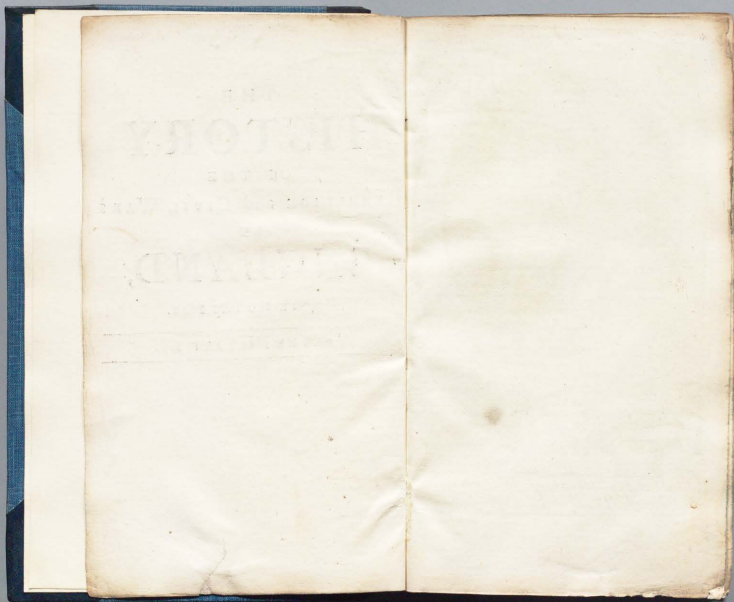


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VOLUME III. PART I.







Edward Earl of CLARENDON, Lord High CHANCELLOR of England
and Chancellor of the University of Oxford. An. Dom. 1667.

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VOLUME III. PART I.

O X F O R D,

Printed at the THEATER, An. Dom. MDCCVII.



TO THE QUEEN.

MADAM,

WITH all Duty and Submission comes into the World the last part of this History under Your Majesty's Protection; a just Tribute to Your Majesty, as well on the account of the Memory of the Author, so long engaged, and so usefully, in the Service of the Crown, as of the work it self, so worthy memorable for the great Subject He treats of; and so instructive, by his noble way of treating it.

This work, now it is compleatly publish'd, relates the Transactions of near twenty years, hardly to be parallel'd in any other time, or place, for the wonderful turns, and passages in it. In this space of time, Your Majesty sees Your own Country at the highest pitch of Happiness and Prosperity, and the lowest degree of Adversity and Misery. So that, when a Man carries his Thoughts and

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his Memory over all the Occurrences of those Times, he seems to be under the power of some Enchantment, and to dream, rather than read, the Relations of so many surprising Revolutions. The Peace and the Plenty of this Kingdom, and, in so short a space of time, the bloody dissolution of it by a great violent Rebellion, the ruin of so many noble and just Families, and the devastation of their Estates; and, after that, the Restitution of all things as at the beginning, it barely credible at this time, even so soon after all these things came to pass.

When Your Majesty sees one of Your Royal Ancestors, the first who liv'd to Reign as Heir to the two Crowns of Great Britain united, and, on that account, higher in Reputation, Honour, and Power, than any of his Predecessors, brought, by unaccountable Administrations on the one hand, and by vile Contrivances on the other, into the greatest difficulties and distresses throughout all his Kingdoms; then left and abandon'd by most of his Servants, whom he had himself rais'd to the greatest Honours, and Proficiencies; thus reduced to have scarce one faithful able Counsellor about him, to whom he could breath his Confidence and Complaints, and from whom he might expect one honest, sincere, disinterested Advice; after this, how he was oblig'd to take up Arms, and to contend with his own Subjects in the Field for his Crown, the Laws, his Liberty, and Life; there meeting with unequal fortune, how he was driven from one part of the Kingdom, and from one Body of an Army to another, till at last he was brought under the power of cruel and merciles Men, imprison'd, Strain'd, Condemn'd, and Executed like a common Malefactor: And after this still, when Your Majesty sees his Enemies triumphing for a time in their own guilt, and ruling over their fellows, and first companions in wickedness, with successful Insolence, till these very Men by force, and fraud, and snavy artifices, still getting the better one of another, brought all Government into such Confusion and Anarchy, that no one of them could subsist; and how then, by God's Providence, the Heir of the Royal Martyr was mov'd and brought home by the Generality of the

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the People, and their Representatives, to return, and take on him the Government, in as full an Exercise of it as any of his Predecessors had ever enjoy'd; not subject to any of those Treaties, or Conditions, which had been so often offer'd by his Father to the Men then in credit, and power, and, in their pride and fury, had been as often reject'd by them: When Your Majesty sees before You all this begun, and carry'd on in Violence and War, and concluded in a peaceful Restoration, within the space of twenty years, by English men alone amongst themselves, without the Intervention of any Foreign Power; many of the same hands joying in the Recovery and Settlement, as they had done before in the Destruction, of their Country; Your Majesty will certainly say,

This was the Lord's doing, and it will ever be marvellous in our eyes.

An Account of this great work of God coming to be publish'd in Your Majesty's time, it is humbly conceiv'd not improper to congratulate Your good fortune, that, in the beginning of Your Reign, such a History of the greatest Matters pass'd within Your own Dominions, comes to light; as well for the necessity there may be, after above forty years run out in a very unsettled and various management of the publick Affairs, to put Men in mind again of those mischiefs under which so many great Men fell on both sides, as in hopes, that on Your Majesty's account, and for the Glory of Your Name, whom Your People have universally receiv'd with joy, this Generation may be inclin'd to let these fresh examples of Good and Evil sink into their minds, and make the deeper impression in them to follow the one, and avoid the other.

From the Year 1660 to very near 1685, which was the time of King Charles the Second's Reign here in England, it may needs be own'd, that, with all the very good Understanding, and excellent good Nature of that King, there was a great mixture of Councils, and great vicissitudes of good and bad Events, almost throughout that space of time attending his Government. They seem indeed to be somewhat like the four Seasons of the Year: is

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of which three Quarters are generally fair, hopeful, flourishing, and gay; but there come as constantly severe Winters, that freeze, wither, destroy, and cut off many hopeful plants, and expectations of things to come.

It must be own'd too, since it can never be concealed, that, from the beginning of the Restoration, there was, certainly, not such a Return to God Amicably for the wonderful Blessings he had pour'd out with so liberal a hand, as, no doubt, was due to the great Author and Grover of all that Happiness: Neither was there such a prudence in the Administration, or such a steadiness in the conduct of Affairs, as the fresh Experience of the former Misfortunes might well have forewarn'd those that were entrusted in it, to have pursued with Courage and Constancy. It is but too notorious there was great forgetfulness of God, as well as manifest Mistakes towards the World; which quickly brought forth fruits meet for such wantifulness, and ill conduct.

The next four Years after that Reign, were attended with more fatal Misfortunes; over which it may be more decent to draw a Veil, than to enter into a particular enumeration of them. Many great Princes have been led unwares into irrecoverable Errors; and the greater they are, so many more particular Persons are usually involv'd in the Calamity.

What follow'd after this time, till Your Majesty's most happy coming to the Throne, is so fresh in the memory of all Men yet living, that every one will be inclinable to make his own observations upon it. Such Delinquencies have their pang in the Birth, that much weaken the Constitution, in endeavouring to preserve, and amend it.

And now Your Majesty, who succeeds to a Revolution, as well as a Restoration, has the advantage of a retrospect on all these accidents, and the benefit of reviewing all the Failings in those times; and whatsoever was wanting, at those opportunities of amending past Errors, in the management of Affairs, for the better establishment of the Crown, and the Security of the true old English Government, it will be Your Majesty's happiness to supply

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ply in Your time: A time in some sort resembling the auspicious beginning of King Charles the Second's Restoration; for in that time, as now in Your Majesty's, the People of this Kingdom ran cheerfully into Obedience; the chiefest Offenders lay quiet under a sense of their own Crimes, and an apprehension of the reward justly due to them; and all Your Subject's went out to meet Your Majesty with Duty, and most with Love.

Comparisons of Times may be as various as that of Persons; and therefore no more shall be said here on that Subject, than that since the Restoration, and some few Years after it, given up to joy, and the forgetfulness of past Miseries, there hath been no time that brought so much hope of quiet, and so general a satisfaction to these Kingdoms, as that on which we saw Your Majesty so happily seated upon the Throne of Your Ancestors. Among all the signs of greatness and glory in a Prince's Reign, there is none more really advantageous, none more comfortable, than that which Virgil remarks as a felicity in the time of Augustus,

When Abroad the Sovereign is prosperous, and at Home does Govern Subjects willing to obey: When it is not fear that drives and compels them, but affection and loving kindness that draws them, to their Duty; and makes them rejoice under the Laws by which they are Govern'd. Such was certainly the time of Your Majesty's first Entrance; and such God grant it may be Ever.

The two first Volumes of this History have laid before Your Majesty the original causes, and the foundations of the Rebellion, and Civil War; the contrivances, design, and consultations in it; and the miserable events of it; and seem'd to have finish'd the whole War, when the Author, at the very end of the Ninth Book, says, that from that time there remain'd no possibility for the King to draw any more Troops together in the Field. And when there's an end of Action in the Field, the inquiries into the consequences afterwards are usually less scarce.

But it happens in the Course of this History, that several new Scenes of new Wars, and the Events of them,

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are open'd in this Volume; which, it is hoped, will prove exceeding useful, even in those parts, where, by reason of the fulness of the Subject, it cannot be delightful, and, in all other parts of it, both useful and delightful.

Your Majesty especially, who must have Your Heart perpetually intent to see what follow'd in the close of all those Wars, and by what means and methods the loss of all that Noble and Innocent Blood, and particularly that portion of the Royal Stream then spilt, was recompens'd upon Their Heads who were the Wicked Contrivers of the Parricide, and how at last the Miseries of these Nations, and the Sufferings of Your Royal Family were all recover'd by God Almighty's most merciful Hand, will, no doubt, be more agreeably entertain'd in this Volume with the Relation of the secret Steps of the return of God's Mercy, than when he still seem'd openly to have forsaken His own oppress'd Cause; wherein so much of what was dearest to Your self was so highly concern'd.

Of the Transactions within these Kingdoms, soon after the War was ended, especially just before and after the barbarous Murder of the Blessed King, this Author could have but short and imperfect insinuations abroad. It cannot therefore justly be expected that he should be so full, or minute in many circumstances relating to the Actions and Consultations of that Party here at home, as we to be found in some other Writers, whose business it was to intend only such matters.

One thing indeed were very much to be wish'd, that he had given the World a more distinct, and particular Narrative of that Pious King's last most unanimous Sufferings in his Imprisonments, Trial, and Death. But it seems the remembrance of all those deplorable passages was so grievous, and insupportable to the Writer's mind, that he abhor'd the detesting long upon them, and chose rather to contrail the whole black Tragedy within too narrow a compass. But this is a loss that can only now be lamented, not repaired.

But when the History brings Your Majesty to what the Noble Writer esteem'd one of his principal businesses in this Volume, to attend King Charles the Second, and his

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two Royal Brothers, throughout all their wanderings, which take up a considerable share of it, and are most accurately and knowingly described by him, as having been a constant Witness of most of them, it is press'd, This part may give Your Majesty equal satisfaction to any that is gone before it. It will not be unpleasant to Your Majesty, since You have known so well the happy conclusion of it, to see the Banish'd King under his long adverse Fortune, and how many Years of Trouble and Distress he patiently waited God Almighty's appointed time, for his Redemption from that Captivity.

In that disconsolate time of distress and lowness of his Fortune, Your Majesty will find cause to observe, that there were Factions even Then in his little Court beyond Sea; so inseparable are such unbecoming and unchristian Contentions from all Communities of Men: They are like Tares sown by an Enemy amongst the Wheat, whilst good Men sleep.

Upon the Subject of the Factions in those days, there is a particular passage in this History, of two Parties in that Court abroad, who thought it worth their while, even Then to be very industrious in prosecuting this Author with unjust and false Accusations. And the Author himself observes, that, howsoever those Parties seem'd, as most other accounts, incompatible the one with the other, they were very heartily united in endeavouring to compass His destruction; and for no other reason, that ever appear'd, but his being an unweary'd Assessor, that ever appear'd to the true Interest of it; to which either of Them was really more irreconcilable, than they were to each other, whatsoever they pretended.

This passage seems to deserve a particular reflection, because, within few Years after that King's Restoration, some of both those Parties join'd again in attacking this Noble Author, and accusing him anew of the very same pretended Crimes they had objected to him abroad; where there had been so much Malice shew'd on one side, and so much natural and irresistible Innocency appear'd on the other, that one would have thought, no Arrow out of the same

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same Quiver, could have been enough evenom'd to have hurt so faithful, so constant, and so tried a Servant to the Church and Crown.

This particular, and another, wherein Your Majesty will find what Advice this Author gave his Royal Master, upon the occasion of his being much pressed to go to Church to Charenton, and how some Intrigues, and Swares, cunningly laid on one side, were very plainly and boldly withstood on the other by this Author, will let the World see, why this Man was by any means to be removed, if his Adversaries could effect it, as one that was perpetually crossing their Mischievous Designs, by an habitual course of adhering unmoveably to the Interest of his Church and Nation.

In the progress of this Book, Your Majesty will also find some very near that King whilst he was abroad, endeavouring to take advantage of the far lame and desperate Circumstances of his Fortune, to persuade him, that the Party who had Fought for his Father, was an insignificant, a despicable, and tedious Number of Men; and, on this account, putting him on the thoughts of Marrying some Roman Catholic Lady, who might engage those of that Religion, both at Home and Abroad, in his Majesty's Interest; Others at the same time, with equal importunity, recommending the power of the Presbyterians, as most able to do him Service, and bring him Home.

This Noble Author all this while persisted, in the integrity of his Soul, to use that credit his Faithfulness and Truth had gain'd him, to convince the King, that Foreign Force was a strength not desirable for him to depend on, and, if it were suspected to be on the Interest of Peppes, of all things most likely to prevent, and disappoint his Restoration; that for his own Subjects, none of them were to be neglected; his Arms ought to be stretched out to receive them all; but the old Royal Party was that his Majesty should chiefly rely on, both to assist him in his Return, and afterwards to establish his Government.

This Noble Author had been a watchful observer of all that had passed in the time of the Troubles; and had the opportunity to have seen the Actions, and penetrated, in a

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good measure, into the Consultations of those days, and was no ill judge of the Temper and Nature of Monkini; and He, it seems, could not be of opinion, but that They who had ventur'd all for the Father, would be the truest and firmest Friends to the Son.

Whether this grew up in him to be his judgement, from his observation of the Rules of Nature, and a general practice in all Wise Men to depend most on the Service, and affection of those who had been steady to them in their adversities; or whether a Lake-woman Trimming indifference, though sometimes disguised with the Character of Politicks, did not just with His plain dealing, it is certain, he never could Advise a Prince to hold a Council that should grieve, and disable his old Friends, in hope of getting new ones, and make all his old Enemies rejoice. But, however his Malicious Prosecutors afterwards scandalized him, as being the Author of such Counsels, and objected to him what was their own advice and practice, He really thought this kind of Council weaken'd the hands, and tended to the Subversion of any Government. And the success has approved this judgement; for in the very inconsistent, and variable Administration under that King, it was found by Experience, and to this day the Memorials of it we extant, that he had Quiet and Calm days; or more Rough and Boisterous Weather, as he favour'd, or discountenanced his own Party; call'd indeed a Party by the Enemies of it, upon a Leveling Principle of allowing no distinctions; though all who have contended against it, were properly but Parties; whilst that was then, and is still, on the advantage-ground of being Established by the Law, and Incorporated into the Government.

By degrees Your Majesty is brought, in the course of this History, as it were to the Top of some exalted height, from whence You may behold all the Errors and Misfortunes of the Time past with advantage to Your self; may view Armies drawn up, and Battles fought; witness Your part of the Danger; and, by the Experience of former Misfortunes, Establish Your own Security.

It seems to be a Situation not unlike that of the Temple of Wisdom in Luctetius; from whence he advises his Readers

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Readers to look down on all the Vanity and Flurry of the World. And as that Philosophical Poet does very movingly describe the pursuits of those whom he justly styles Miserable Men, distracting themselves in wearisome Contentions about the Business and Greatness of an empty World, so does this Noble Historian, with true and evident acclamations from one Cause and Event to another, and such an agreeable thread of entertainment, that one is never content to give over reading, bring Your Majesty to an easy ascent over all the knowledge of these Miserable times; from whence not in speculation only, but really and experimentally, You may look down on all the folly, and madness, and wickedness of those secret Controuerses, and open Violences, whereby the Nation, as well as the Crown, was brought to Desolation; and see how falsely and weakly those great and busy disturbers of Peace pretended Reformation, and Religion, and to be seeking God in every one of their Rebellions and Sinful Actions; whereas God was not to be found in their Thunder, nor their Earthquakes, that seem'd to shake the foundations of the World; but in the still voice of Peace he came at last, to defeat and disappoint all their Inventions: That God, to whom Vengeance belongs, rage, and shew'd himself in absence of that Righteous Cause of the Crown and Church; which Your Majesty will observe to have been Combin'd against, Fought with, Overthrown, and in the end Restor'd and Reestablish'd together. Now these things happen'd for examples, and they are written for our admonition.

It is now most humbly submitted to Your Majesty's judgement, whether the consideration of these matters, set forth in this History, be not the most useful prospect not for Your self only, but Your Noblest Train, Your great Council, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, in Parliament assembled.

When Your Majesty is so attended, by God's blessing, no Power on Earth will be able to disappoint Your Wisdom, or resist Your Will. And there may be need of all this Power and Authority, to preserve and defend Your Subjects, as well as Your Crown, from the like Distractions and Invasions. There may want the concurrence of a Parlia-

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ment, to prevent the return of the same mischievous practices, and to restrain the madness of Men of the same Principles in this Age, as destroyed the last; such as think themselves even more capable than those in the last, to carry on the like wicked designs: such as take themselves to be inform'd, even from this History, how to mend the mistakes then committed by the principal Directors on that side, and by a more resolu'd skill in wickedness to be able once again to overthrow the Monarchy, and then to perpetuate the destruction of it.

There is no doubt, Madam, but every thing that is represented to Your Majesty of this Nature, will find a Party ready to deny it; that will join hand in hand to assure the World there is no such thing. It is a Common Cause, and it is their Interest, if they can, to persuade Men, that it is only the heat and warmth of High-Church Inventions, that suggest such Fears and Jealousies.

But let any impartial Person judge, to whom all the Liberties of the Republican Party are due to unite themselves; and whether it is imaginable, that the Establish'd Government, either in Church or State, can be strengthened, or serv'd by them. They must go to the Enemies of Both, and pretend there is no such thing as a Republican Party in England, that they may be the less observ'd, and go on the more secure in their destructive projects.

They can have no better Game to play, than to declare, that none but Jacobites alarm the Nation with these Expectations; and that Jacobites are much greater Enemies than Themselves to Your Majesty. Let that be so: no Man, in his Wits, can say any thing to Your Majesty in behalf of any, let them be who they will, that will not own Your Government, and wish the Prosperity and the Happiness of it, and contribute all they can to maintain it.

But whilst these Men most falsely asperse the Sons of the Church of England for being Jacobites, let them rather clear themselves of what they were lately charged before Your Majesty, that there are Societies of them which celebrate the horrid Thirtieth of January, with an execrable Solemnity of scandalous Mirth; and that they

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have Seminaries, and a sort of Unversities, in England, maintain'd by great Contributions, where the fiercest Divines against Monarchical, and Episcopal Government, are Taught and Propagated, and where they bear an implacable hatred to Your Majesty's Title, Name, and Family.

This seems to be a Torment that cannot be resisted but by the visible Legislative Authority; neither can Your Throne, which they are thus perpetually assailing, or undermining, be supported by a less Power.

In these difficulties Your great Council will, over and above their Personal duty to Your Majesty, take themselves to be more concern'd to be zealous in the defence of Your Royal Prerogative, as well as of their own just Rights and Privileges, in that it was under the Name and Style of a Parliament, though very unjustly so called, that all the Mischiefs mention'd in this History were brought upon the Kingdom.

They best can discover the Craft and Subtlety formerly used in those Consultations; which first wrought, and drew Men in from one wickedness to another, before they were aware of what they were doing; and engag'd them to think themselves not safe, but by doing greater Evils than they began with.

They will, no doubt, be fill'd with a just indignation against all that Hypocrisy and Villany, by which the English Name, and Nation, were expos'd to the Censure of the rest of the World: They only can be able to present Your Majesty with remedies proper, and adequate to all these Evils, by which God may be Glorified, and the ancient Constitution of this Government Retir'd, and Supported.

There is one Calamity more, that stands in need of a Cure from Your own Sovereign hand. It is in truth a peculiar Calamity fallen most heavily on this Age, which though it took its chief rise from the disorderly, dissolute times of those Wars, and has manifestly increased ever since, yet was never arriv'd so much as Now, and that is a barefaced contempt, and dislike of all Religion whatsoever. And indeed what could so much frend

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Sanctity, and so much real Wickedness, during that Rebellion begun in 1641, produce else in fashly Mens hearts, than to say, There is no God?

This Irreligion was then pretended to be cover'd with a more signal Morality and precise strictness in Life and Conversation, which was to be a recompence for the loss of Christianity. But now, even that Shadow of Godliness and Piety is fled too. Atheism, and Profaness, diligently cultivated, have not failed to produce a prostitution of all Manners in contempt of all Government.

This Profaness and Impiety seems, next to the horrible Confessions of the late Rebellion, to have gain'd ground chiefly by this method, that, when many who have been in Authority have not, on several Accounts, been heartily affected to the support of the Church Establish'd by Laws, there has crept in, by little and little, a liberty against all Religion. For where the chief Adversers or Managers of Publick Affairs, have inclin'd to alterations, which the Establish'd Rules have not countenanced, they durst not cause the Laws to be put in Execution, for fear of turning the force of them on Themselves; so their next refuge has been to suffer Men to observe no Discipline, or Government at all.

Thus the Church of England, put to Nose, as it were, sometimes to such as have been inclin'd to Popery, and sometimes to other Sects, and sometimes to Men indifferent to all Religions, hath been in danger of being har'd, or overlaid, by all of them; and the ill consequence has reason'd not onely to the Members of that Communion, but to all the Professors of Christianity it self.

If never have ventur'd to give warning of these wicked designs and practices, have been render'd as Persons of ill temper and very bad affections. They that have been in Credit and Authority, have been frequently inclin'd to be favourable to the Men complain'd of; it has been offer'd on their behalf, that their intentions were good; and that it was even the Interest of the Government to cover their Principles, whatever might be the consequences of them.

Thus these Mischiefs have been still growing, and no Laws have hitherto reach'd them; and, possibly, they are become

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become incapable of a remedy; unless Your Majesty's great Example of Piety and Virtue shall have sufficient influence to amend them: No honest Men can say it is not reasonable, and even necessary, to watch them; and that, in compassion to Your Subjects, as well as Justice to Your self. This History hath shown Your Majesty then Frugal in the late times, by which You shall know them still; for Your Majesty well remembers Who has said, that

Meh do not gather Grapes of Thorns, or Figs of Thistles.

That God may give Your Majesty a discerning Spirit, a wise, and understanding Heart, to judge aright of all things that belong to Your Peace; that He may enable You to subdue Your Enemies Abroad by successful Councils, and Armes, and to reduce Your Ill-willers at Home by prudent Laws, administer'd with the Meekness of Wisdom; that He would give You length of days in honour, and Riches and Honour in the silver; that You, in Your days, may have the Glory to visitate good Nature (for which the English Nation was formerly so celebrated) and good Manners, as well as the sincere Profession, and universal Practice of the True Religion, in Your Kingdoms; and that His Almighty Power may defend You with His favourable Kindness as with a Shield, against all Your Adversaries of every kind, are the Zealour, Constant, and Devout Prayers of so many Millions, that it were the biggest presumption in any One Person, to subscribe a particular Name to so Universal a Concern.

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T H E
History of the Rebellion, &c.

B O O K X.

Jer. xxx. 6.

Wherefore do I see every Man with his hands on his loins, as a Woman in travail, and all faces are turn'd into paleness?

Jer. XLVII. 6.

O thou sword of the Lord, how long will it be ere thou be quiet? put up thyself into thy scabbard, rest, and be still.

Ezek. xxxiv. 2.

Woe be to the Shepherds of Israel, that do feed themselves; should not the Shepherds feed the Flocks?

T H E Actions of the last Year were attended with so many dismal Accidents and Events, that there were no seeds of hope left to spring up in this ensuing ill year; for it was enough discern'd how little success the Treaty with the Scots would produce; which yet the King did not desire to put a period to, otherwise than by positively declaring, "that he would never consent to the alteration of the Church Government; but was willing enough that they should entertain any other hopes, and was not himself without hope, that by satisfying the Ambition, and Interest of particular Men, he might mitigate the rigour of the Presbyterian Faction; and to that purpose Monsieur *Montresail* was gone from London to the British Army, then before *Newark*, having taken *Oxford* in his way, and to give an Account to the King of his observations.

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tions, and receiv'd from him such Information and Instruction as was necessary for the work in hand.

In the mean time no ways were left untried to draw such a Body of an Army together, as might enable his Majesty to make some attempt upon the Enemy; and if he could, by all possible endeavours, have drawn out of all his Garrisons left, a force of five thousand Horse and Foot (which at that time seem'd a thing not to be despair'd of) he did more desire to have lost his life, in some fatal attempt upon any part of the Enemies Army, than to have enjoy'd any conditions which he foresaw he was every like to obtain by Treaty; and he was not out of hope of a Body of five thousand Foot to be landed in Cornwall, which his Letters from France confidently promised, and which had been so much expected, and depended upon by the Prince, that it kept him from transferring himself into Italy, till *Paris* was march'd (as hath been said before) within little more than twenty Miles of *Prædenis*. For *Sr Dudley Wyot* had been sent expressly from the Lord *Ternyns*, to assure the Prince, that such a Body of five thousand Foot were actually rais'd under the Command of *Ruvignis*, and should be Embarked for *Prædenis* within less than a month; and the Lord *Ternyns*, in a Petition to that Letter which he writ to the Chancellor of the Exchequer by *Sr Dudley Wyot*, wish'd him not to be too strict in the computation of the Month from the date of the Letter, because there might be accidents of Winds at that Season; but he desired him to be confident, that they should be all landed within the expiration of six Weeks, and by that Measure to conduct the resolutions, and to decline fighting upon that Account: After all this, it is as true, that there was never a Man at this time levied, or design'd for that Expedition, only the Name of *Ruvignis* (because he was of the Religion, and known to be a good Officer) had been mention'd, in some loose discourse by the Cardinal, as one who would be very fit to Command any Troops which might be sent into *England* for the relief of the King; which the others, according to his natural credulity, thought to be Warrant enough to give both the King and the Prince that unreasonable Expectation; the which and many other of that great Lord's Negotiations and Transactions, the succeeding, and long continuing Misfortunes, kept from being ever examin'd, or consider'd and reflect'd upon.

This Prince liv'd in the Isle of *Silly* from *Wednesday* the 4th of *March* till *Thursday* the 16th of *April*, the Wind having continued so contrary, that the Lords *Capel* and *Hopton* came not to him from *Cornwall* till the *Saturday* before; at which time likewise arriv'd a Trumpeter from *Sr Thomas Fairfax*, with such a Message from the Parliament to the Prince

Prince as might well be call'd a Summons, rather than an Invitation; yet it was well it came not to *Prædenis*, where it would have found a Party among the Prince's Servants. The next Morning, being *Sunday*, a Fleet of about twenty seven, or twenty eight Sail of Ships, incompass'd the *Illand*; and within three or four hours, by a very notable Tempest, which continued two days, they were dispers'd. Upon this, and a clear determination of the weakness of the Place, if it should be attacked by any considerable strength (which both by the Message and the Attendants of it they had reason to apprehend) together with the extreme scarcity of Provisions in that *Illand*, which had not been, in these six weeks the Prince had there, supplied with Victual for two days out of *Cornwall*, neither had there been any returns from France upon the Lord *Colepepper's* Application to the Queen, which returns would every day grow more difficult by the Season of the Year, his Highness inclin'd to remove to *Jersey*; against which nothing could be objected of Weight, but the consideration of the King's being at *London* (which was strongly reported still) in a Treaty; and then, that his Highness's remove, especially if by distress of Weather he should be forced into France, might be prejudicial to the King; and therefore it would be reasonable, first to expect some Advertisement from his Majesty in what condition he was. Hereupon his Highness produc'd in Council this ensuing Letter from the King, which was writ shortly after the Battle of *Nashby*, and which he had conceal'd till that Morning from all the Lords, and which truly, I think, was the only secret he had ever kept from the four he had truff'd.

Hereford the 23^d of June 1645.

Charles,

My late misfortunes remember me to command you that *A Letter*
 " that I hope you shall never have occasion to obey; it is from the
 " this; If I should at any time be taken Prisoner by the Re- *King in the*
 " bels, I command you (upon my blessing) never to yield to *no from*
 " any conditions, that are dishonourable, unsafe for your Per- *Parliament;*
 " son, or Derogatory to Regal Authority, upon any confide- *June 23.*
 " rations whatsoever, though it were for the saving of my *1645.*
 " Life; which in such a Case, I am most confident, is in
 " greatest security by your constant resolution, and not a whit
 " the more in danger for their threatening, unless thereby you
 " should yield to their desires. But let their Resolutions be
 " never to *Barbours*, the saving of my Life by complying
 " with them would make me and my days with torture, and
 " disquiet of mind, not giving you my Blessing, and Curbing
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“all the rest who are consenting to it. But your constancy
 “will make me die cheerfully, praising God for giving me to
 “gallant a Son, and heaping my blessings on you; which
 “you may be confident (in such a case) will light on you.
 “I charge you to keep this Letter fill safe by you, until you
 “shall have cause to use it; and then, and not till then, to
 “show it to all your Council; it being my command to them,
 “as well as you; whom I pray God to make as prosperously
 “glorious as any of the Predecessors ever were of

“Your loving Father *Charles R.*

AFTER the reading this Letter, and a Consideration of the probability that the Rebels would make some attempt upon his Highness there, and the impossibility of resisting such an attempt in the condition the Island then stood, it was by his Highness with great earnestness proposed, and by the whole Council (except the Earl of *Berk-hire*) unanimously advised, that the opportunity should be then laid hold on, whilst the Rebels Ships were scatter'd; and that his Highness should Embark for *Jersey*, which he did accordingly on *Thursday*; and on the next day, being the 17th of *April*, with a profuse wind landed at *Jersey*; from whence, the same Night, they sent an Express to the Queen, of the Prince's safe arrival in that Island; and likewise letters to *St Maler*, and *Havre de Grace*, to advertise the Lord *Colepepper* of the same; who receiv'd the Information very seasonably, lying then at *Havre* with two Frigats in expectation of a Wind for *Silly*, and with Command to the Prince from the Queen, immediately to remove from thence. After the Prince had taken an Account of this Island, both himself, and all their Lordships were of opinion, that it was a place of the greatest security, benefit, and conveniency to repose in, that could have been desired, and wish'd for; till upon a clear information, and observation of the King's condition, and the state of *England*, he should find a fit opportunity to Act; and the Prince himself seem'd to have the greatest aversion, and resolution againſt going into *France*, except in case of danger of surprisal by the Rebels, that could be imagin'd. In few days Mr *Progers*, who had been dispatch'd before (presently upon the Lord *Colepepper's* coming from *Paris* for *Silly*, being hinder'd by contrary Winds till he receiv'd the News of the Prince's being at *Jersey*, came thither, and brought this following Letter from her Majesty to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in Cipher.

Paris

Paris the 5th of April 1646.

“My Lord *Colepepper* must witness for me that I have patiently and at large, heard all that he could say concerning the condition of *Silly*, and all that has been propos'd for rendering of the Prince of *Wales* his abode there safe; yet I must confess to you, that I am so far from being satisfied in that point, that I shall not sleep in quiet until I shall hear that the Prince of *Wales* shall be removed from thence. It is confided, it is not sufficiently fortified, and is accessible in divers places; and the Manning the Works will require a thousand Men more than you have, or, for ought I see, can procure; neither can you be confident, that the loss of *Corwall* may not sadly have a dangerous influence upon that Garrison; most of your Soldiers being of that Country. The power of the Parliament at Sea is so great, that you cannot rely upon the seasonable and safe conveyance of such proportions of Provisions, as so great a Garrison will require: I need not remember you of what Importance to the King, and all his Party, the safety of the Prince's Person is; if he should fall into the Rebels hands, the whole would thereby become desperate; therefore I must importunately conjure you to intend this work, as the principal service you can do to the King, Me, or the Prince. *Colepepper* will tell you how I have train'd to assist you with present Provisions, Shipping, and Money, necessary for the Prince's remove to *Jersey*; where, be confident of it, he shall want nothing. Besides, for satisfaction of others, I have mov'd the Queen Regent to give assurance, that if the Prince, in his way to *Jersey*, should be necessitated, by contrary Winds, or the danger of the Parliament Shipping, to touch in *France*, he should have all freedom and assistance from hence, in his immediate passage thither; which is granted with great Cheerfulness, and Civility, and will be Subscribed under the hands of the French King and Queen, my Brother, and Cardinal *Mazarin*: therefore I hope all scruples are now furnish'd. *Colepepper* is halting to you with good Frigats; but if you shall find any danger before their Arrival, I shall rely upon your care not to omit any opportunity to prevent that danger, according to the resolution in Council, which *Colepepper* hath acquainted me with; for which I thank you, I need not tell you how acceptable this service will be to the King, who in every Letter presses me to write to you concerning my Son's safety; nor that I am, and always will be, most constantly,

“Your assured Friend *Henriette Marie R.*

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T H E

The Prince
 of Wales
 Embark
 from Silly
 last of
 Jersey Ap-
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THE Prince and Council were very glad at the receipt of this Letter, conceiving that they had now done all that could be required at their hands; though they were advertised at their first Landing there, that there was still an expedition of the Prince in France; and that he would be speedily import'd from thence; which they could not believe; but as soon as the Lord Colpepper came, they plainly discern'd that Letter had been written upon advice to *Silly*, and upon foreseeing that an immediate Journey into France would not have been admitted; and that the Infrument mention'd for his Highness's quiet and uninterrupted Passage through France to Jersey, was only a colour, the sooner to have invited the Prince to have Landed there, if there had been any accidents in his Passage; but that the resolution was, that he should not then have come to Jersey, as it was now, but that he should quickly come from thence; to which purpose, shortly after, came most importunate Letters from the Queen; and it seems, howsoever all the late Letters from the King to the Prince before his coming out of England, were for his repair into Denmark, his Majesty, upon what reasons I know not, conceiv'd his Highness to be in France; for after his coming to Jersey, this following Letter was sent to him, by the Lord Jersey, in whose Cipher it was writ, and Decipher'd by his Lordship.

Oxford the 22^d of March.

Charles,

A Letter
from the
King to the
Prince.

“HOPEING that this will find you safe with your Mother, I think fit to write this, but necessary Letter to you; “Then know, that your being where you are, safe from the “Power of the Rebels, is under God, either my greatest felicity, or my certain ruin. For your constancy to Religion, Obedience to me, and to the Rules of Honour, will “make these Infidel Men begin to hearken to reason, when “they shall see their Injustice not like to be crown'd with “quiet; but, if you depart from those grounds for which I “have all this time Fought, then your leaving this Kingdom “will be (with too much probability) call'd sufficient proof “for many of the Islanders heretofore laid upon me; wherefore, once again, I command you upon my blessing to be “constant to your Religion, neither hearkening to Roman “Superstitions, nor the Seditious and Schismatical Doctrines “of the Presbyterians and Independents; for, know that a “persecuted Church is not thereby less pure, though less fortunate. For all other things, I command you to be totally “directed by your Mother, and (as subordinate to her) by “the

“the remainder of that Council which I put to you, at your “parting from hence: and to God bless you.

Charles R.

THIS Letter, and the very passionate Commands from the Queen, together with what was privately said to his Highness by the Lord Colpepper, who from his being at Paris had changed his former opinions, and was (though he express'd it tenderly, finding a general averſion) positive for his going, wrought so far on the Prince, that he discover'd an Inclination to the Journey; whereupon the Council presented at large to him, the Inconveniences and Dangers that naturally might be suppos'd would attend such a resolution: They remember'd, the Carriage of the French since the beginning of this Rebellion; how it had been originally fomented, and afterwards countenanced by them; and that they had never, in the least degree, assist'd the King; that there was no Evidence that, at that time, they were more inclin'd to him than to the Rebels; that it would be necessary they should make some publick Declaration on his Majesty's behalf, before the Heir apparent of the Crown should put himself into their hands. There was nothing omitted that could be thought of, to render that resolution at least to be of that importance that Caput ought to be thoroughly weigh'd, and consider'd, before executed; and so, in the end they prevail'd with the Prince (since at that time it was not known where the King was) to send the Lords Caput and Colpepper again to the Queen, to present unto her the weightiness of the matter to her Majesty. One of her Instructions their Instructions was as follows.

“You shall inform her Majesty, that We have, with all duty and submission, consider'd her Letters to Us concerning our speedy repair into the Kingdom of France; “which direction, We conceive to be grounded upon her Majesty's apprehension of danger to our Person by any residence here; the contrary whereof, We believe, her Majesty will be no sooner adverted of, than she will hold Us excus'd for not giving that present obedience which We desire always to yield to the least Intimation of her Majesty; “and therefore, you shall humbly acquaint her Majesty, that “We have great reason to believe this Island, to be defensible against a greater Force, than We suppose probable to be brought against it. That the Inhabitants of the Island express as much cheerfulness, unanimity, and resolution for the defence of our Person, by their whole carriage, and particularly by a Protestation voluntarily undertaken by them, as can be desired; and that, if, contrary to expectation, the Rebels should take the Island, We can from the

Castle (a place in it self of very great strength) with the least hazard remove our self to *France*; which in case of Imminent danger We resolve to do. That our security being thus stated, We beseech her Majesty to consider, whether it be not absolutely necessary, before any thought of our remove from hence be entertain'd, that We have as clear an information as may be got, of the condition of our Royal Father, and the Affections of *England*; of the Resolutions of the *Scotts* in *England*, and the Strength of the Lord *Mountraff* in *Scotland*; of the Affairs in *Ireland*, and the conclusion of the Treaty there; that so, upon a full and mature prospect upon the Whole, We may lo dispose of our Person as may be most for the benefit and advantage of our Royal Father; or patiently attend such an alteration and conjunction, as may administer a greater advantage than is yet offer'd; and whether our remove out of the Dominions of our Royal Father (except upon such a necessity, or apparent visible conveniency) may not have an Influence upon the Affections of the three Kingdoms to the disadvantage of his Majesty.

WITHIN two days after the two Lords were gone for *Paris*, Sir *Dudley Wyatt* arriv'd with the News of the King's being gone out of *Oxford*, before the break of day, only with two Servants, and to what place uncertain; it was believ'd by the Queen, as the said in her Letter to the Prince, that he was gone for *Ireland*, or to the *Scotts*; and therefore her Majesty renew'd her Command for the Prince's immediate repair into *France*; whereas the chief reason before was, that he would put himself into the *Scotts* hands; and therefore it was necessary that his Highness should be in *France*, to go in the head of those Forces which should be immediately sent out of that Kingdom to assist his Majesty.

THE two Lords found the Queen much troubled, that the Prince himself came not; she declared her self not to be moved with any reasons that were, or could be, given for his stay; and that her resolution was positive and unalterable: yet they prevail'd with her, to respite any positive Declaration till she might receive full advertisement of the King's Condition; who was by this time known to be in the *Scottish Army*.

IT is remember'd before, that the Prince, upon his arrival at *Silly*, sent a Gentleman to *Ireland* to the Marquis of *Ormond*, as well that he might be partially inform'd of the State of that Kingdom (of which there were several reports) as that he might receive from thence a Company or two of Foot, for the better Guard of that Island; which he foresaw would be necessary, whether he should remain there or not.

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The Gentleman had a very quick passage to *Dublin*, and came thither very quickly after the Peace was agreed upon with the *Irish* Roman Catholics, and found the Lord *Digby* there; who, after his Enterpris, and disbanding in *Scotland*, had first Transported himself into the Isle of *Man*, and from thence into *Ireland*; where he had been receiv'd, with great kindness and generosity, by the Marquis of *Ormond*, as a Man who had been in so eminent a Post in the King's Council and Affairs. He was a Person of so rare a combination by Nature and by Art (for Nature alone could never have reach'd to it) that he was so far from being ever dismay'd upon any Misfortune (and greater variety of Misfortunes never befel any Man) that he quickly recollected himself to vigorously, that he did really believe his condition to be improv'd by that ill accident; and that he had an opportunity thereby to gain a new flock of Reparation, and Honour; and so he no sooner heard of the Prince's being in the Isle of *Silly*, and of his Condition, and the Condition of that place, than he presently concluded, that the Prince's presence in *Ireland* would settle and compose all the Factions there; reduce the Kingdom to his Majesty's Service; and oblige the Pope's Nuncio, who was an Enemy to the Peace, to quit his Ambitious designs. The Lord Lieutenant had so good an opinion of the Expedient, that he could have been very well contented, that when his Highness had been forced to leave *England* he had rather chosen to have made *Ireland* than *Silly* his retreat; but, being a Wise Man, and having many difficulties before him in view, and the apprehension of many contingencies which might encrease those difficulties, he would not take upon him to give advice in a point of so great Importance; but, forthwith, having a Couple of Frigats ready, he caus'd an hundred Men with their Officers to be presently put on board, according to his Highness's desire; and the Lord *Digby* (who always concluded, that That was fit to be done which his first thoughts suggest'd to him, and never doubted the Execution of any thing which he once thought fit to be Attempted) put himself on board those Vessels; resolving, that upon the strength of his own reason, he should be able to persuade the Prince, and the Council which attended him, forthwith to quit *Silly*, and to repair to *Dublin*; which, he did not doubt, it brought to pass in that way, would have been grateful to the Lord Lieutenant. But, by the sudden remove of the Prince from *Silly*, the two Frigats from *Dublin* mis'd finding him there; and that Lord, whose Order they were obliged to observe, made all the hast he could to *Ferrey*; where he found the Digby as Prince, with many other of his Friends who attended his Highness, the two Lords being gone but the day before to *Silly* from *Ireland*.

attend

attend the Queen; he left no time in informing his Highness of the happy state and condition of *Ireland*; that the Peace was concluded; and an Army of twelve thousand Men ready to be Transported into *England*; of the great Zeal, and Affection the Lord Lieutenant had for his Service; and that if his Highness would repair thither, he should find the whole Kingdom devoted to him; and thereupon positively advised him, without farther deliberation, to put himself aboard those Frigats; which were excellent Sitters, and fit for his secure Transportation.

The Prince told him, "that it was a matter of greater Importance, than was fit to be executed upon so short deliberation; that he was no sooner arriv'd at *Jersey* than he receiv'd Letters from the Queen his Mother, requiring him forthwith to come to *Paris*, where all things were provided for his reception; that he had sent two of the Lords of the Council to the Queen, to excuse him for not giving ready Obedience to her Commands; and to assure her that he was in a place of unquestionable Security; in which he might safely expect to hear from the King his Father before he took any other resolution: That it would be very incongruous now to remove from thence, and to go into *Ireland*, before his Messenger's return from *Paris*; in which time, he might reasonably hope to hear from the King himself; and so would him to have patience till the matter was more ripe for a determination. This reasonable Answer gave him no satisfaction; he commended the Prince's averseness from going into *France*; "which, he said, was the most pernicious Council that ever could be given; that it was a thing the King his Father abhor'd, and never would consent to; and that he would take upon himself to write to the Queen, and to give her such solid Advice and Reasons, that should infallibly convert Her from that desire, and thus should abundantly satisfy Her that his going into *Ireland* was absolutely necessary; but that a little delay in the execution of it, might deprive Him of all the Fruit which was to be expected from that Journey; and therefore, renew'd his advice, and importunity, for losing no more time, but to proceed with his Highness, which when he saw was not the will of the Privy Council, who attended the Prince, with whom he had a particular Friendship, and lamented to him the loss of such an occasion, which would inevitably restore the King; who would be equally ruin'd if the Prince went into *France*; "of which he spoke with all the detestation imaginable; and said, "he was so far satisfied in his Confidence of the benefit that would redound from the one, and the ruin which would

inevitably fall out by the other, that, he said, if the Person with whom he held this Conference, would concur with him, he would carry the Prince into *Ireland*, even without, and against his consent. The other Person answer'd, "that it was not to be attempted without his consent; nor could he imagine it possible to bring it to pass if they should both endeavour it. He replied, "that he would invite the Prince on Board the Frigats to a Collation; and that he knew well he could so commend the Vessels to him, that his own curiosity would easily invite him to a view of them; and that as soon as he was on Board, he would cause the Sails to be hoisted up, and make no stay till he came into *Ireland*.

The other was very angry with him for entertaining such imaginations; and told him, "they neither agreed with his Wisdom nor his Duty; and left him in despair of his Conjunction, and, at the same time, of being able to compass it. He had no sooner discharged himself of this imagination, but in the instant (as he had a most pregnant fancy) he entertain'd another with the same vigour; and resolv'd, with all possible expedition, to find himself at *Paris*, not making the least Question but that he should convert the Queen from any further thought of sending for the Prince into *France*, and as easily obtain Her consent and approbation for his repairing into *Ireland*; and he made as little doubt, with the Queen's help, and by his own dexterity, to prevail with *France* to send a good supply of Money by him into *Ireland*; by which he should acquire a most universal Reputation, and be the most welcome Man alive to the Lord Lieutenant; and Transported with this happy imagination, he left *Jersey*; leaving behind him at the same time his two Ships, and his Soldiers, and half a dozen Gentlemen of Quality (who, upon his desire, and many promises, had kept him Company from *Ireland*) without one penny of Money to subsist on during his absence.

As soon as he came to *Paris*, and had from the Queen his Trust (whom he found very well inclin'd to do all he could for the relief of *Ireland*, but resolute to have the Prince her son immediately with Her, notwithstanding all the Reasons press'd on to that end) meduately with Her, notwithstanding all the Reasons press'd on to that end) sent from *Jersey*.) He attended the Cardinal; who understood him very well, and knew his Foeble; and receiv'd him with all the Ceremony and Demonstration of Respect he could possibly express; enter'd upon the discourse of *England*; celebrated the part which he had Acted upon that Stage, in so many Actions of Courage, and Sincerity, of the highest Prudence and Circumspection, with an indefatigable Industry and Fidelity. He told him, "that *France* found too late their own Error; that they had been very well content to see the King's

“ great Puissance weaken’d by his Domestic Troubles, which they wou’d only should keep him from being able to hurt his Neighbours; but that they never had desired to see him at the Mercy of his own Rebels, which they saw now was like to be the Case; and they were therefore resolv’d to Wed his Interest in such a way and manner, as the Queen of England should desire; in which he well knew how much her Majesty would depend upon his Lordship’s Council.

THE Cardinal said, “ it was absolutely necessary, since the Crown of France resolv’d to Wed the King’s Interest; that the Person of the Prince of Wales should reside in France; that the method he had thought of proceeding in was that the Queen of England should make choice of such a Person, whom the thought best Affected, and best Qualified for such an Employment, whom the King of France would immediately send as his Extraordinary Embassadour to the King and to the Parliament; that he should govern himself wholly by such Instructions as the Queen should give him; which, he knew, would be his Lordship’s work to prepare, that all things should be made ready sfoon as the Queen would nominate the Embassadour; and that, upon the arrival of the Prince of Wales in any part of France, sfoon as notice should be sent to the Court of it (for which due preparation should be made) the Embassadour should be in the same manner dispatched for England, with only Instruction from France; which should be, That he should demand a speedy Answer from the Parliament, whether they would satisfy the demands the French Court had made; which if they should refuse to do, he should forthwith, in the King his Mother’s name, declare War against them, and immediately leave the Kingdom, and return Home; and then there should be quickly such an Army ready, as was worthy for the Prince of Wales to venture his own Person in; and that he should have the honour to Redeem and Rescue his Father.

THIS discourse ended, the Lord Digby wanted not Language to extol the Generosity and the Magnanimity of the resolution, and to pay the Cardinal all his Compliments in his own Coin, and, from thence, to enter upon the Condition of Ireland; in which the Cardinal presently interrupted him, and told him, “ he knew well he was come from thence, and meant to return thither, and likewise the Carriage of the Nuntio. That the Marquis of Ormond was too brave a Gentleman, and had merited too much of his Master to be deserted, and France was resolv’d not to do his business by halves; but to give the King’s Affairs an entire relief in all Places; that he should carry a good Supply of Money with him into

Ireland,

Ireland, and that Armes and Ammunition should be speedily sent after him, and such direction to their Agents there, as should draw off all the Irish from the Nuntio, who had not entirely given themselves up to the Spanish Interest.

THE noble Person had that which he most desired; he was presently converted, and undertook to the Queen, that he would presently convert all at Jersey; and that the Prince should obey all her Commands; and enter’d into consultation with her upon the Election of an Embassadour, and what Instructions should be given him; which he took upon himself to prepare. Monsieur Belliere was named by the Queen, whom the Cardinal had despir’d for that Office. The Cardinal approv’d the Instructions, and caus’d six thousand Pistols to be paid to him, who was to go to Ireland; and though it was a much less Sum than he had promised himself, from the magnificent Expressions the Cardinal had us’d to him, yet it provided well for his own occasions; so he left the Queen with his usual professions, and confidence, and accompanied those Lords to Jersey, who were to attend upon his Highness with her Majesty’s Orders for the Prince’s repair into France; for the Advancement whereof the Cardinal was so sollicitous, that he writ a Letter to the old Prince of Conde (which he knew he would forthwith send to the Queen; as he did) in which he said, “ that he had receiv’d very certain Advertisement out of England, that there were some Persons about the Prince of Wales in Jersey, who had undertaken to deliver his Highness up into the hands of the Parliament for twenty thousand Pistols; and this Letter was forthwith sent by the Queen to overtake the Lords, that it might be shew’d to the Prince; and that they who attended upon him, might discern, what would be thought of them, if they disswaid his Highness from giving a present obedience to his Mother’s Commands.

AS soon as they came to Jersey, the Lord Digby us’d all the means he could to persuade his Friend to concur in his advice (or the Prince’s immediate repair into France. He told him all that had pass’d between the Cardinal and him, not leaving out any of the Expressions of the high value his Embrace had of his particular Person: “ That an Embassadour was chosen by his advice, and his Instructions drawn by him, from no part of which the Embassadour durst swerve (and, which is very wonderful, he did really believe for that time, that he himself had nominated the Embassadour, and that his Instructions would be exactly observ’d by him; so great a Power he had always over himself, that he could beget any thing which was grateful to him) “ That a War would be presently proclaimed upon their refusal to do what

“ the

to the Embassador required, and that there wanted nothing to the expediting this great Affair, but the Prince's repairing into *France* without farther delay; there being no other question concerning that matter, that whether his Highness should stay in *Jersey*? where there could be no question of his Security, until he could receive express direction from the King his Father; and therefore he conjured his Prince to concur in that advice; which would be very grateful to the Queen, and be attended with much benefit to himself; telling him how kind her Majesty was to him, and how confident she was of his Service, and that if he should be of another opinion, it would not hinder the Prince from going; who, he knew, was resolv'd to obey his Mother; and so concluded his Discourse, with those Arguments which he thought were like to make most impression on him; and gave him the Instructions by which the Embassadour was to be guided.

HIS Friend, who in truth lov'd him very heartily, though no Man better knew his Infirmities, told him, "whenever the Prince would be dispos'd to do, he could not change his opinion in point of Council, until the King's pleasure might be known; he put him in mind, how he had been before deceiv'd at *Osford* by the *Count de Harcourt*, who was at the Embassadour likewise, as We then thought, named by our Kives, and whose Instructions he had likewise drawn; and yet, he could not but well remember how foolishly that was had been managed, and how disobligingly He himself had been treated by the Embassadour; and therefore he could not but wonder, that the same Artifices should again prevail with him; and that he could imagine that the Instructions he had drawn, would be at all consider'd, or pursued farther than they might contribute to what the Cardinalist the present design'd; of the integrity whereof, they had no Evidence, but had reason enough to suspect it.

THE Lord *Capel*, and the Lord *Calvepper*, stay'd at Paris with the Queen full three Weeks; having only prevailed with her to suspend her present Commands for the Prince's remove from *Jersey*, until she should have clear Intelligence where the King was, and how he was treated, though she declar'd a positive resolution that his Highness should come to Paris, let the Intelligence be what it could be; and, in the end, they were well assur'd that his Majesty had put himself into the *Scottish* Army as it lay before *Newark*; and that, as soon as he came thither, he had caus'd that Garrison to deliver the Town into the hands of the *Scotts*; and that thereupon the *Scotts* march'd presently away to *New-Castle*: That they had prevail'd the King to do many things, which he had absolutely

refus'd to do; and that thereupon they had put very strict Guard upon his Majesty, and would not permit any Man to repair to him, or to speak with him; so that his Majesty look'd upon himself as a Prisoner, and resolv'd to make another Escape from them as soon as he could. Mr. *Affourbourn*, who attend'd upon him in his Journey from *Osford* as his sole Servant, was forbid to come any more near him; and if he had not put himself on board a Vessel, then at *New-Castle*, and bound for *France*, the *Scotts* would have deliver'd him up to the Parliament. Monsieur *Montrevil*, the French Envoy, pretend'd that they were so incens'd against him for his party expulsi'ng with them for their ill Treatment of the King, that it was no longer safe for him to remain in their Quarters, and more dangerous to return to *London*; and therefore, he had likewise procur'd a Dutch Ship to land him in *France*, and was come to Paris before the Lords return'd to *Jersey*.

THE Queen thought now she had more reason to be confirm'd in her former resolution for the speedy remove of the Prince, and it was pretend'd that he had brought a Letter from the King, which was Decipher'd by the Lord *Jermyns*; in which, he said, "that he could believe that the Prince could not be safe any where but with the Queen, and therefore wish'd, that if he were not there already, he should be speedily sent for; and *Montrevil* profess'd to have a Message by word of mouth to the same purpose; whereas Mr. *Affourbourn*, who left the King but the day before *Montrevil*, and was assistingly trust'd by the King as any Man in *England*, brought no such Message; and confes'd to the Lord *Capel*, "that he thought it very pernicious to the King that the Prince should come into *France* in that conjuncture, and before it was known how the *Scotts* would deal with him; and that the King's opinion of the convenience of his coming into *France*, could proceed from nothing but the thought of his infelicity in *Jersey*. The Lord *Capel* offer'd to undertake a Journey himself to *New-Castle*, and to receive the King's positive Commands, which he was confident would be submitted to, and obey'd by all the Council as well as by himself; but the Queen was positive, that, without any more delay, the Prince should immediately repair to Her; and, to that purpose, She sent the Lord *Jermyns* (who was Governour of *Jersey*) together with the Lord *Digby*, the Lord *Montaurie*, the Lord *Wilmington*, and the other Lords and Gentlemen, who, with the two Lords who had been sent to her by the Prince, should make halt to *Jersey* to see her Commands executed. Whilst they are upon their Journey thither, it will be feasible to enquire how the King came to involve himself in that perplexity out of which he was never able afterwards to recover his Liberty and Freedom. MON.

MONTREVIL *Montrevil* was a Person utterly unknown to me, nor had I ever intercours'd or corresponded with him; so that what I shall say of him cannot proceed from affection or prejudice, nor if I shall say any thing for his vindication from those reproaches which he did, and does lie under, both with the *English* and *Scottish* Nation, countenanced enough by the discontinuance he receiv'd from the Cardinal after his turn, when he was, after the first account he had given of his Negotiation, restrain'd from coming to the Court, and forbid to remain in *Paris*, and lay under a form'd, declar'd dislike till his death; which with grief of mind shortly ensu'd. But as it is no unusual hard-heartedness in such chief Ministers, to sacrifice such Instruments, how innocent soever, to their own dark purposes, so it is probable, that temporary Cloud would soon have vanish'd, and that it was only call over him, that he might be thereby secluded from the cessation of the *English* Court; which must have been necessarily very inquisitive, and might thereby have discover'd somewhat which the other Court was carefully to conceal: I say if what I here set down of that Transaction, shall appear some vindication of that Gentleman from those imputations under which his memory remains blasted, it can be imputed only to the love of truth, which ought, in common honesty, to be preserv'd in History as the very Soul of it, towards all Persons who come to be mention'd in it; and since I have in my hands all the original Letters which pass'd from him to the King, and the King's Answers and Directions thereupon, or such Authentick Copies thereof, as have been by my self examin'd with the Originals, I take it to be a duty incumbent on me to clear him from any guilt with which his memory lies unjustly charg'd, and to make a candid interpretation of those Actions, which appear to have result'd from ingenuity, and upright Intentions, how unsuccessful soever.

He was then a young Gentleman of parts very equal to the Trust the Cardinal repos'd in him, and to the Employment he gave him; and of a Nature not inclin'd to be made use of in ordinary dissimulation and couzenage. Whilst he took his Measures only from the *Scottish* Commissioners at *London*, and from those Presbyterians whom he had opportunity to converse with there, he did not give the King the least Encouragement to expect a conjunction, or any compliance from the one or the other, upon any Cheaper price of condition than the whole alteration of the Government of the Church by Bishops, and an entire Conformity to the Covenant; and he used all the Arguments which occur'd to him, to persuade his Majesty that all other hopes of Agreement with them were desperate; and when he saw his Majesty un-

moveable

movable in that particular, and resolute to undergo the utmost event of War, before he would wound his Peace of Mind, and Conscience, with such an odious conception, he undertook that Journey we mention'd in the end of the last Year, to discover whether the same rule and rigid Spirit, which Govern'd those Commissioners at *Hilffmanster*, possid'd also the Chief Officers of the *Scottish* Army, and that Committee of State that always remain'd with the Army.

THE *Scottish* Army was then before *Newark*; and, in his passage thither, he waited upon the King at *Oxford*; and was contrin'd in what he had reason before to be confident of, that it was absolutely impossible ever to prevail with his Majesty to give up the Church to the most impetuous Demands they could make, or to the greatest necessity himself could be contrin'd with; but as to any other conceptions which might touch their Ambition or their Profit, which were always Powerful and Irresistible Spells upon that Party, he had ample Authority and Commission to comply with the most extravagant Demands from Persons like to make good what they undertook, except such Propositions as might be mischievous to the Marquis of *Montrose*; whom the King resolv'd never to desert, nor any who had join'd with and assist'd him; all which, he desir'd to unite to those who might now be persuaded to serve him. His Majesty, for his better information, recommended him to some Persons who had then Command in the *Scottish* Army; of whose Affections and Inclinations to his Service, he had as much confidence, at least, as he ought to have; and of their Credit, and Courage, and Interest, a great part was due to them.

WHEN *Montrevil* came to the Army, and after he had endeavour'd to undeceive those who had been persuaded to believe, that a pretempory and oblique insinuing upon the alteration of the Church Government (the expectation, and assurance whereof, had indeed first enabled them to make that Expedition) would at last prevail over the King's Spirit, as it had done in *Scotland*, he found those in whom the Powers, at least the Command of the Army was, much more moderate than he expected, and the Committee which presid'd in the Councils, rather devoting and projecting Expedients how they might recede from the rigour of their former Demands, than pretempory to adhere to them, and willing he should believe that they stay'd for the coming of the Lord Chancellor out of *Scotland*, who was daily expected, before they would declare their Resolution; not that they were, for the present, without one. They were very much pleas'd that the King offer'd, and desir'd to come to them, and remain in the Army with them, if he might be secur'd of a good reception

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for himself, and for his Servants who should attend him, and his Friends who should resort to him; and the principal Officers of the Army spake of that, as a thing they do much wish'd, that it could be in no body's Power to hinder it; if there were any who would attempt it; and they who had the greatest Power in the Conduct of the most secret Councils, took pains to be thought to have much franker Resolutions in that particular, than they thought yet reasonable to express in such Undertakings; and employ'd those who were known to be most entirely trusted by them, and some of those who had been recommended to him by the King, to assure him that he might confidently advise his Majesty to repair to the Army, upon the Terms himself had propos'd; and that they would send a good Body of their Horse, to meet his Majesty at any place he should appoint to Conduct him in Safety to them. Upon which encouragement *Montrevil* prepared a Paper to be sign'd by himself, and sent to the King as his Engagement; and thew'd it to those who had been most clear to him in their Expressions of duty to the King; which, being approv'd by them, he sent by the other who had appear'd to him to be trusted by those who were in the highest Trust to be communicated to them, who had in a manner excus'd themselves for being so reserv'd towards him, as being necessary in that conjuncture of their Affairs, when there evidently appear'd to be the most Hostile jealousy between the Independent Army and them. When the Paper was likewise return'd to him with approbation after their perusal, he sent it to the King; which Paper is here faithfully Translated out of the Original.

The Paper
Montrevil
sent to the
King, being
a promise
for the King
renewing the
King's
Pris. I.

“ I do promise in the Name of the King and Queen Regent (my Mother and Mother) and by virtue of the Powers that I have from their Majesties, That if the King of Great Britain shall put himself into the *Scottish* Army, he shall be there receiv'd as their Natural Sovereign; and that he shall be with them in all freedom of his Conscience and Honour; and that all such of his Subjects and Servants as shall be there with him, shall be safely and honourably protected in their Persons; and that the said *Scotts*, shall really and effectually joyn with the said King of Great Britain, and also receive all such Persons as shall come in unto him, and joyn with them for his Majesty's Preservation: And that they shall proceed all his Majesty's Party to the utmost of their Power, as his Majesty will Command all those under his obedience to do like to them; and that they shall employ all their Armies and Forces, to assist his Majesty in the procuring of a happy and well grounded Peace, for the good

of

“ of his Majesty and his said Kingdoms, and in recovery of “ his Majesty's just Rights. In witness whereof I have here- “ unto put my Hand and Seal this first of April 1646.

De Montrevil, Residens pour sa Majesty tres Chrestienne en Escoss.

MANY days had not pass'd after the sending that Express, when he found such Chagrin, and Tergiverfication, in some of those he had treated with, one Man denying what he had said to himself, and another disclaiming the having given such a Man Authority to say that from him which the other still avow'd he had done, that *Montrevil* thought himself oblig'd, with all speed, to advertise his Majesty of the fatal change, and to dissuade him from venturing his Person in the Power of such Men; but the Express who carried that Letter, was taken Prisoner; and though he made his Escape, and preserv'd his Letter, he could not proceed in his Journey; and was compell'd to return to him who sent him; and by that time, he having inform'd the Committee, what he had done to vindicate himself from being made a Property by them to betray the King, and express'd a deep resentment of the injury done to the King his Master, and to himself, in their receding from what they had promised, they appear'd again to be of another Temper, and very much to desire his Majesty's Presence in the Army; and to that purpose, they promis'd, as an unanimous Resolution, “ that they would send a considerable party of Horse to meet his Majesty at *Barton* upon *Trent*; for that they could not advance farther with the whole party; but “ that some Horse should be sent to wait upon his Majesty at *Bywaters*, which is the middle way between *Barton* and *Harborough*, whether they hop'd his own Horse would be able to convey him securely; they desired “ the King to appoint the day, and they would not fail to be there. They wish'd, “ that when their Troops should meet his Majesty, he would tell them that he was going into *Scotland*; upon which, they would find themselves oblig'd to attend him into their Army, without being able to discover any thing of a Treaty; of which, the Parliament ought yet to receive “ no Advertisement: of all which *Montrevil* gave the King a very full and plain Narration, together with what he had written before, by his Letter of the 15th of the same April, to Secretary *Nicholas*; and, in the same Letter, he inform'd his Majesty, “ that they did not desire that any of those Forces which had follow'd the King's Party, should joyn with them, nor so much as those Horse that should have accompanied his Majesty, should remain in their Army with him: That they had with much ado agreed, that the two Princes (for his Majesty, upon Prince *Rupert's* humble sub-

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milison, was reconciled to both his Nephews) ⁴⁶ might follow the King, with such other of his Servants as were not excepted from pardon; and that they might stay with his Majesty until the Parliament of England should demand them; in which case they should not refuse to deliver them; but that they would first furnish them with some means of getting beyond Seas.

THE King had propos'd, ⁴⁶ that there might be a Union between them and the Marquis of Montrose; and that his Forces might be join'd with their Army; which they had said, ⁴⁶ they could not consent to, with reference to the person of Montrose; who, after so much blood spilt by him of many of the greatest Families, they thought could not be safe among them: whereupon the King had declared, that he would send him his Extraordinary Embassadour into France; which they appear'd not to contradict, but had now charg'd their mind; of which Montrose likewise gave an Account in the same Letter: That they could not give their consent that the Marquis of Montrose should go Embassadour into France, but into any other place, he might; and that they again, without limiting the time, insist'd upon settling the Presbyterian Government; and he concluded his Letter with these words, ⁴⁶ I will say no more but this, that his Majesty and You know the Scots better than I do; ⁴⁶ I present these things nakedly to you, as I am oblig'd to do; I have not taken upon me the boldness to give any Counsel to his Majesty; yet if he hath any other refuge, or means to make better conditions, I think he ought not to accept of these; but if he sees all things desperate every where else, and that he and his Servants cannot be secure with his Parliament of England, I dare yet assure him, that though He and his Servants may not be here with all that satisfaction perhaps which he might desire, yet He especially shall be as secure as possible.

In another Letter dat'd the next day after (the 16th of April) to the same Secretary, he hath these words: ⁴⁶ I have Orders from the Deputies of Scotland to assure you, that they will not herein fail (which related to sending the Horie to meet his Majesty) ⁴⁶ Soon as they shall know his day, and that the King shall be receiv'd into the Army as hath been promis'd; and that his Confidence shall not be forced. And in the last Letter, which his Majesty or the Secretary receiv'd from him, and which was dat'd the 20th of April 1646, there are these words, ⁴⁶ They tell me that they will do more than can be express'd; but let not his Majesty hope for any more than I send him word of; that he may not be deceiv'd; and let him take his measures aright; for certainly the Enter-

⁴⁶ priſe

⁴⁶ priſe is full of danger; in the same Letter, he says the disposition of the Chiefs of the Scottish Army is such as the King can desire; they begin to draw off their Troops towards Barton, and the hindring his Majesty from falling into the hands of the English is of so great Importance to them, that it cannot be believ'd but that they will do all that lies in their Power to hinder it.

THIS was the proceeding of Monsieur Montrose in that whole Transaction; and if he were too Sanguine upon his first Conversation with the Officers of the Scottish Army, and some of the Committee, and when he sign'd that Engagement upon the first of April, he made haſt to retract that confidence, and was in all his Dispatches afterwards Phlegmatick enough; and, after his Majesty had put himself into their hands, he did honestly and bravely charge all the particular Persons with the Promises and Engagements they had given to him, and did all he could to make the Cardinal sensible of the Indignity that was offer'd to that Crown in the violation of those Promises, and Engagements; which was the reason of his being Commanded to return Home, as soon as the King came to New-Castle, left his too keen resentment might irritate the Scots, and make it appear to the Parliament how far France was engaged in that whole Negotiation; which the Cardinal had no mind should appear to the World; and there can be no doubt, but that the Cautious and Animadversions which the King receiv'd from Montrose after his Engagement, would have diverted him from that Enterprize, if his Majesty had discern'd any other course to take that had been preferable even to the hazard that he saw he must undergo with the Scots; but he was clearly destitute of any other Resource. Every day brought the News of the loss of some Garrison; and as Oxford was already block'd up at a distance, by those Horie which Fairfax had sent out of the West to that purpose, or to wait upon the King, and follow him close, if he should remove out of Oxford; so he had soon reduc'd Exeter, and some other Garrisons in Devonshire. The Governours then, when there was no visible and apparent hope of being Reliev'd, thought that they might deliver up their Garrisons before they were press'd with the last Extremities, that they might obtain the better Conditions; and yet it was observ'd that better and more honourable Conditions were never given to any, than to those who kept the Places they were trust'd with, till they had not one day's Victual left; of which We shall observe more hereafter. By this means Fairfax was within three days of Oxford before the King left it, or fully resolv'd what to do.

His Majesty had before sent to two Eminent Commanders

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of Name, who had block'd up the Town at a distance, ⁴⁴ that if they would pass their words (how slender a security covers, from such Men who had broken for many Oaths, for the Safety of the King) ⁴⁵ that they would immediately Conduct him to the Parliament, he would have put himself into their hands; for he was yet perwaded to think it well of the City of London, that he would not have been unwilling to have found himself there; but those Officers would submit to no such Engagements; and great care was taken to have strict Guards round about London, that he might not get thither. What should the King do? There was one thing most formidable to him, which he was resolv'd to avoid, that was, to be inclosed in Oxford, and to be given up, or taken, when the Town should be Surrender'd, as a Prisoner to the Independents Army; which he was advertised from all hands, would treat him very barbarously.

In this perplexity, he chose rather to commit himself to the *Scottish* Army; which yet he did not trust far as to give them notice of his Journey, by sending for a Party of their Horse to meet him, as they had prefer'd; but early in the Morning, upon the 27th day of April, he went out of Oxford, attended only by *John Alborougham*, and a Divine (one *Hadwin*) who understood the By-ways as well as the Common, and was indeed a very skillful Guide. In this Equipage he left Oxford on a Monday, leaving those of his Council in Oxford who were prisy to his going out, not inform'd whether he would go to the *Scottish* Army, or get privately into London, and lye there concealed, till he might choose that which was best; and it was generally believ'd, that he had not within himself at that time a fixt Resolution what he would do; which was the more Credit'd because it was nine days after his leaving Oxford, before it was known where the King was; inasmuch as *Fairfax*, who came before it the fifth day after his Majesty was gone, was fate down, and had made his Circumvallation about Oxford, before he knew that the King was in the *Scottish* Army; but the King had walk'd that time in several Places; whereof some were Gentlemens Houses (where he was not unknown, though untaken notice of) purposely to be inform'd of the condition of the Marquis of *Montrose*, and to find some secure passage that he might get to him; which he did exceedingly desire; but in the end, went into the *Scottish* Army before Newark, and sent for *Montreuil* to come to him.

It was very early in the Morning when the King went to the Generals Lodging, and discover'd himself to him; who either was, or seem'd to be, exceedingly surpris'd, and confounded at his Majesty's presence; and knew not what to say; but presently gave notice of it to the Committee, who were

no less perplexed. An Express was presently sent to the Parliament at *Westminster*, to inform them of the unexpected News, as a thing the *Scots* had not the least imagination of. The Parliament were so disorder'd with the Intelligence, that at first they resolv'd to Command their General to raise the Siege before Oxford, and to march with all Expedition to Newark; but the *Scottish* Commissioners at London, diverted them from that, by assuring them ⁴⁶ that all their Orders would meet with an absolute Obedience in their Army; so they made a short dispatch to them, in which it was evident that they believ'd the King had gone to them by Invitation, and not out of his own free Choice; and implying, ⁴⁷ that they should shortly receive farther direction from them; and in the mean time, ⁴⁸ that they should carefully watch that his Majesty did not dispose himself to come whither else. ⁴⁹ That his great care in the Army, was, that there might be only respect and good manners shew'd towards the King, without any thing of affection or dependence; and therefore the General never asked the Word of him, or any Orders, nor, willingly, suffer'd the Officers of the Army to resort to, or to have any discourse with his Majesty. *Montreuil* was ill look'd upon, as the Man who had brought this inconvenience upon them without their consent; but he was not frighted from owning and declaring what had pass'd between them, what they had promised, and what they were engag'd to do. However, though the King liked not the treatment he receiv'd, he was not without apprehension, that *Fairfax* might be forthwith appointed to decline all other Enterprises, and to bring himself near the *Scottish* Army, they being too near together already; and therefore he forthwith gave order to the Lord *Bolton* to Surrender Newark, that the *Scots* might march Northward; which they resolv'd to do; and he giving up that place, which he could have defended for some Months longer from that Enemy, upon honourable Conditions, that Army with the great Expedition march'd towards *New-Castle*; which the King was glad of, though their behaviour to him was still the same; and great strictness us'd that he might not confer with any Man who was not well known to them, much less receive Letters from any.

It was an observation in that time, that the first publishing of extraordinary News was from the Pulpit; and by the Preacher's Text, and his manner of discourse upon it, the Auditors might judge, and commonly forew, what was like to be next done in the Parliament or Council of State. The first Sermon that was preach'd before the King, after the Army rose from Newark to march Northwards, was upon the 19th Chap. of the II. Book of *Samuel*, the 41, 42, and 43. verses.

41. *And behold, all the Men of Israel came to the King, and said unto the King, Why have our Brethren the Men of Judah stolen thee away, and have brought the King and his Household, and all David's Men with him over Jordan? And all the Men of Judah answered the Men of Israel, Because the King is near to us: wherefore then be ye angry for this matter? have we eaten at all of the King's cost? or hath he given us any gift?*
43. *And the Men of Israel answered the Men of Judah, and said, We have ten parts in the King, and we have also more right in David than ye: why then did ye despise us that our advice should not be first had in bringing back our King? And the words of the Men of Judah were fiercer than the words of the Men of Israel.*

UPON which words, the Preacher gave Men cause to believe, that now they had gotten their King they resolv'd to keep him, and to adhere to him. But his Majesty came no sooner to *New-Castle*, than both Monsieur *Montreuil* was restrain'd from having any conference with him, and Mr *Affolbornham* was advis'd "to thift for himself, or else that he should be deliver'd up to the Parliament; and both the one, and the other, were come to *Paris* when the Queen sent those

The Lord Jermyn and some other Lords arriv'd at Jersey about the end of June, from the Duke's returne from France.

Words to hasten the Prince's remove from *Jersey*. WHEN those Lords, with their great Train, came to *Jersey*, which was towards the end of *June*, they brought with them a Letter from the Queen to the Prince; in which the told him, "that she was now fully satisfied, from the Intelligence she had from *New-Castle* and *London*, that he could not make any longer residence in *Jersey* without apparent danger of falling into the Enemies hands; and that if he should continue there, all possible attempts would be suddenly made, as well by Treachery as by Force, to get his Person into their Power; and therefore, her Majesty did positively require of him, to give immediate Obedience to the King's Commands, as mention'd in the Letter which he had lately sent by *St Dunley Whet* (which is left out before) "and reiterated in a Letter which she had since receiv'd from the King by Monsieur *Montreuil*. Her Majesty said, "that she had the greatest assurance from the Crown of *France*, that possibly could be given, for his honourable reception, and full liberty to continue there, and to depart from thence, at his pleasure; and she engag'd her own word, that whenever his Council should find it fit for him to go out of *France*, she would never oppose it; and that during his residence in that Kingdom, all matters of Importance which might concern him-

self, or relate to his Majesty's Affairs, should be debated and resolv'd by himself and the Council, in such manner as they should be thought to have been, if he had continued in *England*, or in *Jersey*: and concluded, "that he should make all possible shift to her.

THE Lords which arriv'd with this dispatch from her Majesty, had no imagination that there would have been any question of his Highness's compliance with the Queen's Command; and therefore, as soon as they had kiss'd the Prince's hand, which was in the Afternoon, they desired that the Council might presently be call'd; and when they came together, the Lords *Jermyn*, *Digby*, and *Wentworth*, being likewise present, and sitting in the Council, they desired the Prince that his Mother's Letter might be read; and then, since they conceiv'd there could be no debate upon his Highness's yielding Obedience to the Command of the King and Queen, that they might only consider of the day when he might begin his Journey, and of the order he would observe in it. The Lords of the Council represented to the Prince,

that they were the only Persons that were accountable to the King, and to the Kingdom, for any resolution his Highness should take, and for the Consequence thereof; and that the other Lords who were present, had no Title to deliver their advice, or to be present at the debate, they being in no degree responsible for what his Highness should resolve to do; and therefore desired that the whole matter might be debated; the State of the King's present Condition understood as far as it might be; and the Reasons consider'd which made it Counsellable for his Highness to repair into *France*, and what might be said against it; and the rather, because it was very notorious that the King had given no positive direction in the Point, but upon a Supposition that the Prince could not remain secure in *Jersey*; which was likewise the ground of the Queen's last Command; and which they believ'd had no Foundation of Reason; and that his Residence there might be very unquestionably safe. This bore some warmth, and contradiction between Persons; inasmuch as the Prince thought it very necessary to suspend the debate till the next day, to the end that by several and private Conferences together between the Lords who came from *Paris*, and those who were in *Jersey*, they might converse, or confirm each other in the same opinions; at least that the next debate might be free from Passion and Unkindness; and so the Council rose, and the several Lords betook themselves to use the same Arguments, or such as they thought more agreeable to the several Persons, as the Lord *Digby* had before done to his Friends, and with the same success.

THE

The first Car-
pel gives an account
of his opinion
against it.

THE next day when they were called together, the Lord
"gave an account of all that had pass'd with the Queen
"from the time that the Lord *Colpepper* and he came thither;
"and "that the reasons they had carried from the Prince, had
"so far prevailed with the Queen, that her Majesty resolv'd
"to take no final resolution till the recess'd farther Adver-
"sament of the King's pleasure; and he did not think that
"the information he had receiv'd from Monsieur *Montreuil*,
"had weight enough to produce the quick resolution it had
"done: that he thought it still most absolutely necessary, to
"receive the King's positive Command before the Prince
"should remove out of his Majesty's own Dominions; there
"being no shadow of cause to suspect his security there: That
"he had then offer'd to the Queen, that he would himself
"make a Journey to *New-Castle* to receive his Majesty's
"Commands; and that he now made the same offer to the
"Prince; and because it did appear that his Majesty was very
"strictly guarded, and that Persons did not easily find access
"to him, and that his own Person might be seised upon in
"his Journey thither, or his stay there, or his return back,
"and so his Highness might be disappointed of the informa-
"tion he expected, and remain still in the same uncertainty
"as to a resolution, he did propose, and consent to, as his
"opinion, that if he did not return again to *Jersey* within the
"space of one Month, the Prince should resolve to remove
"into *France*, if in the mean time such preparatorys were
"made there, as he thought were necessary, and were yet
"defective.

HE said, "he had been lately at *Paris* by the Prince's
"Command; and had receiv'd many Graces from the Queen,
"who had vouchsafed to impart all her own Reasons for the
"Prince's remove, and the grounds for the confidence she
"had of the Affections of *France*; but, that he did still won-
"der, if the Court of *France* had so great a desire, as was
"prettended, that the Prince of *Wales* should repair thither,
"that in the two Months time his Highness had been in *Jer-
"sey*, they had never sent a Gentleman to see him, and to in-
"vite him to come thither; nor had these who came now
"from the Queen, brought so much as a Pass for him to come
"into *France*: That he could not but observe, that all We had
"hitherto propos'd to our selves from *France*, had prov'd in
"no degree answerable to our expectations; as the five thou-
"sand Foot, which We had expedit in the West before the
"Prince came from thence; and that We had more reason to
"be jealous now than ever, since it had been by the advice
"of *France*, that the King had now put himself into the hands
"of the *Swiss*; and therefore We ought to be the more watch-
"ful.

"fall in the disposing the Person of the Prince by their ad-
"vice likewise: He concluded, "that he could not give his
"advice, or consent, that the Prince should repair into *France*,
"till the King's pleasure might be known, or such other cir-
"cumstances might be provided in *France*, as had been hi-
"therto neglected.

THE Lord *Digby* and the Lord *Jermyn* wonder'd very *The Argu-
ment of the*
much, "that there should be any doubt of the Affections of the
"Prince, or that it should be believ'd that the Queen could
"be deceiv'd, or not well enough inform'd in that particular:
"They related many particulars which had pass'd between the
"Cardinal and them in private Conferences, and the great pro-
"fessions of Affection he made to the King. They said, "that
"the Embassadour who was now appointed to go thither, was
"chosen by the Queen her self, and had no other Instructions
"but what she had given him; and that he was not to stay
"there above a Month; at the end of which he was to de-
"sounce War against the Parliament, if they did not comply
"with such Propositions as he made; and so to return; and
"then, that there should be an Army of thirty thousand Men
"immediately Transported into *England*, with the Prince of
"Wales in the head of them; that the Embassadour was al-
"ready gone from *Paris*, but was not to Embark till he should
"first receive Advertisement that the Prince of *Wales* was
"Landed in *France*; for that *France* had no reason to interest
"himself so far in the King's Quarrel, if the Prince of
"Wales should refuse to venture his Person with them; or, if
"they may be engag'd again to them upon another Interest.

THEY therefore besought the Prince, and the Lords "that
"they would consider well, whether he would disappoint his
"Father and himself of so great Fruit as they were even ready
"to gather, and of which they could not be disappointed
"but by uncharitable Jealousies of the Integrity of *France*,
"and by delaying to give them satisfaction in the remove of
"the Prince from *Jersey*.

THESE Arguments press'd with all the assurance imagin-
"able, by Persons of that near Trust and Confidence with the
"King, who were not like to be deceiv'd themselves, nor to
"have any purpose to deceive the Prince, wrought so far with
"his Highness, that he declared "he would comply with the
"Commands of the Queen, and forthwith remove into *France*,
"which being resolv'd, he desired "there might be no more
"debate upon that point, but that they would all prepare to
"go with him, and that there might be as great an Unity in
"their Councils, as had hitherto always been.

THIS is positive Declaration of the Prince of his own Reso-
"lution, made all farther Arguments against it not only use-
"less.

*All his own
of his own
will follow,
and stay be-
hind.*

lefs but indecent; and therefore they replied not to that Point, yet every Man of the Council, the Lord *Colchester* only excepted, besought his Highness "that he would give them his Parson, if they did not farther wait upon him; for they conceiv'd their Commission to be now at an end; and that they could not affume any Authority by it to themselves, if they wait'd upon him into *France*; nor expect that their Counsils there should be hearken'd unto, when they were now rejected. And so, after some sharp replies between the Lords of different Judgments, which made the Council break up the sooner, they who resolv'd not to go into *France* took their leaves of the Prince, and kiss'd his hand; his Highness then declaring, "that he would be gone the next day by five of the Clock in the Morning, though the cross Winds, and want of some Provisions which were necessary for the Journey detain'd him there four or five days longer; during which time, the Dissenting Lords every day wait'd upon him, and were receiv'd by him very Graciously; his Highness well knowing and expressing to them a confidence in their Afflictions, and that they would be sure to wait upon him, whenever his occasions should be ready for their Service. But between them and the other Lords, there grew by degrees so great a Strangeness, that, the last day, they did not so much as speak to each other; they who came from the Queen taking it very ill, that the others had presumed to dissent from what her Majesty had so positively Committed. And though they neither lov'd their Persons, nor cared for their Company, and without doubt, if they had gone into *France*, would have made them quickly weary of theirs; yet, in that Conjunction, they believ'd that the Dissent and Separation of all those Persons who were trust'd by the King with the Person of the Prince, would blast their Council, and weigh down the single positive Determination of the Queen her self.

On the other side, the others did not think they were treated in that manner as was due to Persons so entrusted; but that in truth many ill Consequences would result from that sudden departure of the Prince out of the King's Dominions, where his residence might have been secure in respect of the Affairs of *England*; where, besides the Garrisons of *Silly* and *Ferdunais* (which might always be reliev'd by Sea) there remain'd still within his Majesty's Obedience, *Oxford*, *Windsor*, *Wallingford*, *Ludlow*, and some other places of less name, which, upon any divisions among themselves, that were naturally to be expected, might have turn'd the Scale: Nor did they know, of what ill Consequence it might be to the King, that in such a Conjunction the Prince should be remov'd, when it might be more Consistible that he should appear in *Scotland*.

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MOREOVER, Mr *Albarnham's* opinion, which he had deliver'd to the Lord *Capel*, wrought very much upon them; for that a Man so entirely trust'd by the King, who had seen him as lately as any Body, should bring no directions from his Majesty to his Son, and that he should believe, that it was fitter for the Prince to fly in *Jersey* than to remove into *France*, till his Majesty's pleasure was better understood, convinc'd them in the judgement they had deliver'd.

BUT there was another reason that prevailed with those who had been made Privy to it, and which, out of Duty to the Queen, they thought not fit to publish, or insinuate upon; it was the Instructions given to *Bellevue* (and which too much manifested the irresolution her Majesty had) not to insinuate upon what they well knew the King would never depart from; for, though that Embassadors was required to do all he could to persuade the Presbyterians to join with the King's Party, and not to insinuate upon the destruction of the Church, yet if he found that could not be compass'd, He was to press, as the advice of the King his Master, his Majesty to part with the Church, and to satisfy the Presbyterians in that point, as the advice of the Queen his Wife, and of his own Party; which method was afterwards observ'd and pursued by *Bellevue*; which those Lords perfectly abhor'd; and thought not fit ever to concur in, or to be privy to those Counsils that had begun, and were to carry on that Confusion.

WITHIN a day or two after the Prince's departure from *Jersey*, the Earl of *Berkshire* left it likewise, and went for *England*, the Lords *Capel*, *Hopton*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, remain'd together in *Jersey* to expect the King's pleasure, and to attend a conjuncture to appear again in his Majesty's Service; of all which they found an opportunity to inform his Majesty, who very well interpreted all that they had done according to the sincerity of their hearts; yet did believe, that if they had likewise wait'd upon the Prince into *France*, they might have been able to have prevented or diverted those violent Prefurres, which were afterwards made upon him from thence, and gave him more disquiet than he suffer'd from all the Insolence of his Enemies.

IN a word, if the King's Fortune had been farther to be conducted by any fix Rules of policy and discretion, and if the current towards his destruction had not run with such a Torrent, as carried down all obstructions of Sobriety and Wisdom, and made the Confusion inevitable, it is very probable that this so sudden remove of the Prince from *Jersey* with all the Circumstances thereof, might have been look'd upon, and censur'd with Severity, as an Action that sever'd from that prudence which by the fundamental Rules of policy had been long

long establish'd; but by the Fatal and prodigious Calamities which follow'd, all Councils of wife and unwise Men proving equally unsuccessful, the Memory of what had pass'd before, grew to be the less thought upon and considered.

Transferr'd relating to the King in the Scottish Army.

WHILE these things were thus Transferr'd in other Parts, the King remain'd yet in the *Scottish Army*; that People behaving themselves in such a manner, that most Men believ'd they would never have parted with his Majesty till a full Peace had been made. The Parliament made many Insuffinances, "that the King might be deliver'd into their hands; " and that the *Scottish Army* would return into their own Country, having done what they were fit for, and the War being at an end. To which the Council of *Scotland* seem'd to Answer with Courage enough, and infill'd most on those Arguments of the King's legal Rights, which had been, in all his Majesty's Declarations, urg'd against the Parliaments proceedings; and which indeed could never be Answer'd; and as much consider'd Them, as the Parliament.

In the mean time, though the King receiv'd all outward Respect, he was in truth in the condition of a Prisoner; no Servant whom he could Trust suffer'd to come to him; and though many Persons of Quality who had serv'd the King in the War, when they saw the resolute Answers made by the *Scotts*, "that they neither would nor could compel their King " to return to the Parliament, if his Majesty had no mind " to do so, repair'd to *New-Castle*, where his Majesty was, yet none of them were suffer'd to speak to him; nor could he receive from, or send any Letter to the Queen or Prince; and yet the *Scotts* observ'd all distances, and perform'd all the Ceremonies as could have been expected if they had indeed treat'd him as their King; and made as great profession to him of their Duty and good purposes, " which they said they would " manifestly show as it should be feasible; and then his Servants, and Friends should repair to him with all Liberty, " and be well receiv'd; and as they endeavour'd to persuade the King to expect this from them, they prevailed with many Officers of that Army, and some of the Nobility, to believe that they meant well, but that it was not yet time to discover their Intentions.

The King's Order to the Marquis of Montrose to disband his del.

THUS they prevailed with the King to send his positive Orders to the Marquis of *Montrose*, who had indeed done Wonders, to lay down his Arms, and to leave the Kingdom; till when, they pretended they could not declare for his Majesty; and this was done with so much carelessness, and by a particular Messenger known and Trust'd, that the Marquis obeyed, and Transported himself into *France*.

THEN they employ'd their *Alexander Henderson*, and their other Clergy, to persuade the King to consent to the Extradition of Episcopacy in *England*, as he had in *Scotland*; and it was, and is still believ'd; " that if his Majesty would have been induc'd to have furnish'd them in that particular, they would either have had a Party in the Parliament at *Westminster* to have been satisfi'd therewith, or that they would thereupon have declar'd for the King, and have precisely joyntly with the Loyal Party in all places for his Majesty's defence. But the King was too Conscientious to buy his Peace at so Prophane and Sacrilegious a price as was demand'd, and he was so much too hard for Mr *Henderson* in the Argumentation (as appears by the Papers that pass'd between them, which were shortly after Communicated to the world) that the old Man himself was so far Convinced, and Converted, that he had a very deep sense of the mischief he had himself been the Author of, or too much contributed to, and lamented it to his nearest Friends, and Confidants; and dyed of grief, and Mr *Henderson* broken, within a very short time after he departed from his Majesty.

WHILE the King stay'd at *New-Castle*, *Belliers* the French Embassadour, who was sent from *Paris* after the Prince arriv'd there, and by whom the Cardinal had promis'd to press the Parliament to impiously, and to denounce a War against them if they refus'd to yield to what was reasonable towards an Agreement with the King, came to his Majesty, after he had spent some time at *London* in all the low Application to the Parliament that can be imagin'd, without any mention of the King with any tenderness, as if his Interest were at all consider'd by the King his Master, and without any consultation with those of his Majesty's Party; who were then in *New-Castle*, and would have been very ready to have advis'd him with him. But he chose rather to converse with the principal Leaders of the Presbyterian Party in the Parliament, and with the *Scottish* Commissioners; from whose Information he took all his Measures; and they assur'd him " that nothing could be done for the King, except he would give up the Church; expropriate Episcopacy; and grant all the Lands belonging to Cathedral Churches to such Uses as the Parliament should advise; so that, when he came to the King, he perswaded him very earnestly to that Condescension.

BUT, besides the matter propos'd, in which his Majesty was unmovable, he had no effect of any thing the Embassadour said to him, having too late discover'd the little affection the Cardinal had for him, and which he had too much relied upon. For, as hath been already said, by his advice, and upon his undertaking and assurance that his Majesty should be well receiv'd

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receiv'd in the *Scottish* Army, and that they would be firm to his Interest, his Majesty had ventur'd to put himself into their hands; and he was no longer there, than all they with whom *Montreuil* had Treated, disavow'd their undertaking, what the King had been inform'd of; and though the Envoy did avow, and justify, what he had inform'd the King, to the Faces of the Persons who had given their Engagements, the Cardinal chose rather to Recall, and Discourage the Minister of that Crown, than to enter into any Exploitation with the Parliament, or the *Scotts*.

THE Embassadour, by an Express, quickly inform'd the Cardinal that the King was too reserv'd in giving the Parliament satisfaction; and therefore willed, "that some Body might be sent over, who was like to have so much credit with his Majesty as to persuade him to what was necessary for his Service. Upon which, the Queen, who was never advised

Dr William Davenny by those who either understood, or valued his true Interest, sent from the King to see an honest Man, and a Witty; but in all respects inferior to the Person well enough under another Character than was like to give him much credit in the Argument in which he was instructed) although her Majesty had likewise other ways declared her opinion to his Majesty, "that he should part with the Church for his Peace and Security.

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Sir *William Davenny* had, by the countenance of the French Embassadour, early admission to the King; who heard him patiently all he had to say, and answer'd him in that manner that made it evident he was not pleas'd with the advice. When he found his Majesty unsatisfied, and that he was not like to consent to what was so earnestly desired by them by whose advice he was sent, who undervalued all those perfections of Confidence which his Majesty himself was strongly possess'd with, he took upon himself the confidence to offer some Reasons to the King to induce him to yield to what was propos'd; and, among other things, said, "it was the advice and opinion of all his Friends; his Majesty asking, "what Friends? and he answering, "that it was the opinion of the Lord *Jermy*, the King said, "that the Lord *Jermy* did not understand any thing of the Church. The other said, "the Lord *Colpepper* was of the same mind. The King said, *Colpepper* had no Religion: and asked, "whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer was of that mind? to which he answered, "he did not know; for that he was not there, and "had deserted the Prince: and thereupon, said somewhat from the Queen of the displeasure he had conceiv'd against the Chancellors; to which the King said, "the Chancellor

" was an honest Man, and would never desert Him, nor the

" Prince, nor the Church; and that he was sorry he was not with

" his Son; but that his Wife was mislik'd *Davenny* (tho' offering some reasons of his own, in which he mention'd the Church indignantly, as if it were not of Importance enough to weigh down the benefit that would attend the concession, his Majesty was transport'd with so much indignation, that he gave him a sharper reprehension than was usual for him to give to any of his Ministers; and forb'd him to presume to come again into his Presence. Whereupon the poor Man, who had in truth very good Affections, was exceedingly dejected and afflicted; and return'd into *France*, to give an Account of his Ill Success to those who sent him.

As all Men's expectations from the Courage and Activity of the French Embassadour in *England*, were thus frustrated, by his mean and low Carriage both towards the Parliament and at *New-Castle*, for all the professions which had been made of respect and tenderness towards the Prince of *Wales*, whom his Person should once appear in *France*, were as unworthily disappointed. The Prince had been above two Months with the Queen his Mother, before any Notice was taken of his being in *France*, by the least Message sent from the Court to Congratulate his arrival there; but that time was spent in debating the Formalities of his Reception; how the King should treat him? and how he should behave himself towards the King? whether he should take place of Monsieur the King's Brother? and what kind of Ceremonies should be observ'd between the Prince of *Wales* and his Uncle the Duke of *Orleans*? and many such other particulars; in all which they were resolv'd to give the Law themselves; and which had been fitter to have been adjust'd in *Jersey*, before he put himself into their Power, than disput'd afterwards in the Court of *France*; from which there could be then no Appeal.

It is not to be doubted but that the Cardinal, who was the sole Minister of State, and directed all that was to be done, and dictated all that was to be said, did think the presence of the Prince there of the highest importance to their affairs, and did all that was in his Power, to persuade the Queen that it was necessary for the affairs of the King her Husband, and of her Majesty: but now that work was over, and the Person of the Prince brought into their power, without the least publick Act or Ceremony to invite him thither, it was no less his care that the Parliament in *England*, and the Officers of the Army, whom he fear'd more than the Parliament, should believe that the Prince came thither without their will, and in truth against their will; that the Crown of *France* could not refuse to interpose, and mediate, to make

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up the difference between the Parliament and the *Scotts* Nation, and that the Kingdoms might be restored to Peace; but that when they had perform'd that Office of Mediation, they had perform'd their Function; and that they would no more presume to take upon them to judge between the Parliament and the *Scotts*, than they had done between the King and the Parliament; and that since the Prince had come to the Queen his Mother, from which they could not reasonably refrain him, it should not be attended with any prejudice to the Peace of *England*; nor should he there find any means, or assistance, to disturb it. And it was believ'd by those who stood at no great distance from affairs, that the Cardinal then laid the Foundation for that Friendship which was shortly after built up between him and *Cromwell*, by promising "that they should receive less inconvenience by the Prince's remaining in *France*, than if he were in any other part of *Europe*. And it can hardly be believ'd, with how little respect they treated him during the whole time of his stay there. They were very careful that he might not be look'd upon as supported by them either according to his Dignity, or for the maintenance of his Family; but a mean addition to the Pension which the Queen had before, was made to her Majesty, without any mention of the Prince her Son; who was wholly to depend upon her Bounty, without power to gratify and oblige any of his own Servants; that they likewise might depend only upon the Queen's goodness and favour, and so behave themselves accordingly.

WHEN the *Scotts* had secured the peace and quiet of their own Country, by Disbanding the Forces under the Marquis of *Montrose*, and by his Transporting himself beyond the Seas; and by putting to death several Persons of Name who had follow'd the Marquis, and had been taken Prisoners, among whom *St Robert Spotswood* was one, a worthy honest Loyal Gentleman, and as wise a Man as that Nation had at that time (whom the King had made Secretary of State of that Kingdom, in the place of the Earl of *Larriok*, who was then in Arms against him; which, it may be, was a principal cause that the other was put to death.) And when they had with such Solemnity and Resolution made it plain and evident, that they could not, without the most barefaced violation of their Faith and Allegiance, and of the fundamental principle of Christian Religion, ever deliver up their Native King, who had put himself into their hands, into the hands of the Parliament, against his own Will and Consent: And when the Earl of *Leicester* had publicly declared to the two Houses of Parliament in a Conference. "that an Eternal Infamy would lie upon them, and the whole Nation, if they should de-

live

"live the Person of the King; the securing of which was equally their Duty, as it was the Parliament's, and the disposal of his Person in order to that security did equally belong to Them as to the Parliament; however, they said, "they would use all the persuasion, and all the importunity they could with the King that his Majesty might yield, and consent to the propositions the Parliament had sent to him.

THE Parliament had, upon the first notice of the King's being arriv'd in the *Scotts* Army, sent a positive Command to the Committee of both Kingdoms residing in the *Scotts* Army, that the Person of the King should be forthwith sent to *Warwick* Castle; but the *Scotts*, who apprehended they could not be long without such an Order, had, within two days after his Majesty's coming to them, and after he had caus'd *Newark* to be deliver'd up, with wonderful expedition march'd towards *New-Castle*; and were arriv'd there before they receiv'd that Order for sending his Majesty to *Warwick*, which proceeding of theirs, pleas'd his Majesty very well, among many other things which displeas'd him; and perswaded him, that though they would observe their own method, they would, in the end, do some-what for his Service.

UPON the receiving that Order, they renew'd their professions to the Parliament of observing punctually all that had been agreed between them; and besought them, "that since they had promis'd the King, before he left *Oxford*, to send "Propositions to him, they would now do it; and said, that "if he refus'd to comply with them, to which they should "perswade him, they knew what they were to do. Then they advis'd the King, and prevail'd with him, to send Orders to the Governour of *Oxford* to make conditions, and to have the furrender that place (where his Son the Duke of *Buck* was, and all the Council) into the hands of *Fairfax*, who with his Army then besieged them; and likewise to publish a general Order (which they caus'd to be printed) "that all Governours and "garrisons of any Garrisons for his Majesty, should immediately deliver them up to the Parliament upon fair and honourable Conditions, since his Majesty resolv'd in all things "to be advis'd by his Parliament; and till this was done, "they said, they could not declare themselves in that manner "for his Majesty's Service, and Interest, as they resolv'd to "do; for that they were, by their Treaty and Confederacy, "to serve the Parliament in such manner as they should direct, "until the War should be ended; but, that done, they had no "more obligations to the Parliament; and that, when his Majesty had no more Forces on foot, nor Garrisons which "held out for him, it could not be denied but that the War "was at an end; and then they could speak and expoliature

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with freedom. By which arts, they prevailed with the King to send, and publish such Orders as stood; and which indeed, as the case then stood, he could have receiv'd little benefit by not publishing.

The Parli-
ment, upon
the Scots re-
quest, sends
Propositions
of Peace to
the King at
New-Cas-
tle; about
the end of
July.

His Majo-
sty's An-
swer.

THE Parliament was contented, as the more expedite way (though they were much offended at the presumption of the Scots in neglecting to send the King to *Worms*) to send their Propositions to the King (which they knew his Majesty would never grant) by Commissioners of both Houses, who had no other Authority, or Power, than "to demand a positive Answer from the King in ten days, and then to return. These Propositions were deliver'd about the end of *July*; and contain'd such an eradication of the Government of the Church and State, that the King told them, "he knew not "what Answer to make to them, till he should be inform'd "what Power or Authority they had left to him, and his "Heirs, when he had given all that to them which they de- "sired. He desir'd, "that he might be removed to some of "his own Houses, and that he might reside there till, upon a "Personal Treaty with his Parliament, such an agreement "might be established as the Kingdom might enjoy peace and "happiness under it; which, he was sure, it could never do "by the concessions they propos'd.

THE Scots, who were enough convinced that his Majesty could never be wrought upon to sacrifice the Church to their wild lusts and impiety, were as good as their words to the Parliament, and us'd all the ruse impudently and Threats to his Majesty, to persuade him freely to consent to all: though they confest "that the Propositions were higher in many "things than they approv'd of, yet they saw no other means "for him to close with his Parliament, than by granting what "they requir'd.

The Scots
desire the
Parliament
Propositions
by their
Chancellors.

THE Chancellor of *Scotland* told him, "that the conse- "quence of his Answer to the Propositions, was as great as the "ruin, or preservation of his Crown or Kingdoms: That the "Parliament after many bloody Battles, had got the strong- "holds and Forts of the Kingdom into their hands; that they "had his Revenue, Excise, Afflictions, Sequestrations, and "power to raise all the Men and Money of the Kingdom: "that they had gain'd Victory over all, and that they had a "strong Army to maintain it; so that they might do what "they would with Church or State; that they desired neither "Him, nor any of his Race, longer to Reign over them; and "had sent their Propositions to his Majesty, without the "granting whereof, the Kingdom and his People could not "be in safety: that, if he refus'd to Assent, he would lose all "his Friends in Parliament, lose the City, and lose the Coun- "try;

try; and that all *England* would joyn against him as one "Man to procees, and depose him, and to set up another Go- "vernment; and so, that both Kingdoms, for either's Safety, "would agree to settle Religion and Peace without him, to "the ruin of his Majesty, and his Posterity: and concluded, "that if he left *England*, he would not be admitted to come "and Reign in *Scotland*.

AND it is very true that the General Assembly of the Kirk, which was then sitting in *Scotland*, had Petition'd the Con- "servators of the Peace of the Kingdom, "that if the King "should refuse to give satisfaction to his Parliament, he might "not be permitted to come into *Scotland*. This kind of Ar- "gumentation did more provoke than persuade the King; he "told them, with great Resolution, and Magnanimity, "that his Majo- "sty's Condition they could reduce him to, could be half so mi- "serable, and grievous to him, as that which they would "perwade him to reduce himself to; and therefore, bid them "proceed their own way; and that though they had all for- "saken him, God had not.

THE Parliament had now receiv'd the Answer they ex- "pected; and, forthwith, required "the Scots to quit the King- "dom, and to deliver the Person of the King to such Persons "as they should appoint to receive him; who should attend "upon his Majesty from *New-Castle* to *Holmby*, a House of "his at a small distance from *Northampton*, a Town and Coun- "try of very eminent distinction to the King throughout the "War; and declared "that his Majesty should be treated, with "respect to the safety and preservation of his Person, accord- "ing to the Covenant: And that after his coming to *Holmby*, "he should be attended by such as they should appoint; and "that when the Scots were removed out of *England*, the Par- "liament would joyn with their Brethren of *Scotland* again "to persuade the King to pass the Propositions; which if he "refus'd to do, the House would do nothing that might break "the Union of the two Kingdoms, but would endeavour to pre- "serve the same.

THE Scots now began again to talk furdily, and deny'd "that the Parliament of *England* had power absolutely to "dispose of the Person of the King without their approba- "tion; and the Parliament as loudly reply'd, "that they had "nothing to do in *England*, but to observe their Orders; and "added such Threats to their Reasons, as might let them see they had a great contempt of their power, and would exact "Obedience from them, if they refus'd to yield it. But these "discourses were only kept up till they could adjust all Ac- "counts between them, and agree what price they should pay for the delivery of his Person whom one side was resolv'd to

The Scots
are to do
over up
the
King.

THE HISTORY Book X.
have, and the other as resolv'd not to keep; and fo they agreed; and upon the payment of two hundred thousand pounds in hand, and security for as much more upon days agreed upon, the Scots deliver'd the King up into such hands as the Parliament appointed to receive Him.

In this infamous manner that excellent Prince was, in the end of *January*, given up, by his Scots¹ Subjects, to those of his English who were insulted by the Parliament to receive Him; which had appointed a Committee of Lords and Commons, to go to the place agreed upon with a Party of Horse and Foot of the Army, which were subject to the Orders of that Committee, and the Committee it self to go to *New-Castle* to receive that Town as well as the King; where, and to whom, his Majesty was deliver'd.

The Committee appointed by the Parliament receive the King at New-Castle in the end of January.

They receiv'd Him with the same formality of respect as he had been treated with by the Scots, and with the same strictness restrain'd all resort of those to his Majesty, who were of doubtful Affections to them, and their Cause. Servants were particularly appointed, and named by the Parliament, to attend upon his Person, and Service, in all relations; amongst which, in the first place, they preferr'd those who had faithfully adhered to them against their Master; and, where such were wanting, they found others who had manifested their Affection to them. And, in this distribution, the Presbyterian Party in the Houses did what they pleas'd, and were thought to govern all. The Independents craftily letting them enjoy that confidence of their power and interest, till they had dismiss'd their Friends, the Scots, out of the Kingdom; and permitting them to put Men of their principles about the Person of the King, and to choose such a Guard as they could confide in, to attend his Majesty.

Of the Committee employ'd to govern and direct all, *Major General Brown* was one, who had a great Name and Interest in the City, and with all the Presbyterian Party, and had done great Service to the Parliament in the War under the Earl of *Ross*, and was a diligent and stout Commander. In this manner, and with this attendance, his Majesty was brought to his own House at *Holmbury in Northampton-shire*; a place he had taken much delight in. And there he was to stay till the Parliament and the Army (for the Army now took upon them to have a share, and to give their opinion in the Settlement that should be made) should determine what should be farther done.

In the mean time, the Committee paid all respects to his Majesty; and he enjoy'd those Exercises he most delighted in; and seem'd to have all liberty, but to confer with Persons he most desired, and to have such Servants about him as he could trust.

trust. That which most displeas'd Him, was, that they would not permit him to have his own Chaplains; but order'd Presbyterian Ministers to attend for Divine Service; and his Majesty, utterly refusing to be present at their Devotions, was compell'd at those hours to be his own Chaplain in his Bed-Chamber; where he constantly us'd the Common-Prayer by himself. His Majesty bore this constraint so heavily, that he writ a Letter to the House of Peers, in which he inclos'd a List of the Names of thirteen of his Chaplains; any two of his Chaplains which he desir'd might have liberty to attend him for his Devotion. To which, after many days consideration, they return'd this Answer: "that all those Chaplains were disaffected to the Establishment of Government of the Church, and had not taken the Covenant; but that there were others who had, who, if his Majesty pleas'd, should be sent to him. After this Answer, his Majesty thought it to no purpose to importune them farther in that particular; but, next to the having his own Chaplains, he would have been best pleas'd to have been without any; they who were sent by them, being Men of mean Parts and of most impertinent and troublesome Confidence and Importunity.

Whilst these Disputes continued between the Parliament and the Scots concerning the King's Person, the *British* proceeded with great Success in reducing those Garrisons which still continued in his Majesty's Obedience; whereof though some Surrender'd more easily and with less resistance than they might have made, satisfying themselves with the King's general Order, and that there was no reasonable expectation of Relief, and therefore that it would not be amiss, by an early Submission, to obtain better Conditions for themselves; yet others defended themselves with notable Obstinacy, to the great damage of the Enemy, and to the detaining the Army from uniting together; without which they could not pursue the great designs they had. And this was one of the reasons that made the Treaty with the Scots depend so long, and that the Presbyterians continued their Authority and Credit so long; and We may observe again, that those Garrisons which were maintain'd and defended with the greatest Courage and Virtue, in the end, obtain'd as good and as honourable Conditions, as any of those who Surrender'd upon the first Summons.

This was the Case of *Ragland* and *Penderwin* Castles; which endured the longest Sieges, and held out the last of any Forts or Castles in England; being bravely defended by two Persons of very great Age; but were at length deliver'd up within a day or two of each other. *Ragland* was maintain'd, with extraordinary Resolution and Courage, by the old

Marquis of *Worcester* against *Raisfax* himself, till it was reduced to the utmost Necessity. *Pendennis* refused all Summons; admitting no Treaty, till all their Provisions were far consumed, that they had not *Victual* left for four and twenty hours; and then they treated and carried themselves in the Treaty with such Resolution, and Unconcernedness, that the Enemy concluded they were in no streights; and so gave them the Conditions they proposed; which were as good as any Garrison in *England* had accepted. This Castle was defended by the Governour thereof, *Jahn Arundel* of *Devise* in *Cornwall*, an old Gentleman of near fourscore years of Age, and of one of the best Estates and Interest in that County; who, with the Assistance of his Son *Richard Arundel* (who was then a Colonel in the Army; a stout and diligent Officer; and was by the King after his Return made a Baron, Lord *Arundel* of *Devise*, in memory of his Father's Service, and his own eminent behaviour throughout the War) maintain'd, and defended the same to the last Extremity.

There remain'd with him in that Service many Gentlemen of the County of great Loyalty, amongst whom *St Harry Killigrew* was one; who, being an intimate Friend of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, resolv'd to go to *Jersey*; and, as soon as the Castle was Surrender'd, took the first opportunity of a Vessel then in the Harbour of *Falmouth*, to Transport himself with some Officers and Soldiers to *St Maloes* in *Britany*; from whence he writ to the Chancellor in *Jersey*, that he would procure a Bark of that Island to go to *St Maloes* to fetch him thither; which, by the kindness of *St George Carteret*, was presently sent, with a longing desire to receive him into that Island; the two Lords *Capel* and *Hopton*, and the Governour, having an extraordinary affection for him, as well as the Chancellor. Within two days after, upon view of the Vessel at Sea (which they well knew) they all made hast to the Harbour to receive their Friend; but, when they came thither, to their infinite regret, they found his Body there in a Coffin, he having dy'd at *St Maloes* within a day after he had written his Letter.

As for the Treaty was sign'd for delivering the Castle, he had walk'd out to discharge some Armes which were in his Chamber; among which, a Carabine that had been long charged, in the shooting off, broke; and a splinter of it struck him in the fore-head; which, though it drew much Blood, was not apprehended by him to be of any danger; so that his Friends could not persuade him to stay there till the wound was cured; but, the Blood being stopp'd, and the Chirurgion having bound it up, he prosecuted his intended Voyage; and at his Landing at *St Maloes*, he writ that Letter; believing his wound

wound would give him little trouble. But his Letter was no sooner gone than he sent for a Chirurgion; who, opening the wound, found it was very deep and dangerous; and the next day he dy'd, having desired that his dead Body might be sent to *Jersey*; where he was decently buried. He was a very Gallant Gentleman, of a Noble Extraction, and a fair Revenue in Land; of excellent Parts and Courage; he had one only Son, who was killed before him in a Party that fell upon the Enemies Quarters near *Bralgewater*; where he behaved himself with remarkable Courage, and was generally lamented.

Sir Harry was of the House of Commons; and though he had no other relation to the Court than the having many Friends there, as wherever he was known he was exceedingly belov'd, he was most zealous and passionate in opposing all the extravagant proceedings of the Parliament. And when the Earl of *Essex* was chosen General, and the several Members of the House stood up, and declared, what Horic they would raise, and maintain, and that they would live and dye with the Earl their General, one saying he would raise ten Horles, and another twenty, He stood up and said, "He would provide a good Horic, and a good Buff Coat, and a good pair of Pistols, and then he doubt not but he should find a good Cause; and so went out of the House, and rode Post into *Cornwall*, where his Estate and Interest lay; and there join'd with those Gallant Gentlemen his Friends, who first receiv'd the Lord *Hopton*, and raised those Forces which did so many famous Actions in the West." He would never take any Command in the Army; but they who had, consulted with no Man more. He was in all Actions, and in those places where was most danger, having great Courage and a pleasantsness of humour in Danger that was very exemplary; and they who did not do their duty, took care not to be within his view; for he was a very sharp Speaker, and cared not for angering those who deserv'd to be reprehended. The *Arundels*, *Trelawnies*, *Slanningis*, *Trevanins*, and all the signal Men of that County, infinitely loved his Spirit, and Sincerity; and his Credit and Interest had a great influence upon all but those who did not love the King; and to those, he was very terrible; and exceedingly hated by them; and not loved by Men of moderate Tempers; for he thought all such prepared to Rebel, when a little Success should encourage them; and was many times too much offended with Men who would well, and whose Constitutions and Completions would not permit them to express the same frankness, which his Nature and kindness of Spirit could not suppress. His loss was much lamented by all good Men.

F A O S I

FROM the time that the King was brought to *Holmby*, and whilst he lay'd there, he was afflicted with the same perfires concerning the Church, which had disgraced him at *New-Castle*; the Parliament not remitting any of their Inflexions in their Demands: all which was imputed to the Presbyterians, who were thought to exercise the whole Power, and begun to give Orders for the lessning their great Charge by disarming some Troops of their Army, and sending others for *Ireland*; which they made no doubt speedily to Reduce; and declared, "that they would then disband all Armies, that the Kingdom might be govern'd by the known Laws.

Differences arise between the Parliament and the Army.

THIS Temper in the Houses raised another Spirit in the Army; which did neither like the Presbyterian Government that they saw ready to be settled in the Church, nor that the Parliament should so absolutely dispose of them, by whom they had gotten power to do all they had done; and *Cromwell*, who had the sole influence upon the Army, under-hand, made them Petition the Houses against any thing that was done contrary to his opinion. He himself, and his Officers, took upon them to Preach and Pray publicly to their Troops, and admitted few or no Chaplains in the Army, but such as bitterly inveighed against the Presbyterian Government, as more Tyrannical than Episcopacy; and the Common Soldiers, as well as the Officers, did not only Pray, and Preach among themselves, but went up into the Pulpits in all Churches, and Preached to the People; who quickly became inspired with the same Spirit; Women as well as Men taking upon them to Pray and Preach; which made as great a noise and confusion in all opinions concerning Religion, as there was in the Civil Government of the State; scarce any Man being suffer'd to be called in question for delivering any opinion in Religion, by speaking or writing, how Prophane, Heretical, or Blasphemous soever it was; * which, they said, was to "restrain the Spirit.

LIBERTY of Conscience was now the Common Argument and Quarrel, whilst the Presbyterian Party proceeded with equal bitterness against the several Sects as Enemies to all Godliness, as they had done, and still continued to do, against the Prelatical Party; and finding themselves superior in the two Houses, little doubted, by their Authority and Power there, to be able to reform the Army, and to new model it again; which they would, no doubts, have attempted, if it had not pleased God to have taken away the *Earl of Essex* some Months before this; who dy'd without being sensible of sickness, in a time when he might have been able to have undone much of the mischief he had formerly wrought; to which he had great inclinations; and had indignation enough for the indignities

The Earl of Essex dyed some Months before this year.

dignities himself had receiv'd from the ungrateful Parliament, and wonderful apprehension, and detestation of the ruin he saw like to befall the King, and the Kingdom. And it is very probable, considering the present temper of the City at that time, and of the two Houses, he might, if he had lived, have given some check to the rage and fury that then prevailed. But God would not suffer a Man, who, out of the Pride and Vanity of his Nature, rather than the wickedness of his Heart, had been made an Instrument of so much mischief, to have any share in so glorious a work: Though his Constitution, and Temper, might very well incline him to the Lethargick indisposition of which he dy'd, yet it was loudly said by many of his Friends, "that he was 'Pooynt'd.

SURE it is that *Cromwell*, and his Party (for he was now declared head of the Army, though *Fairfax* continued General in Name) were wonderfully exalted with his death; he being the only Person whose Credit and Interest they fear'd without any esteem of his Person.

AND now, that they might more substantially enter into dispute, and competition with the Parliament, and go a share with them in settling the Kingdom (as they call'd it) the Army erected a kind of Parliament among themselves. They had, from the time of the defeat of the King's Army, and when they had no more Enemy to contend with in the Field, and after they had purged their Army of all those inconvenient Officers, of whose entire Submission, and Obedience to all their Dictates, they had not confidence, set aside, in effect, their Self-denying Oath, and got their principal Officers of the Army, and others of their Friends, whose Principles they well knew, to be elected Members of the House of Commons into their places who were dead, or who had been expell'd by them for adhering to the King. By this means, *Fairfax* himself, *Trotton*, *Harryson*, and many others of the Independent, Officers and Gentlemen, of the several Counties, who were transported with new fancies in Religion, and were called by a new name *Fanatics*, sat in the House of Commons; notwithstanding all which, the Presbyterians still carried it.

BUT about this time, that they might be upon a nearer Level with the Parliament, the Army made choice of a number of such Officers as they liked; which they called the General's Council of Officers; who were to reform the House of Peers; and the Common Soldiers made choice of three or four of each Regiment, most Corporals or Sergeants, few or none above the degree of an Ensign, who were call'd Agitators, and were to be as a House of Commons to the Council of Officers. These two Representatives met severally, and considered

Agitators, as well as a Council of Officers, appointed by the Army.

consider'd of all the Acts and Orders made by the Parliament towards setting the Kingdom, and towards reforming, dividing, or disbanding of the Army: and, upon mutual Messages and Conferences between each other, they resolv'd in the first place, and declared, "that they would not be divided, or disbanded, before their full Arrears were paid, and before full Provision was made for Liberty of Conscience; which they said, was the ground of the Quarrel, and for which so many of their Friends Lives had been lost, and so much of their own Blood had been spill'd; and that hitherto there was so little security provided in that point, that there was a greater Persecution now against Religious and Godly Men, than ever had been in the King's Government, when the Bishops were their Judges.

They said, "they did not look upon themselves as a Band of *Janiacars*, hired and constrain'd only to Fight their Battles; but that they had voluntarily taken up Arms for the Liberty and Defence of the Nation of which they were a part; and before they laid down those Arms, they would see all those ends well provided for, that the People might not hereafter undergo those grievances which they had formerly suffer'd. They complain'd that some Members of the Army had been sent for by the Parliament, and committed to Prison, which was against their Privilege; since all Soldiers ought to be tryed by a Council of War, and not by any other Judicatory; and therefore they desired redress in those, and many other particulars of an ingrateful a Nature; and that such as were Imprison'd and in Custody, might be forthwith set at liberty, without which they could not think themselves justly dealt with: And with this Declaration and Address, they sent three or four of their own Members to the House of Commons; who deliver'd it at the Bar with wonderful Consideration.

These Soldiers publish'd a vindication, as they call'd it, of their Proceedings and Resolutions, and directed it to their General; in which they complain'd of a design to disband, and new model the Army: "which, they said, was a Plot contriv'd by some Men who had lately talk'd of Sovereignty; and, being lifted up above the ordinary Sphere of Servants, endeavour'd to become Masters, and were degenerated into Tyrants. They therefore declared, "that they would neither be employ'd for the Service of Ireland, nor suffer themselves to be disbanded, till their desires were granted, and the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects should be vindicated, and maintain'd. This Apology, or Vindication, being sign'd by many inferior Officers, the Parliament declared them to be Enemies to the State; and caused some

Their first Resolutions;

Which they deliver'd to the Parliament.

of them, who talk'd loudly, to be imprison'd. Upon which a new Address was made to their General; wherein they complain'd "how disdainfully they were used by the Parliament, for whom they had ventured their lives, and lost their Blood; that the Privileges which were due to them as Soldiers, and as Subjects, were taken from them; and when they complain'd of the Injuries they receiv'd, they were abused, beaten, and dragg'd into Goals.

HEREUPON, the General was prevail'd with to write a Letter to a Member of Parliament, who flew'd it to the House; in which he took notice of several Petitions, which were prepared in the City of London, and some other Counties of the Kingdom, against the Army; and "that it was look'd upon as very strange, that the Officers of the Army might not be permitted to petition, when so many Petitions were receiv'd against them; and that he much doubted that the Army might draw to a Rendevous, and think of some other way for their own vindication.

THIS manner of proceeding by the Soldiers, but especially the General seeming to be of their mind, troubled the Parliament; yet they resolv'd not to suffer their Councils to be censur'd, or their Actions control'd, by those who were retain'd by them, and who lived upon their pay. And therefore, after many high Expressions against the presumption of several Officers and Soldiers, they declared, "that whosoever should refuse, being commanded, to engage himself in the Service of Ireland, should be disbanded. The Army was resolv'd not to be subdued in their first so declared Resolution, and fell into a direct and high Mutiny, and call'd for the Arrears of pay due to them; which they knew where and how to Levy for themselves; nor could they be in any degree appeas'd, till the Declaration that the Parliament had made against them, was rais'd out of the Journal Book of both Houses, and a Months pay sent to them; nor were they satisfied with all this, but talk'd very loud, "that they knew how to make themselves as considerable as the Parliament, and where to have their Service better valued, and reward'd; which so frighted those at Westminster, that they appointed a Committee of Lords and Commons, wherof some were very acceptable to the Army, to go to them, and to treat with a Committee chosen of the Officers of the Army, upon the best expedients that might be applied to the compelling of these dissenters. Now the Army thought it self upon a Levee with these dissenters. Now the Army thought it self upon a Levee with these dissenters. Now the Army thought it self upon a Levee with these dissenters.

Afterward rais'd out of the Journal Book of both Houses, and a Months pay sent to them; nor were they satisfied with all this, but talk'd very loud, "that they knew how to make themselves as considerable as the Parliament, and where to have their Service better valued, and reward'd; which so frighted those at Westminster, that they appointed a Committee of Lords and Commons, wherof some were very acceptable to the Army, to go to them, and to treat with a Committee chosen of the Officers of the Army, upon the best expedients that might be applied to the compelling of these dissenters. Now the Army thought it self upon a Levee with these dissenters. Now the Army thought it self upon a Levee with these dissenters. Now the Army thought it self upon a Levee with these dissenters.

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to more concurrence with the impetuous humour of the Army, when he *law* it was so much complied with and submitted to by all Men.

Cromwell
behaviour as
first in this
House.
CROMWELL, hitherto, carried himself with that rare dissimulation (in which sure he was a very great Master) that he seem'd exceedingly incens'd against this Infolence of the Soldiers; was still in the House of Commons when any such Addresses were made; and inveighed bitterly against the presumption, and had been the cause of the Commitment, of some of the Officers. He propos'd, "that the General might be sent down to the Army; who, he said, "would conjure down this mutinous Spirit quickly; and he was so easily believ'd, that he himself was sent once or twice to compose the Army; where after he had stay'd two or three days, he would again return to the House, and complain heavily "of the great Licence that was got into the Army; that, for his own part, by the Artifice of his Enemies, and of those who desir'd that the Nation should be again imbrew'd in Blood, he was render'd so odious unto them, that they had a purpose to kill him, if, upon some discovery made to him, he had not escap'd out of their hands. And in these, and the like Discourses, when he spake of the Nation's being to be involv'd in new troubles, he would weep bitterly, and appear the most afflicted Man in the world with the sense of the Calamities which were like to ensue. But, as many of the wiser folk had long discover'd his wicked intentions, so his hypocrisy could not longer be concealed. The most active Officers and Agitators were known to be his own Creatures, and such who neither did, nor would do, any thing but by his direction. So that it was privately resolv'd by the principal Persons of the House of Commons, that when he came the next day into the House, which he seldom omitted to do, they would lead him to the Tower; presuming, that if they had once sever'd his Person from the Army, they should easily reduce it to its former temper and obedience. For they had not the least jealousy of the General Fairfax, whom they knew to be a perfect Presbyterian in his Judgement; and that Cromwell had the Ascendant over him purely by his Diffimulation, and pretence of Confidence and Sincerity. There is no doubt Fairfax did not then, nor long after, believe, that the other had those wicked designs in his heart against the King, or the least imagination of disobeying the Parliament.

His purpose of setting upon the Person of Cromwell could not be carried so secretly, but that he had notice of it; and the very next morning after he had so much lamented his desperate misfortune in having lost all reputation, and credit, and authority in the Army, and that his life would be in danger

if he were with it, when the House expected every minute his presence, they were inform'd that he was set out of the Town by break of day, with one Servant only, on the way to the Army; where he had appointed a Rendezvous of some Regiments of the Horse, and from whence he writ a Letter to the House of Commons, "that having the night before receiv'd a Letter from some Officers of his own Regiment, "that the jealousy the Troops had conceiv'd of him, and of his want of kindness towards them, was much abated, so that they believ'd, if he would be quickly present with them, they would all in a short time by his advice be reclaim'd; upon this he had made all the haste he could; and did find "that the Soldiers had been abused by misinformation; and "that he hoped to discover the Fountain from whence it sprung; and in the mean time desir'd that the General, and the other Officers in the House, and such as remain'd about the Town, might be presently sent to their Quarters; and "that he believ'd it would be very necessary in order to the suppression of the late distempers, and for the prevention of the like for the time to come, that there might be a general Rendezvous of the Army; of which the General would best consider, when he came down; which he wisht might be hasten'd. It was now to no purpose to discover what they had formerly intended, or that they had any jealousy of a Person who was out of their reach; and so they expected a better conjuncture; and in few days after, the General and the other Officers left the Town, and went to their Quarters.

This same Morning that Cromwell left London, Cornet *George*
Town, who was one of the Agitators in the Army, a Taylor, *James*
was one
of the
King at
Holmbury
a fellow who had two or three years before serv'd in a very inferior employment in Mr. Holist's House, came with a Squadron of fifty Horse to Holmbury, where the King was, about June 5. the break of day; and without any interruption by the Guard "of Horse and Foot which waited there, came with two or three more, and knock'd at the King's Chamber door, and said "he must presently speak with the King. His Majesty, surpris'd with the manner of it, rose out of his bed; and, half dress'd, caus'd the door to be open'd, which he knew otherwise would be quickly broken open; they who waited in the Chamber being Persons of whom he had little knowledge, and less confidence. Afoons as the door was open'd, *Joyce*, and two or three more, came into the Chamber, with their Hats off, and Pistols in their hands. *Joyce* told the King, "that he must go with him. His Majesty asked, "whether he answer'd, "to the Army. The King asked him, "where the Army was? he said, "they would carry him to the Place where it was. His Majesty asked, "by what Authority

48 "thority they came? *Joyce* answer'd, "by this; and shew'd him his Pistol; and desir'd his Majesty, "that he would cause him self to be dress'd, because it was necessary they should make halt. None of the other Soldiers spoke a word; and *Joyce*, laying the bluntness, and positiveness of the few words he spoke, behaved himself not nicely. The King said, "he could not sit before he spoke with the Committee to whom he had been deliver'd, and who were trusted by the Parliament; and so appointed one of those who waited upon him, to call them. The Committee had been as much surpris'd with the noise as the King had been, and quickly came to his Chamber, and asked *Joyce*, "whether he had any Orders from the Parliament? he said No. "From the General? No. What Authority he came by? to which he made no other Answer, than he had made to the King, and held up his Pistol. They said, "they would write to the Parliament to know their pleasure; *Joyce* said, "they might do so, but the King must presently go with him. Colonel *Brown* had sent for some of the Troops who were appointed for the King's Guard, but they came not; he spoke then with the Officers who Commanded those who were at that time upon the Guard, and found that they would make no resistance: so that after the King had made all the delays he conveniently could, without giving them cause to believe that he was resolv'd not to have gone, which had been to no purpose and after he had broken his Fast, he went into his Coach, attended by the few Servants who were put about him, and went whither Colonel *Joyce* would Conduct him; there being no part of the Army known to be within twenty Miles of *Holborn* at that time; and that which admitteth'd most cause of apprehension, was, that those Officers who were of the Guard, declar'd "that the Squadron which was Commanded by *Joyce*, consisted not of Soldiers of any one Regiment, but were Men of several Troops, and several Regiments, drawn together under him, who was not the proper Officer; so that the King did in truth believe, that that purpose was to carry him to some place where they might more conveniently murder him. The Committee quickly gave notice to the Parliament of what had pass'd, with all the circumstances; and it was receiv'd with all imaginable estimation; nor could any Body imagine what the purpose and resolution was.

The Committee give notice of this.

The Generals Account of this Parliament.

NOR were they at the more ease, or in any degree pleas'd with the Account they receiv'd from the General himself, who by his Letter, inform'd them; "that the Soldiers who had brought the King from thence; and that his Majesty lay the next Night at Colonel *Montague's* House,

49 "and would be the next day at *New Market*: that the Ground thereof was from an Apprehension of some strength; that they'd to force the King from thence; whereupon he had sent Colonel *Whaley's* Regiment to meet the King. He protested, "that his remove was without his consent, or of the Officers about him, or of the Body of the Army, and without the desire, or pivity; that he would take care for the security of his Majesty's Person from danger; and assured the Parliament, "that the whole Army endeavour'd Peace, and were far from opposing Presbytery, or affecting Independence, or from any purpose to maintain a Licentious freedom in Religion, or the Interest of any particular Party, "but were resolv'd to leave the absolute determination of all to the Parliament.

It was upon the third of *June* that the King was taken from *Holborn* by Colonel *Joyce*, well nigh a full year after he had deliver'd himself to the *Stots* at *Newark*; in all which time, the Army had been at leisure to contrive all ways to free it self from the Servitude of the Parliament, whilst the Presbyterians believ'd, that in spite of a few factious Independent Officers, it was entirely at their Devotion, and could never prove disobedient to their Commands; and those few wit Men, who discern'd the foul designs of those Officers, and by what degrees they stole the Hearts and Affections of the Soldiers, had not credit enough to be believ'd by their own Party. The joynt confidence of the unanimous Affection of the City of *London* to all their purposes, made them despise all opposition; but now, when they saw the King taken out of their hands in this manner, and with these circumstances, they found all their Measures broke by which they had form'd all their Conjectures. And as this Letter from the General admitteth'd too much cause of Jealousy of what was to succeed, so a positive information about the same time by many Officers, confirm'd by a Letter which the Lord Mayor of *London* had receiv'd, that the whole Army was upon its march, and would be in *London* the next day by noon, so distracted them that they appear'd besides themselves: however, they as voted, "that the Houses should sit all the next day, being *Monday*; and that Mr *Mayfield* should be there to pray for them: That the Committee of Safety should sit up all that Night to consider what was to be done: That the Lines of *South* Communication should be strongly Guarded, and all the den.

"Train'd-bands of *London* should be drawn together upon pain of death. All Shops were shut up, and such a general Confusion over all the Town, and in the faces of all Men, as if the Army had already enter'd the Town. The Parliament writ a Letter to the General, desiring him, "that no part of

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Disaffection
of the Army's

coming to

the den.

“the Army might come within five and twenty Miles of
 “London; and that the King’s Person might be deliver’d to
 “the former Commissioners, who had attended upon his Ma-
 “jesty at *Holby*; and that Colonel *Roffiter*, and his Re-
 “giment, might be appointed for the Guard of his Person.
 “The General return’d the Answer, “that the Army was com-
 “m’d to *St Albans* before the desire of the Parliament came to his
 “hands; but that, in Obedience to their Commands, he would
 “advance no farther; and desir’d that a Month’s pay might
 “presently be sent for the Army. In which they refus’d not
 “to gratify them; though as to the redelivery of the King to
 “the former Commissioners, no other Answer was return’d,
 “than “that they might rest assur’d, that all care should be
 “taken for his Majesty’s security.

The King
 brought to
 Newcastle-
 upon-Tyne,
 where
 he was al-
 low’d his
 Chaplains by
 the Army.

From that time both *Cromwell* and *Ireton* appear’d in the
 Council of Officers, which they had never before done; and
 their Expulations with the Parliament, begun to be more
 brisk, and contumacious than they had been. The King
 found himself at *Newmarket* attended by greater Troops and
 superior Officers; so that he was presently freed from any
 Subjection to *Mr Joyce*; which was no small satisfaction to
 him; and they who were about him appear’d Men of better
 Breeding than the former, and paid his Majesty all the re-
 spect imaginable, and seem’d to desire to please him in all
 things. All restraint was taken off from Persons resorting to
 him, and he saw every day the Faces of many who were
 grateful to him; and he no sooner desired that some of his
 Chaplains might have leave to attend upon him for his De-
 votion, but it was yielded to, and they who were named by
 him (who were *Dr Sheldon*, *Dr Morley*, *Dr Sanderson*, and
Dr Hammond) were presently sent, and gave their attendance,
 and perform’d their Function at the ordinary hours, in their
 accustomed Formalities; all Persons who had a mind to it,
 being suffer’d to be present, to his Majesty’s infinite satis-
 faction; who began to believe that the Army was not so
 much his Enemy as it was reported to be; and the Army
 had sent an Address to him full of protestation of Duty, and
 besought him “that he would be content, for some time, to
 “relic among them, until the Affairs of the Kingdom were
 “put into such a Posture as he might find all things to his
 “own content, and security; which they insinuatly desir’d to
 “cease soon as might be; and to that purpose made daily in-
 “stances to the Parliament. In the mean time his Majesty
 “fate fill, or remov’d to such places as were most convenient
 “for the March of the Army; being in all places as well pro-
 “vided for and Accommodat’d, as he had used to be in any
 “Progress; the best Gentlemen of the several Counties through
 “which

his Majesty
 remov’d, ac-
 cording to the
 motion of
 the Army.

which he pass’d, daily resorting to him, without diffidence; he
 was attended by some of his old Trusty Servants in the
 places nearest his Person; and that which gave him most en-
 couragement to believe that they meant well, was, that in
 the Army’s Address to the Parliament, they desir’d “that care
 “might be taken for securing the King’s Rights, according to
 “the several Professions they had made in their Declarations;
 “and that the Royal Party might be treated with more Can-
 “dour, and less Rigour; and many good Officers who had
 “serv’d his Majesty faithfully, were Civilly receiv’d by the Of-
 “ficers of the Army, and liv’d quietly in their Quarters; which
 “they could not do any where else; which rais’d a great Re-
 “putation to the Army, throughout the Kingdom, and as much
 “Reproach upon the Parliament.

THE Parliament at this time had recover’d its Spirit, when
 they saw the Army did not march nearer towards them, and
 nor only stopp’d at *St Albans*, but was drawn back to a farther
 distance; which perswaded them, that their General was dis-
 pleas’d with the former advance: and so they proceeded with
 all passion, and vigour, against those principal Officers, who,
 they knew, contriv’d all these Proceedings. They published
 Declarations to the Kingdom, “that they desir’d to bring the
 “King in honour to his Parliament; which was their busi-
 “ness from the beginning, and that he was detain’d Prisoner
 “against his Will in the Army; and that they had great rea-
 “son to apprehend the safety of his Person. The Army, on the
 “other hand, declar’d “that his Majesty was neither
 “Prisoner, nor detain’d against his Will; and appeal’d to
 “his Majesty himself, and to all his Friends, who had liberty
 “to repair to him, whether he had not more liberty, and was
 “not treated with more respect, since he came into the Army
 “than he had been at *Holby*, or during the time he remain’d
 “in those places, and with that retinue that the Parliament
 “had appointed? The City seem’d very unanimously devoted
 “to the Parliament, and incens’d against the Army; and seem’d
 “to resolve, not only with their Train-bands and Auxiliary Re-
 “giments to assist, and defend the Parliament, but appointed
 “some of the Old Officers who had serv’d under the Earl of *Es-
 “sex*, and had been disbanded under the new Model, as *Mr
 “Haffey*, and others, to lift new Forces; towards which there
 “was no like to be want of Men out of their old Forces, and
 “such of the King’s as would be glad of the employment. There
 “was nothing they did really fear so much, as that the Army
 “would make a firm conjunction with the King, and unite with
 “his Party, of which there was so much likelihood; and many
 “skillful Men, who wish’d it, bragg’d too much; and there-
 “fore the Parliament sent a Committee to his Majesty, with an

Transferred
 in the City
 upon their
 occasion.

Address of another Style than they had lately used, with many professions of Duty; and declaring, "that if he was not, in all respects, treated as he ought to be, and as he desired, it was not Their fault, who desired he might beat full liberty, and do what he would; hoping that the King would have been induced to desire to come to *London*, and to make complaint of the Army's having taken him from *Holbush*; by which they believ'd the King's Party would be disabled, and withdraw their hopes of any good from the Army; and then, they thought, they should be hard enough for them.

This King was in great doubt how to carry himself; he thought himself to be barbarously used by the Presbyterians; and had to ill an opinion of all the principal Persons who govern'd them, that he had no mind to put himself into their hands. On the other side, he was far from being fatished with the Army's good intentions towards him; and though many of his Friends were fild'd to refer to him, they found that their being long about him, would not be acceptable; and though the Officers and Soldiers appear'd, for the most part, civil to him, they were all at least as vigilant, as the former Guards had been; so that he could not, without great difficulty, have got from them if he had desired it. *Fainfax* had been with him, and kiss'd his hand, and made such Professions as he could well utter; which was with no advantage in the delivery; his Authority was of no use, because he resign'd himself intirely to *Cromwell*; who had been, and *Bretton* likewise, with the King, without either of them offering to kiss his hand; otherwise, they behaved themselves with good manners towards him. His Majesty used all the Address he could towards them to draw some promise from them, but they were so reserv'd, and stood so much upon their Guard, and used so few words, that nothing could be concluded from what they said; they excus'd themselves "for not seeing his Majesty often, upon the great jealousies the Parliament had of them, towards whom they profess'd all fidelity. The Persons who resorted to his Majesty, and brought Advices from others who durst not yet offer to come themselves, brought several opinions to him; some thinking the Army would deal sincerely with his Majesty, others expecting no better from them than they afterwards perform'd: so that the King well concluded that he would neither reject the Parliament's Addresses by any neglect, nor disoblige the Army by appearing to have jealousy of them, or a desire to be out of their hands; which he could hardly have effected, if he had known a better place to have resorted to. So he desired both Parties "to halten their Constitutions, that the Kingdom might enjoy Peace and Happiness; in which he should not be without a share; and he would

pray

pray to God to bring this to pass asoon as was possible.

THESE News of the King's being in the Army, of his freedom in the exercise of his Religion, which he had been so long without, and that some of his Servants, with whom he was well pleased, had liberty to attend upon him, made every Body abroad, as well as those at home, hope well; and the King himself writ to the Queen, as if he thought his condition much better than it had been among the Scots. Sir *John Berkeley* after his Surrender of *Exeter*, and the spending his six Months allowed by the Articles to sollicit his Affairs where he would, had Transported himself into *France*, and waited upon the Queen at *Paris*, being still a Menial Servant to her Majesty, and having a Friend in that Court that govern'd, and loved him better than any Body else did. Assoon as the reports came thither of the King's being with the Army, he repeated many Discourses he had held with the Officers of the Army, whilst they treated with him of the delivery of *Exeter*; how he had told them, "upon how slippery ground they stood; that the Parliament, when they had forced their turn, would dismiss them with reproach, and give them very small rewards for the great Service they had done for them; that they should do well, seasonably to think of a safe retreat, which could be no where but under the Protection of the King; who by their Courage was brought very low; and if they rais'd him again, he must owe it all to them; and his Posterity, as well as himself, and all his Family, must for ever acknowledge it; by which they would save their Fortunes, as well as their Fame, to the greatest degree Men could aim at; which, he said, made such an impression upon this and that Officer, whom he named, "that they told him at parting, that they should never forget what he had said to them; and that they already observ'd that every day produced somewhat that would put them in mind of it. In a word, "he had foretold all that was since come to pass, and he was most confident, that, if he were now with them, he should be welcome, and have Credit enough to bring them to reason, and to do the King great Service; and offer'd, without any delay, to make the Journey. The Queen believ'd all he said; and they who did not, were very willing he should make the experiment; for he that lov'd him best, was very willing to be without him; and so receiving the Queen's Letter of Recommendation of him to the King, *Berkeley* who knew him very little, and that little not without some *Jealousy* and prejudice, he left *Paris*, and made all possible hast into *Engl.* *where to the laud. John Alburnham*, who was driven from the King by the Scots after he had Conducted his Majesty to them, had Transported himself into *France*, and was at this time residing

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in *Rouen*; having found, upon his Address to the Queen at *Paris* upon his first Arrival, that his abode in some other place would not be disagreeable to her Majesty, and so he removed to *Rouen*; where he had the society of many who had serv'd the King in the most eminent Qualifications. When he heard where the King was, and that there was not the same restraint that had been formerly, he resolv'd to make an adventure to wait on him, having no reason to doubt but that his Presence would be very acceptable to the King; and though the other Envoy from *Paris*, and He, did not make their Journey into *England* together, nor had the least Communication with each other, being in truth of several Parties and Purposes, yet they arriv'd there, and at the Army, near the same time.

Mr John Berkley and Mr Ashburnham come from France to the King.

BERKLEY first applied himself to those subordinate Officers with whom he had some acquaintance at *Exeter*, and they informing their Superiors of his Arrival, and Application, they were well pleas'd that he was come. They were well acquainted with his Talent, and knew his Foblie, that, by flattery and commending, they might govern him; and that there was no danger of any deep design on his contrivance; and so they permitted him freely to attend the King, about whose Person he had no Title, or Relation, which required any constant waiting upon him.

ASHBURNHAM had, by some Friends, a recommendation both to *Cromwell*, and *Ireton*, who knew the Credit he had with the King, and that his Majesty would be very well pleas'd to have his attendances, and look upon it as a Testimony of their respect to him. They knew likewise that he was an implacable Enemy to the *Scots*, and no Friend to the other Presbyterians, and though he had some ordinary craft in insinuating, he was of no deep and piercing Judgement to discover what was not unwarily expos'd, and a free Speaker of what he imagin'd. So they likewise left him at liberty to repair to the King; and these two Gentlemen came near about the same time to his Majesty, when the Army was drawing together, with a purpose, which was not yet publish'd, of marching to *London*, his Majesty being still Quarter'd in those places which were more proper for that purpose.

THEY were both welcome to his Majesty, the one bringing a special recommendation from the Queen, and, to make himself the more valuable, assuring his Majesty "that he was sent for by the Officers of the Army, as one they would trust, and that they had receiv'd him with open Arms; and, without any scruple, gave him leave to wait upon him: The other, need'd no recommendation, the King's own inclinations disposing him to be very gracious to him; and so his Majesty wou'd them "to correspond with each other, and

"to converse with his several Friends, who did not yet think "to resort to him; and to receive their advice: to discover "as much as they could of the Intentions of both Parties, and "impart what was fit to the King, till, upon a farther discovery, his Majesty might better judge what to do. These two were the principal Agents (they conferring with all his Majesty's Friends, and, as often as they desired, with the Officers of the Army) upon whose Information, and Advice, his Majesty principally depended, though they rarely conferr'd together with the same Persons, and never with any of the Officers, who pretended not to trust one another enough to speak with that freedom before each other, as they would to one of them; and their acquaintance among the Officers not being principally with the same Men, their Informations and Advices were often very different, and more perplexed than inform'd his Majesty.

THIS very high Content between the Parliament and the Army, in which neither side could be perswaded to yield to the other, or abate any of their asperity, made many Prudent Men believe that both sides would, in the end, be willing to make the King the Umpire; which neither of them ever intended to do. The Parliament thought that their Name and Authority, which had carried them through so great undertakings, and reduced the whole Kingdom to their Obedience, could not be overpower'd by their own Army, rais'd and paid by themselves, and to whose Déclares the People would never submit. They thought the King's Presence amongst them, gave them all their present Reputation; and were not without apprehension that the Ambition of some of the Officers, and their Malice to the Parliament, when they saw that they could obtain their ends no other way, might dispose them to an entire Companion with the King's Party and Interest; and then, all the Penalties of Treason, Rebellion, and Treachery, must be discharged at their costs; and therefore they labour'd, by all the publick and private means they could, to perswade the King to open his being detain'd Prisoner by the Army against his Will, or to withdraw himself by some way from them, and repair to *White-Hall*; and, in either of those Cases, they did not doubt, first, to divide the Army (for they still believ'd the General sail'd to them) and by degrees to bring them to reason, and to be disbanded; as many as were not necessary for the Service of *Ireland*; and then, having the King to themselves, and all his Party being obnoxious to those penalties for their Delinquency, they should be well able, by gratifying some of the greatest Persons of the Nobility with Immunity and Indemnity, to settle the Government in such a manner, as to be well contented

pened for all the Adventures they had made, and hazards they had run.

On the other hand, the Army had no dread of the Authority and Power of the Parliament; which they knew had been so far prostituted, that it had lost most of its Reverence with the People. But it had great apprehension, that, by its conjunction with the City, it might indeed recover Credit with the Kingdom, and withhold the pay of the Army, and thereby make some division amongst them; and if the Person of the King should be likewise with them, and thereby his Party should likewise joy with them, they should be to begin their work again, or to make their Peace with those who were as much provoked by them as the King himself had been. And therefore they were sensible that they enjoyed a present benefit by the King's being with them, and by their treating him with the outward respect that was due to his Majesty, and the civilities they made profession of towards all his Party, and the permission of his Chaplains, and other Servants, to resort to him; and cultivated all these Artifices with great Address, supplicating, or discountenancing the Tyranny of the Presbyterians in the Country Committees, and all other places, where they exercised notable rigour against all who had been of the King's Party, or not enough of theirs (for Neuters found no excuse for being of no Party) when they found it fit to make any lively Declaration against the Parliament, and proclaim against their Tyrannical proceedings against the Army, they always inferred some-what that might look like Candour and Tenderness towards the King's Party, complain'd of "the Affront, and Indignity done to the Army by the Parliament's not observing the Articles which had been made upon Surrender of Garisons, but proceeding against those who were beheld those Articles were made, with more ferocity than was agreeable to justice, and to the intention of the Articles; whereby the Honour and Faith of the Army suffer'd, and was complain'd of; all which, they said, they would have remedied. Whereupon many hoped that they should be excus'd from making any Compositions, and entertain'd such other imaginations as pleas'd themselves, and the other Party well lik'd; knowing they could demolish all these Structures as soon as they receiv'd no benefit by them themselves.

That the King had, during the time he lay'd at *Holmbury*, writ to the House of Peers, that his Children might have leave to come to him, and to reside for some time with him. From the time that *Oxford* had been Surrender'd, upon which the Duke of *Tork* had fallen into their hands, for they would by no means admit that he should have liberty to go to such

place as the King should direct, which was very earnestly press'd, and insisted on by the Lords of the Council there, as long as they could; but appointed their Committee to receive him with all respect, and to bring him to *London*; from that time, I say, the Duke of *Tork* was committed to the care of the Earl of *Northumberland*, together with the Duke of *Gloster*, and the Princess, who had been by the King left under the Tutorage of the Countess of *Devon*, but from the Death of that Countess the Parliament had presumed, that they might be sure to keep them in their power, to put them into the Custody of the Lady *Perre*, an old Lady much in their favour, but not at all Ambitious of that Charge, though there was a competent Allowance assign'd for their support. They were now remov'd from her, and placed all together with the Earl of *Northumberland*, who receiv'd, and treated them, in all respects, as was suitable to their Birth, and his own Duty; but could give them no more liberty to go abroad, than he was, in his Instructions from the Parliament, permitted to do; and they had absolutely refus'd to gratify the King in that particular; of which his Majesty no sooner took notice to *Fairfax*, than he writ a Letter to the Parliament, "that the King much desir'd to have the sight and company of his Children, and that if they might not be allow'd to be longer with him, that at least they might dine with him; and he sent them word that, on such a day, the King, who attend'd the motions of the Army, and was Quarter'd only where they pleas'd, would dine at *Merton-College*. There his Children met him, to his infinite content and joy; and he being to Quarter and stay some time at *Caversham*, a House of the Lord *Craven's*, near *Reading*, his Children were likewise suffer'd to go thither, and remain'd with him two days; which had not been the greatest satisfaction the King could receive; and the receiving wherof, he imputed to the Civility of the General, and the good disposition of the Army; which made so much the more impression upon him, in that he had never made any one Proposition in which he had been gratified, where the Presbyterian Spirit had power to deny it.

In the House of Commons, which was now the Scene of all the Action that displeas'd and incens'd the Army (for the House of Peers was shunk into so inconsiderable a Number, and their Persons not considerable after the Death of the Earl of *Essex*, except those who were attached to, or might be dispos'd by the Army) they were wholly guided by *Hall*, and *Stepleton*, *Lewis*, and *Glyn*, who had been very Popular and notorious from the beginning, and by *Waller*, and *Maffey*, and *Brown*, who had serv'd in Commands in the Army, and perform'd at some times very signal Service, and were exceedingly

the King
desir'd to
see his Children
at *Merton-College*.

the Presbyterian Spirit had power to deny it.

ingly belov'd in the City, and two or three others who follow'd their Dictates, and were subservient to their Directions. These were all Men of Parts, Intercell, and signal Courage, and did not only heartily abhor the intentions which they discern'd the Army to have, and that it was wholly to be dispos'd according to the designs of Cromwell, but had likewise declared Animosities against the Persons of the most active and powerful Officers; as *Holla* had one day, upon a very hot debate in the House, and some rude expressions which fell from *Iretson*, persuad'd him to walk out of the House with him, and then told him, "that he should presently go over the Water and Fight with him. *Iretson* replying, "his Conscience would not suffer him to fight a Duel: *Holla*, in choler, pulled him by the Nose; telling him, "if "his Conscience would keep him from giving Men satisfaction, it should keep him from provoking them. This affront to the third Person of the Army, and to a Man of the most Virulent, Malicious, and Revengent Nature of all the Pack, to incens'd the whole Party, that they were resolv'd one way or other to be rid of him, who had that power in the House, and that Reputation abroad, that when he could not absolutely controule their designs, he did so obstruct them, that they could not advance to any conclusion.

They resort'd therefore to an expedient, which they had observ'd, by the Conduict of those very Men against whom they meant to apply it, had brought to pass all that they desired; and, in the Council of Officers, prepar'd an impeachment of High Treason in general Terms against *Mr. Hollis*, and the Persons mention'd before, and others, to the number of eleven Members of the House of Commons. This impeachment twelve Officers of the Army, Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels, Majors, and Captains, presented to the House; and within few days after, when they saw the same Members fill invelgh against and arraign their proceedings, the General and Officers writ a Letter to the House. "that they would "appoint fit Persons on their and the Kingdom's behalf, to "make good the charge against those Members whom they "had accus'd; and that they desired, that those Members impeach'd might be forthwith suspended from sitting in the "House; since it could not be thought fit that the same Persons who had so much injured and provoked the Army, "should sit Judges of their own Actions. This was an error that the House of Commons did not expect would have been shot out of that Quiver; and though they were unpeaksably dismay'd, and distract'd with this presumption, they answer'd positively, "that they neither would, nor could, sequester "those Members from the House, who had never said, or

"done any thing in the House worthy of Censure, till proof "were made of such particulars as might render them guilty. But the Officers of the Army reply'd, "that they could prove them guilty of such practices in the House, that it would "be just in the House to suspend them: that by the Laws of "the Land, and the Precedents of Parliament, the Lords had, "upon the very presentation of a general Accusation without "being reduced in form, sequester'd from their House and "committed the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Arch-Bishop of "C^onterbury; and therefore they must press, and insist upon "the suspending at least of those scould Members from being present in the House, where they stood impeach'd; and "without this, they said, the Army would not be satisfied. However the House of Commons seem'd full resolute, the scould Members themselves, who best knew their temper, thought it safer for them to retire, and by forbearing to appear in the House, to allay the heat of the present Contest.

Upon this so palpable Declension of Spirit in the House, the Army seem'd much quieter, and resolv'd to set other Agents upon their work, that they might not appear too busy and active upon their own concernment. It is very true that the City, upon whose Influence the Parliament much depended, appear'd now entirely Presbyterian; the Court of Aldermen and Common Council, consisted chiefly of Men of that Spirit; and the Militia of the City was committed to Commissioners carefully and factiously chosen of that Party; all those of another temper having been put out of those Trusts, at or about the time that the King was deliver'd up by the *Stees*, when the Officers of the Army were content that the Presbyterians should believe, that the whole power of the Kingdom was in them; and that they might settle what Government they pleas'd: If there remain'd any Persons in any of those employments in the City, it was by their dissimulation, and pretending to have other Affections; most of those who were notorious to be of any other Faction in Religion, had been put out; and liv'd as neglected and discontented Men; who seem'd rather to depend upon the Clemency, and Indulgence of the State, for their particular liberty in the exercise of that Religion they adhered to, than to have any hope or ambition to be again admitted into any place, or part in the Government; yet, after all this dissimulation, Cromwell and his well knew, that the multitude of inferior People were at their disposal, and would appear in any conjuncture they should think convenient; and that many Aldermen and substantial Citizens were quiet, and appear'd not to contradict or oppose the Presbyterians, only by their directions; and would be ready upon their call. And now, when they saw those leading

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leading Men, who had govern'd the Parliament, prosecuted by the Army, and that they forbore to come to the House, there Booked together great Numbers of the lower, and most inferior People, to the Parliament, with Petitions of several Natures, both with reference to Religion, and to the Civil Government; with the noise and clamour whereof, the Parliament was so offended and disturbed, that they made an Ordinance: "that it should be Criminal to gather, and subscribe the Subscriptions of hands to Petitions. But this Order did offend all parties, that they were compell'd, within two days, to revoke it, and to leave all Men to their natural Liberty. Whilst this Confusion was in the City and Parliament, the Commissioners, which had been sent to the Army to treat with the Officers, had no better success; but return'd with the positive and declared Resolution of the Army, "that a Declaration should be publish'd by the Parliament against the coming in of Foreign Force: for they apprehended, as rather were willing that the People should apprehend, a new Combustion by the Scots: "that the pay of the Army should be put into a constant Course, and all Persons who had received Money, should be called to an account: That the Militia of London should be put into the hands of Persons well affected, and those who had been formerly trusted: that all Persons imprisoned for pretended Misdemeanours, by Order of Parliament, or their Committees, might be set at Liberty; and, if upon trial they should be found Innocent, that they might have good Reparation. And they particularly mention'd *Jacob Libanus, Overton,* and other Anabaptists and Fanatics, who had been committed by the Parliament for many Seditious Meetings, upon pretence of Exercise of their Religion, and many insolent Actions against the Government. Upon the report of these demands, the Parliament grew more enraged, and Voted, "that the yielding to the Army in these particulars, would be against their Honour, and their Interest, and destructive to their Privileges; with many expressions against their presumption, and insolence: yet, when a new Rabble of Petitioners demanded, with loud Cries, most of the same things, they were willing to compound with them; and consented that the Militia of the City of London should be put into such hands as the Army should desire.

THE Militia of the City had been in the beginning of May, shortly after the King's being brought to *Holby*, petitioned with the consent, and upon the desire, of the Common Council, by Ordinance of Parliament, in the hands of Commissioners, who were generally of the Presbyterian Party, they who were of other inclinations being remov'd; and, as

is said before, seem'd not displeas'd at their disgrace; and now, when upon the Declaration and Demands of the Army, seconded by clamorous Petitions, they saw this Ordinance reveried, in July, without so much as consulting with the Common Council according to custom, the City was exceedingly startled; and said, "that if the Imperious Command of the Army, could prevail with the Parliament to reverse such an Ordinance as that of the Militia, they had reason to apprehend they might as well repeal the other Ordinances for the security of Money, or for the purchase of Bishops and Church Lands, or whatsoever else that was the proper security of the Subject. And therefore they caus'd a Petition to be prepared in the name of the City, to be presented by the two Sheriffs, and others deputed by the Common Council to that purpose. But, before they were ready, many thousands, Apprentices and young Citizens, brought Petitions to the Parliament; in which they said, "that the Command of the Militia of the City was the Birth-right of the City, and belonged to them by several Charters which had been confirm'd in Parliament; for defence whereof, they said, they had ventur'd their Lives as far and as frankly as the Army had done; and therefore, they desir'd that the Ordinance of Parliament of the fourth of May, which had pass'd with their consent, might stand inviolable. They also presented their Petition to the House of Peers, who immediately revok'd their late Ordinance of July, and confirm'd their former of May; and sent it down to the Commons for their consent; who durst not deny their concurrence, the Apprentices behaving themselves so innocently, that they would scarce suffer the door of the House of Commons to be shut; and some of them went into the House.

AND in this manner the Ordinance was reveried that had been made at the desire of the Army, and the other of May rescind'd and confirm'd, which was no sooner done than the Parliament adjourn'd till Friday, that they might have two or three days to consider how they should behave themselves, and prevent the like violences hereafter. The Army had quickly notice of these extraordinary proceedings, and the General writ a very sharp Letter to the Parliament from *Bedford*; in which he put them in mind, "how civilly the Army had complied with their desire, by removing to a greater distance, upon presumption that their own Authority would have been able to have secured them from any rudeness, and violence of the People; which it was now evident it could not do, by the unparalleled violation of all their Privileges, on the Monday before, by a Multitude from the City, which had been encouraged by several Common Council Men

62 "Men, and other Citizens in Authority; which was an Act
 "so prodigious and horrid as must dissolve all Government,
 "if not severely and exemplarily chastised: that the Army
 "looked upon themselves as accountable to the Kingdom, if
 "this unheard of outrage, by which the Peace and settlement
 "of the Nation, and the relief of Ireland, had been so mon-
 "strously interrupted, should not be fridly examined, and
 "justice speedily done upon the Offenders. Upon Friday, to
 "which both Houses had adjourn'd, the Members came to-
 "gether, in as full Numbers as they had used to meet, there be-
 "ing above one hundred and forty of the House of Common; ^{but}
 "but after they had fate inform'd in expectation of their
 "Speaker, they were inform'd that he was gone out of the
 "Town early that Morning; and they observ'd that *St Henry*
 "*Fane*, and some few other Members who used to concur with
 "him, were likewise absent. The House of Peers found like-
 "wise that the Earl of *Manchester*, their Speaker, had withdrawn
 "himself, together with the Earl of *Northumberland*, and some
 "other Lords; but the Major part still remain'd there, full of
 "Indignation against those who were absent, and who they all
 "concluded were gone to the Army. Hereupon both Houses
 "chose new Speakers; who accepted the Office; and the Com-
 "mons presently voted, "that the eleven Members who stood
 "off impeach'd by the Army, and had discontinued coming to
 "the House, should presently appear, and take their places.
 "They made an Ordinance of Parliament, by which a Com-
 "mittee of safety was appointed to joyn with the City Militia,
 "and had Authority to raise Men for the defence of the Parlia-
 "ment; which they appear'd to vigorously resolv'd on, that no
 "Man in the Houses, or in the City, seem'd to intend any thing
 "else. The News of this rous'd up the Army, and the Gen-
 "eral presently sent a good Party of Horse into *Windsor*,
 "and march'd himself to *Uxbridge*, and appointed a general Ren-
 "dezvous for the whole Army upon *Hounslow Heath*, within
 "two days; when and where there appear'd twenty thousand
 "Foot and Horse, with a Train of Artillery, and all other
 "provisions proportionable to such an Army.

AS SOON as the Rendezvous was appointed at *Hounslow*
 "Heath, at the same time the King remov'd to *Hampton*
 "Court; which was prepar'd, and put into a good order for
 "his reception, as could have been done in the best time. The
 "Houses seem'd for some time to retain their Spirit and Vigour,
 "and the City talk'd of lifting Men, and defending themselves,
 "and not suffering the Army to approach nearer to them; but
 "when they knew the day of the Rendezvous, these in both
 "Houses who had been too weak to carry any thing, and so had
 "look'd on whilst such Votes were pass'd as they liked not, and
 "could

could not oppose, now when their Friend the Army was so
 "near, recover'd their Spirits, and talk'd very loud; and per-
 "suaded the rest, "to think in time of making their peace
 "with the Army, that could not be without. And the City
 "grew every day more appalled, irresolute, and confounded,
 "no Man proposing this, and another somewhat contrary to
 "that, like Men amazed and distracted. When the Army met
 "upon *Hounslow Heath* at their Rendezvous, the Speakers of
 "both Houses, who had privately before met with the Chief
 "Officers of the Army, appear'd there with their Maces; and
 "each other Members as accompanied them; complaining to
 "the General, "that they had not freedom at *Windsor*, but
 "were in danger of their lives by the Tumults; and appeal'd
 "to the Army for their protection.

THIS look'd like a new Act of Providence to vindicate
 "the Army from all reproaches, and to justify them in all they
 "had done, as absolutely done for the preservation of the Parlia-
 "ment and Kingdom. If this had been a retreat of *St Henry*
 "*Fane* and some other discontented Men, who were known
 "to be Independents, and Fanatics in their opinions in Reli-
 "gion, and of the Army faction, who being no longer able to
 "oppose the wisdom of the Parliament, had fled to their Friends
 "for protection from Justice, they would have got no reputa-
 "tion, nor the Army been thought the better of their Com-
 "pany; but neither of the Speakers were ever look'd upon as
 "inclined to the Army; *Leitch* was generally believ'd to have
 "no malice towards the King, and not to be without good in-
 "clinations to the Church; and the Earl of *Manchester*, who
 "was Speaker of the House of Peers, was known to have all
 "the prejudices imaginable against *Cromwell*; and had formerly
 "scolded him of want of Duty to the Parliament; and the other
 "sides hated him above all Men, and desir'd to have taken
 "away his life. The Earl of *Manchester*, and the Earl of *War-*
 "*wick*, were the two Pillars of the Presbyterian Party; and
 "that they two, with the Earl of *Northumberland*, and some
 "other of the Lords, and some of the Commons, who had ap-
 "pear'd to disapprove all the proceedings of the Army, should
 "now joyn with *St Henry Fane*, and appeal to the Army for
 "protection, with that formality as if they had brought the
 "whole Parliament with them, and had been entirely driven
 "and forced away by the City, appear'd to every flander by
 "so supponious a thing, that it is not to this day understood
 "otherwise, than that they were resolv'd to have their particu-
 "lar shares in the Treaty, which they believ'd the Chief Offi-
 "cers of the Army to have near concluded with the King. For
 "that they never intended to put the whole power into the
 "hands of the Army, nor had any kindness, or confidence

in the Officers thereof, was very apparent by their carriage and behaviour after, as well as before; and if they had continued together, considering how much the City was devoted to them, it is probable that the Army would not have used any force; which might have receiv'd a fatal repulse; but that some good Compromise might have been made by the Interposition of the King. But this Schism carried all the Reputation and Authority to the Army, and left none in the Parliament; for though it precisely appear'd, that the Number of those who left the Houses was small in comparison of those who remain'd behind, and who proceeded with the same Vigour in declaring against the Army, and the City seem'd as resolute in putting themselves into a posture, and preparing for their defence, all their Works and Fortifications being still entire, so that they might have put the Army to great trouble if they had bravely pursu'd their Resolutions (which they did not seem in any degree to decline) yet this rent made all the accused Members, who were the Men of parts, and reputation to conduct their Councils, to withdraw themselves upon the affrontment; some concealing themselves, till they had opportunity to make their Peace, and others withdrawing and transporting themselves beyond the Seas; whereas Stapleton died at Calais almost as he Land'd; and was denied Burial, upon imagination that he had died of the Plague; others remain'd a long time beyond the Seas; and, though they long after return'd, never were receiv'd into any trust in thosetimes, nor in truth concurr'd, or acted in the publick Affairs, but retir'd to their own Estates, and liv'd very privately.

THE Chief Officers of the Army receiv'd the two Speakers, and the Members who accompanied them, as fo many Angels sent from Heaven for their good; paid them all the respect imaginable, and profess'd all submission to them, as to the Parliament of England; and declar'd "that they would establish them in their full power, or perish in the attempt; took very particular care for their accommodations, beyond the General; and assign'd a Guard to wait upon them for their security; acquainted them with all their consultations; and would not presume to resolve any thing without their approbation; and they had too much modesty to think they could do amiss, who had profess'd so much in all their undertakings. No time was lost in pursuing their Resolution in establishing the Parliament again at Westminster; and finding the rest of the Members continued still to sit there with the same Formality, and that the City did not abate any of their Spirit, they seem'd to make a halt, and to remain quiet, in expectation of a better understanding between them, upon the

Messages they every day sent to the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen, and Common Council (for of those at Westminster they took no notice) and Quarter'd their Army about *Brensford*, and *Hanslow*, *Twittenbarn*, and the adjacent Villages, without restraining any Provisions, which every day according to custom were carried to *London*, or doing the least Action that might disoblige, or displeaseth the City; the Army being in truth under so excellent discipline, that no body could complain of any damage sustain'd by them, or any provocation by word or deed. However, in this calm, they sent over Colonel *Rainsborough* with a Brigade of Horse and Foot, and Cannon, at *Hampton Court*, to possess *Southwark*, and those works which secur'd that end of *London Bridge*; which he did with so little Noise, that in one Night's March, he found himself Master without any opposition, not only of the Borough of *Southwark*, but of all the Works and Ports which were to defend it; the Soldiers within, shaking hands with those without, and refusing to obey their Officers which were to Command them: So that the City, without knowing that any such thing was in agitation, found in the morning that all that Avenue to the Town was possess'd by the Enemy; whom they were providing to resist on the other side, being as confident of this that they had lost, as of any Gate of the City.

THIS struck them dead; and put an end to all their Consultation for defence; and put other thoughts into their heads, how they might pacify those whom they had so much offended, and provoked; and how they might preserve their City from Plunder, and the fury of an enraged Army. They who had ever been of the Army party, and of late had shut themselves up, and not dur'd to walk the Streets for fear of the People, came now confidently amongst them, and mingled in their Councils; declar'd, "that the King and the Army were now agreed in all particulars, and that both Houses were now with the Army, and had presented themselves to the King; so that to oppose the Army would be to oppose the King and Parliament, and to incense them as much as the Army. Upon such confident discourses and insinuations from those with whom they would not have conversed, or given the least credit to, three days before, or rather upon the confusion and general distraction they were in, they sent six Aldermen and six Commoners to the General; who lamented the City and complain'd, "that the City should be suspected, that had never acted any thing against the Parliament; and therefore, they desired him to forbear doing any thing that might be the occasion of a new War. But the General little consider'd this Message, and gave less countenance to the Messengers; but continued his march towards the City: where-

whereupon they sent an humble Message to him, ⁶⁴ that since they understood that the reason of his march to near *London* was to reform, and settle the Members (the Lords and Commons) of Parliament to the Liberty and Privilege of sitting securely in their several Houses (to which the City would contribute all their power, and service) they prayed him, with all submission, that he would be pleased to send such a Guard of Horse and Foot as he thought to be sufficient for that purpose; and that the Ports and all Passages should be open to them; and they should do any thing else that his Excellency would Command. To which, he made no other Answer but, ⁶⁵ that he would have all the Forts of the West side of the City to be deliver'd immediately to him; those of the other side being already, as is said, in the hands of *Rainsborough* and his other Officers. The Common Council, that same Day and Night, upon the receipt of this Message, without any pause return'd ⁶⁶ that they would humbly submit to his Command; and that now, under Almighty God, they did rely upon his Excellency's honourable word ⁶⁷ for their protection, and security. And so they caus'd their Militia to be forthwith drawn off from the Line, as well as out of the Forts, with all their Cannon and Ordnance; and the General appointed a better Guard to both. At *Hyde Park* the Mayor and Aldermen met him, and humbly congratulated his arrival; and besought him ⁶⁸ to excuse what they had, out of their good meaning and desire of Peace, done amiss; and as a Testimony of their Affection and Duty, the Mayor, on the behalf of the City, presented a great gold Cup to the General; which he fully refus'd to receive, and, with very little Ceremony, dismiss'd them.

The General
consults the
two Speakers
and other
Members of
the several
Houses of
Parliament.

He himself waited upon the two Speakers, and conducted them, and their Members, to the several Houses, where the other Members were then sitting, even in the Instant when the Revolters, as they called them, enter'd into the Houses, the old Speakers assumed their places again, and enter'd upon their business, as if there had been no separation. The first thing they did, was calling in the General into both Houses, and making him a large acknowledgement in the name of each House, of the great favours he had done to them; they thanked him ⁶⁹ for the Protection he had given to their Persons, and his Vindication of the Privileges of Parliament. Then they voted ⁷⁰ all that had been done by themselves in going to the Army, and in residing there, and all that had been done by the Army, to be well and lawfully done; ⁷¹ some time after, they also voted, ⁷² that all that had been done in the Houses since their departure, was against Law, and ⁷³ Privilege of Parliament, invalid and void: Then they ad-

⁷⁴ journ'd

journ'd to the next day, without questioning or punishing any Member who had assist'd there.

The Army of Horse, Foot, and Cannon, march'd the next day through the City (which, upon the desire of the Parliament, undertook forthwith to supply an hundred thousand pounds for the payment of the Army) without the least disorder, or doing the least damage to any Person, or giving any disrespectful word to any Man: by which they attained the reputation of being in excellent Discipline, and that both Officers and Soldiers were Men of extraordinary temper and sobriety. So they march'd over *London Bridge* into *Southwark*, and to those Quarters to which they were assign'd; some Regiments were Quarter'd in *Westminster*, the *Strand*, and *Holborn*, under pretence of being a Guard to the Parliament, but intended as a Guard upon the City. The General's head Quarters were at *Chelisy*, and the rest of the Army Quarter'd between *Hampton Court* and *London*, that the King might be well look'd to; and the Council of Officers, and Agitators, sat constantly, and formally, at *Fulham*, and *Putney*, to provide that no other settlement should be made for the Government of the Kingdom than what they should well approve.

WHILST these things were thus agitated between the Army and the Parliament and the City, the King enjoy'd himself at *Hampton Court*, much more to his content than he had of late; the respects of the Chief Officers of the Army seem'd much greater than they had been; *Cromwell* himself came oftner to him, and had longer conferences with him; talk'd with more openness to Mr *Albarnham* than he had done, and appear'd more cheerful. Persons of all conditions repaired to his Majesty of those who had serv'd him; with whom he convers'd without reservation; and the Citizens flock'd thither as they had us'd to do at the end of a Progress, when the King had been some Months absent from *London*: but that which pleas'd his Majesty most, was, that his Children were permitted to come to him, in whom he took great delight. They were all at the Earl of *Northumberland's* House, at *Sea*, from the time the King came to *Hampton Court*, and had liberty to attend his Majesty when he pleas'd; so that sometimes he sent for them to come to *Hampton Court*, and sometimes he went to them to *Sea*; which gave him great satisfaction.

In this conversation, as if his Majesty had foreseen all that befel him afterwards, and which at that time far he did not suspect, he took great care to instruct his Children how to behave themselves if the worst should befall him that the worst of his Enemies did contrive, or wish; and ⁷⁵ that they should preserve

F 2

perforce unshaken their Affection and Duty to the Prince their Brother. The Duke of *Tork* was then about fourteen years of Age; and so, capable of any information or instruction the King thought fit to give him. His Majesty told him, "that he looked upon himself as in the hands and disposal of the Army, and that the Parliament had no more power to do him good or harm, than as the Army should direct or permit; and that he knew not, in all this time he had been with them, what he might promise himself from those Officers of the Army at whose devotion it was: that he hoped well, yet with much doubt and fear; and therefore he gave him this general direction, and command, "that if there appear'd any such alteration in the affection of the Army, that they restrain'd him from the liberty he then enjoy'd of seeing his Children, or suffer'd not his Friends to resort to him with that freedom that they enjoyed at present, he might conclude they would shortly use him worse, and that he should not be long out of a Prison; and therefore that from the time he discover'd such an alteration, he should bethink himself how he might make an escape out of their power, and Transport himself beyond the Sea. The place he recommended to him, was *Holland*; where he presum'd his Sister would receive him very kindly, and that the Prince of *Orange* her Husband would be well pleas'd with it, though, possibly, the States might restrain him from making those Expressions of his Affection his own inclination promoted him to. He willed him to think always of this, as a thing possible to fall out, and so spake frequently to him of it, and of the circumstances and cautions which were necessary to attend it.

THE Prince's *Elizabeth* was not above a year or two younger than the Duke, a Lady of excellent Parts, great Observation, and an early Understanding; which the King discern'd, by the Account he gave him both of Things and Persons, upon the experience she had had of both. His Majesty enjoy'd her, "upon the word that could befall him, never to be dispos'd of in Marriage without the consent and approbation of the Queen her Mother, and the Prince her Brother; and always to perform all Duty and Obedience to both those; and to Obey the Queen in all things, except in matters of Religion; in which he commanded her, upon his Blessing, never to hearken or consent to her; but to continue firm in the Religion she had been Instructed and Educated in; what discontentance and ruin forever might befall the poor Church, at that time under so severe prosecution.

THE Duke of *Gloster* was very young, being at that time

time not above seven years old, and so might well be thought incapable of retaining that advice, and injunction, which in truth ever after made so deep impression in him. After he had given him all the advice he thought convenient in the matter of Religion, and commanded him positively, "never to be perfwaded or threaten'd out of the Religion of the Church, in which he hoped he would be well Instructed, and for the Purity and Integrity whereof he bid him remember that he had his Father's Testimony, and Authority; his Majesty told him, "that his Infancy, and the Tenderness of his years, might perfwade some Men to hope and believe, "that he might be made an Instrument, and Property, to advance their wicked designs; and if they should take away his Life, they might, possibly, the better to attain their own ends make him King; that under him, whilst his Age would not permit him to Judge, and Act for himself, they might remove many obstructions which lay in their way; and form and unite their Councils; and then they would destroy Him too. But he commanded him, upon his Blessing, never to forget what he said to him upon this occasion, nor to accept, or suffer himself to be made King, "whilst either of his Elder Brothers liv'd, in what part of the World forever they should be: that he should remember "that the Prince his Brother was to succeed him by the Laws of God and Man; and, if he should miscarry, that the Duke of *Tork* was to succeed in the same Right; and therefore that he should be sure never to be made use of to interrupt, or disturb either of their Rights; which would in the end turn to his own destruction. And this discourse the King reiterated to him, as often as he had liberty to see him, with all the earnestness, and passion he could express; which was so fix'd in his Memory that he never forgot it. And many years after, when he was sent out of *England*, he made the full relation of all the particulars to Me, with that composition of Spirit, that it appear'd to be deeply rooted in him; and made use of one part of it very seasonably afterwards, where there was more than an ordinary attempt made to have perverted him in his Religion, and to perfwade him to become Roman Catholic for the advancement of his Fortune.

IN this manner, and with these kind of reflections, the King made use of the Liberty he enjoy'd; and consider'd as well, what remedies to apply to the worst that could fall out, as to Care for the Officers of the Army in order to the improvement of his Condition; of which he was not yet in despair; the Chief Officers, and all the Heads of that Party, looking upon it as their wisest Policy to cherish the King's hopes by the Liberty they gave him, and by a very flowing

Courteously towards all who had been of his Party; whose expectation, and good word, and testimony, they found did them much good both in the City and the Country.

At this time the Lord *Capel*, whom We left in *Jersey*, hearing of the difference between the Parliament and the Army, left his two Friends there; and made a Journey to *Paris* to the Prince, that he might receive his Highness's approbation of his going for *England*; which he very willingly gave; well knowing that he would improve all opportunities, with great diligence, for the King his Father's Service: and then Lord Transported himself into *Zealand*, his Friends having advised him to be in those parts before they endeavour'd to procure a Pass for him; which they easily did, as soon as Houſe in the Country, where he was exceedingly beloved, and hated no where. And in this general and unlimited indulgence, he took the opportunity to wait upon the King at *Hampton Court*; and gave him a particular Account of all that had pass'd at *Jersey*, before the Prince's remove from thence, and of the reasons which induced those of the Council to remain still there, and of many other particulars, of which his Majesty had never before been thoroughly inform'd, and which put it out of any bodies power to do the Chancellor of the Exchequer any ill Office: And from thence the King writ, with his own hand, a very gracious and kind Letter to the Chancellor at *Jersey*; full of hope "that he should conclude

The Lord Capel wait on the King at Hampton Court from Jersey.

The Substance of the King's Letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

such a Treaty with the Army and Parliament that he should cheerily draw him, and some other of his Friends, to him. He thanked him "for undertaking the work he was upon; and told him he should expect speedily to receive some contribution from him towards it; and, within a very short time afterwards, he sent to him his own Memorials (or those which by his Command had been kept, and were perus'd, and corrected by himself) of all that had pass'd from the time he had left his Majesty at *Oxford*, when he waic'd upon the Prince into the West, to the very day that the King left *Oxford* to go to the *Statts*; out of which Memorials, as hath been said before, the most important passages in the Years 1644, and 1645, are faithfully collected. To the Lord *Capel*, his Majesty imparted all his Hopes and all his Fears; and what great Overtures the *Statts* had again made to him; and "that he did really believe that it could not be long before there would be a War between the two Nations; in which the *Statts* promised themselves an universal concurrence from all the Presbyterians in *England*; and that, in such a conjuncture, he wou'd be his own Party would put themselves by Armes, without which he could not expect great benefit by

"the success of the other: And therefore desir'd *Capel* "to watch such a conjuncture, and draw his Friends together; which he promised to do effectually; and did, very punctually, afterwards, to the loss of his own Life. Then the King enjoy'd him "to write to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "that whenever the Queen, or Prince, should require him to come to them, he should not fail to yield Obedience to their Command; and himself writ to the Queen, "that when ever the Season should be ripe for the Prince to engage himself in any Action, he should not fail to send for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to wait upon him in it. And many things were then adjust'd, upon the foresight of future contingencies, which were afterwards thought fit to be executed.

The Marquis of *Ormond* had, by special Command and Order from the King whilst he was with the *Statts* at *New-Castle*, deliver'd up the City of *Dublin* to the Parliament, after the *Irish* had so infamously broken the Peace they had made with the King, and brought their whole Army before *Dublin* to Besiege it; by which he was reduced to those Straights, that he had no other election than to deliver it to the *Irish*, or to the Parliament; of which his Majesty being inform'd, determin'd, he should give it to the Parliament; which he did, with full Conditions for all those who had serv'd his Majesty; and so Transported himself into *England*, and, from *Lindsey*, presented himself to the King at *Hampton Court*; the Marquis who receiv'd him with extraordinary Grace, as a Person who of *Ormond* had serv'd him with great Zeal and Fidelity, and with the most universal Testimony of all good Men that any Man could receive. He us'd less Application to the Parliament and Army than other Men, relying upon the Articles the Parliament had sign'd to him; by which he had liberty to stay six months in *England*, and at the end thereof to Transport himself into the parts beyond the Seas, if in the mean time he made no composition with the Parliament; which he never intended to do; and though he knew well that there were many jealous Eyes upon him, he repair'd frequently to present his Duty to the King; who was exceedingly pleas'd to confer with him, and to find that he was resolv'd to undertake any Enterprize that might Advance his Service, which the King himself, and most other Men who wou'd well to it, did at that time believe to be in no desperate Condition. And no Men were fuller of professions of Duty, and a Resolution to run all hazards, than the *Scottish* Commissioners; who, from the time they had deliver'd up the King, refused at *London* with their usual Confidence, and loudly complain'd of the presumption of the Army in seizing upon the Person

And Scottish Commissioners.

the King, infatuated themselves to all those who were thought to be most constant, and inseparable from the Interest of the Crown, with passionate undertaking that their whole Nation would be united, to a Man, in any Enterprize for his Service. And now, from the time his Majesty came to *Hampton Court*, they came to him with as much presumption as if they had carried him to *Edinburgh*; which was the more notorious, and was thought to signify the more, because their Persons were known to be most odious to all the great Officers in the Army, and to those who now govern'd in the Parliament. Here the foundation of that engagement was laid, which was endeavour'd to be perform'd the next year ensuing, and which the Scots themselves then communicated to the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Lord *Capel*, and other trusty Persons; as if there was nothing else intended in it than a full vindication of all his Majesty's Rights and Interest.

The Army
begin to be
divided
of the King.

When the Army had thus subdued all opposition, and the Parliament and they seem'd all of a piece, and the refractory humours of the City seem'd to be suppress'd, and totally tamed, the Army seem'd less regardful of the King than they had been; the Chief Officers came rarely to *Hampton Court*, nor had they the same countenances towards *Ashburnham*, and *Berkley*, as they used to have; they were not at leisure to speak with them, and when they did, asked captious Questions, and gave Answers themselves of no signification. The Agitators, and Council of Officers, sent some Propositions to the King, as ruinous to the Church and destructive to the Regal Power, as had been yet made by the Parliament; and, in some respects, much worse, and more dishonourable; and said, "if his Majesty would consent thereunto, they would apply themselves to the Parliament, and do the best they could to persuade them to be of the same opinion. But his Majesty reject'd them with more than usual indignation, nor without some reproaches upon the Officers, for having deluded him, and having prevail'd in all their own designs, by making the World believe that they intended his Majesty's Restoration and Settlement, upon better Conditions than the Parliament was willing to admit. By this manner of resentment, the Army took it self to be disobliged, and used another Language in their discourse of the King than they had, for some Months, done; and such Officers who had formerly lov'd the King, and had been civilly treated and shelter'd in the Quarters of the Army, were now driven from thence. They who had been kind to them, withdrew themselves from their Acquaintance; and the Sequestrations of all the Estates of the Cavaliers, which had been intermitted, were revived with as much rigour as ever had been before practiced, and

and the declared Delinquents rack'd to as high compositions; which if they refus'd to make, their whole Estates were taken from them, and their Persons expos'd to assaults, and captivity; but this was imputed to the prevalence of the Presbyterian humour in the Parliament against the judgement of the Army: and it is very true, that though the Parliament was so far subdued, that it no more found fault with what the Army did, nor complain'd that it meddled in determining what Settlement should be made in the Government, yet, in all their own Acts and Proceedings, they prosecuted a Presbyterian Settlement as earnestly as they could. The Covenant was press'd in all places, and the Anabaptists and other Sects, which began to abound, were punished, restrained, and discountenanced; which the Army liked not, as a violation of the Liberty of tender Consciences; which, they pretended, was as much the Original of the Quarrel, as any other Grievance whatsoever.

In this year, 1647, they had begun a Visitation of the University of *Oxford*; which they finish'd not till the next year; in which the Earl of *Pembroke* had been contented to be employ'd as Chancellor of the University, who had taken an Oath to defend the Rights and Privileges of the University; notwithstanding which, out of the extreme weakness of his Understanding, and the miserable compliance of his Nature, he suffer'd himself to be made a Property in joining with *Brow*, *Prigg*, and some Committee Men, and Presbyterian Ministers, as Commissioners for the Parliament to reform the Discipline, and Erroneous Doctrine of that Famous University, by the Rule of the Covenant; which was the Standard of all Mens Learning, and ability to govern; and all Persons of what Quality forever being required to subscribe that Test; which the whole Body of the University was so far from consenting to, that they met in their Convocation, and, to their eternal Renown (being at the same time under a strict and strong Garrison, put over them by the Parliament; the King, in Prison; and all their hopes desperate) pass'd a publick Act, and Declaration against the Covenant, with such invincible Arguments of the Illegality, Wickedness, and Perjury contain'd in it, that no Man of the contrary Opinion, nor the Assembly of the Divines (which then sat at *Westminster*, forming a new Catechism, and Scheme of Religion) ever ventur'd to make any Answer to it; nor is it indeed to be allow'd, but must remain to the World's end, as a Monument of the Learning, Courage, and Loyalty, of that excellent Place, against the highest Malice and Tyranny, of that ever exercised in, or over any Nation; and which those Famous Commissioners only answer'd by Expelling all those who refused

The University
of Oxford
was visited
by the Parliament.

The Oxford
Divines
assembled
at Westminster
in the
Convention
of the
Parliament.

refus'd to submit to their Jurisdiction, or to take the Covenant; which was, upon the matter, the whole Univerſity; ſome one Governour and Maſter of College or Hall, and an incredible ſmall Number of the Fellows, or Scholars, ſubmitting to either; whereupon that deſolation being made, they plac'd in their rooms, the moſt notorious Factious Preſbyterians, in the Government of the ſeveral Colleges or Halls; and ſuch other of the ſame Leven in the Fellowſhips, and Scholar places, of thoſe whom they had Expell'd, without any regard to the Statutes of the ſeveral Founders, and the Incapacities of the Perſons that were put in. The Omnipotence of an Ordinance of Parliament, confirm'd all that was this way done; and there was no farther contending againſt it.

It might reaſonably be concluded that this wild and barbarous depopulation, would even extirpate all that Learning, Religion, and Loyalty, which had ſo eminently flouriſh'd there; and that the ſucceeding ill Husbandry, and unskilful Cultivations, would have made it fruitful only in Ignorance, Prophanation, Atheiſm, and Rebellion; but, by God's wonderful Bleſſing, the goodneſs and richneſs of that Soil could not be made barren by all that Rapidity and negligence. It choak'd the Weeds, and would not ſuffer the poiſonous Seeds, which were ſown with induſtry enough, to ſpring up; but after ſeveral Tyrannical Governments, mutually ſucceeding each other, and with the ſame malice and perverseneſs deſtroying reſtinguall all good Literature and Allegiance, it yielded a Harveſt, extraordinary good and found Knowledge in all parts of Learning; and many who were wickedly introduced, applic'd themſelves to the Study of good Learning, and the practice of Virtue; and had inclination to that Duty and Obedience they had never been taught; ſo that what it pleas'd God to bring King *Charles* the Second back to his Throne, he found that Univerſity (not to undervalue the other, which had nobly likewiſe rejected the ill inſinuations which had been induriouſly pour'd into it) abounding in excellent Learning, and devoted to Duty and Obedience, leſs inferior to what it was before its deſolation; which was a lively inſtance of God's Mercy, and purpoſe, for ever ſo to provide for his Church, that the Gates of Hell ſhall never prevail againſt it; which were never open'd wider, nor with more Malice, than in that time.

THEſE violent Precedings in all places, blaſted all the King's hopes, and put an end to all the reſt and quiet he had for ſome time enjoy'd; nor could he deviſe any remedy. He was weary of depending upon the Army, but neither knew how to get from them, nor whether elſe to reſort for help. The Officers of thoſe Guards which were assign'd to attend

his Perſon, and who had behaved themſelves with good Manners, and Duty towards him, and very civilly towards thoſe of his Party who had uſed to wait upon his Maſtey, began ſow to murmur at ſo great reſort to him, and to ſee many, who came, rudely; and not to ſuffer them to go into the Room where the King was; or, which was worſe, put them out when they were there; and when his Maſtey ſeem'd to take notice and be troubled at it, they appear'd not to be concern'd, nor answer'd him with that Duty they had uſed to do. They aſſur'd the *State* Commiſſioners very notably, and would not ſuffer them to ſpeak with the King; which cauſed an expulſion from the Parliament; which remov'd the obſtruction for the future, but procur'd no ſatiſfaction for the injury they had receiv'd, nor made the ſame Officers more civil towards their Perſons. *Albarrham*, and *Berkley*, receiv'd many Advertisements from ſome Officers with whom they had moſt converſed, and who would have been glad that the King might have been reſtor'd by the Army for the Preferments which they expected might fall to their ſhare, "that *Cromwell*, and *Ireton* reſolv'd never to truſt the King, or to do any thing towards his Reſtoration; and they two fear'd the whole Body; and therefore it was adviſed, "that ſome way might be found to remove his Maſtey out of their hands. Major *Huntington*, one of the beſt Officers they had, and Major to *Cromwell's* own Regiment of Horſe, upon whom he rely'd in any Enterpriſe of Importance more than upon any Man, had been employ'd by him to the King, to ſay thoſe things from him which had given the King the moſt confidence, and was much more than he had ever ſaid to *Albarrham*; and the Major did really believe that he had meant all he ſaid, and the King had a good opinion of the Integrity of the Major, upon the Teſtimony he had receiv'd from ſome he knew had no mind to deceive his Maſtey; and the Man merited the Teſtimony they gave him. He, when he obſerv'd *Cromwell* to grow colder in his Expreſſions for the King than he had formerly been, expulſated with him in very ſharp terms, for "ſtaying him, and making him the Inſtrument to enuizen the King; and, though the other endeavour'd to perſwade him that all ſhould be well, he inform'd his Maſtey of all he had obſerv'd; and told him, "that *Cromwell* was a Villain, and would deſtroy him if he were not prevented; and, in a ſhort time after, he gave up his Commiſſion, and would ſerve no longer in the Army. *Cromwell* himſelf expulſated with Mr *Albarrham*, and complain'd "that the King could not be truſted; and that he had no affection or confidence in the Army, but was jealous of them; and of all the Officers; that he had Intrigues in the Par-

liament, and Treaties with the Presbyterians of the City, to raise new Troubles; that he had a Treaty concluded with the *Scottish* Commissioners to engage the Nation again in blood; and therefore he would not be answerable if any thing should ensue, and contrary to expectation; and that was the reason, besides the old Animosity, that had drawn on the Affront, which the Commissioners had complain'd of. That that Treaty was, and what it produced, will be mention'd in a more proper place.

The Levellers grow up in the Army.

THESE was at this time a new Faction grown up in the Army, which were either by their own denomination, or with their own consent, call'd *Levellers*; who spoke insolently and confidently against the King and Parliament, and the great Officers of the Army; and profess'd as great Malice against all the Lords, as against the King; and declar'd "that all degrees of Men should be levelled, and an equality should be established, both in Titles and Estates, throughout the Kingdoms. Whether the raising this Spirit was a piece of *Cromwell's* ordinary *Witchcraft*, in order to some of his designs, or whether it grew amongst those Taxes which had been sold in that confusion, certain it is, it gave him real trouble at last (which must be set down hereafter) but the present use he made of it was, that, upon the licentious discourse of that kind, which some Soldiers upon the Guard usually made, the Guard upon the King's Person was doubled; a restraint put upon the great resort of People who came to see the King; and all pretended to be for his security, and to prevent any Violence that might be attempted upon his Life, which they seem'd to apprehend, and detest. In the mean time, they never hinder'd his Majesty from riding abroad to take the Air, nor from doing any thing he had a mind to, nor restrain'd those who waited upon him in his Bed-Chamber, nor his Chaplains from performing their Functions; though towards all these there was less civility exercised than had been; and the Guards which waited nearest, were more rude, and made more noise at unseasonable hours than they had been accusom'd to do; the Captain who Commanded them, Colonel *Whaley*, being a Man of a rough and brutal Temper, who had offer'd great violence to his Nature, when he appear'd to exercise any civility and good Manners. The King, every day, receiv'd little Billets or Letters, secretly convey'd to him without any Name, which advertised him of wicked designs upon his Life, and some of them advised him to make an Escape, and repair secretly into the City, where he should be safe; some Letter advis'd him to such an *Alderman's* House; all which his Majesty looked upon as artifice to lead him into some sleights, from whence he should not easily explicate himself; and yet

many who repair'd to him, brought the same advice from Men of unquestionable sincerity, by what reason *foever* they were sway'd.

THE King found himself in great perplexity, from what he discern'd, and observ'd himself, as well as what he heard from others; but what use to make of the one or the other, was very hard to resolve: he did really believe that their Malice was at the height, and that they did design his Murder, but knew not which was a probable way to prevent it. The making an escape, if it were not contriv'd with wonderful sagacity, would expose him to be assassinated, by pretended Ignorance, and would be charged upon himself; and if he could avoid their Guards, and get beyond them undiscover'd, whether should he go? and what place would receive and defend him? The hope of the City seem'd not to him to have a foundation of reason; they had been too late subdued to recover Courage for such an adventure; and the Army now was much more Master of it than when they desponded. There is reason to believe that he did resolve to transport himself beyond the Seas, which had been no hard matter to have brought to pass, but with whom he consulted for the way of doing it, is not to this day discover'd; they who were instrumental in his remove, pretending to know nothing of the Resolution, or Council. But, one morning, being the eleventh of *November*, the King having, the night before, pretended some indisposition, and that he would go to his rest, they who went into his Chamber, found that he was not there, nor had been in his Bed that Night. There were two or three Letters found upon his Table, writ all with his own hand, one to the Parliament, another to the General; in which he declar'd "the reason of his remove to be, an apprehension that some desperate Persons had a design to Assassinate him; and therefore he had withdrawn himself with a purpose of remaining concealed, until the Parliament had agreed upon such Propositions as should be fit for him to consent to; and he would then appear, and willingly consent to any thing that should be for the Peace and Happiness of the Kingdom. There were discover'd the treading of Horses at a Back door of the Garden into which his Majesty had a Passage out of his Chamber; and it is true that way he went, having appointed his Horses to be there ready at an hour, and *St John Berkeley, Albornham, and Legg*, to wait upon him, the twelfth being of his Bed-Chamber. *Albornham* alone seem'd to know what they were to do, the other two having receiv'd only Orders to attend. When they were free from the Apprehension of the Guards, and the Horse Quarters, they rode towards the South West, and towards that part of *Hampton* which

which led to the New Forest. The King asked *Albarnham*, where the Ship lay? which made the other two conclude that the King resolv'd to Transport himself. After they had made some stay in that part next the Sea, and *Albarnham* had been some time absent, he return'd without any news of the Ship; with which the King seem'd troubled. Upon this dis-appointment, the King thought it best, for avoiding all High-ways, to go to *Tisbury*, a noble Seat of the Earl of *Southampton*, who was not there; but inhabited by the old Lady his Mother with a small Family, which made the retreat the more convenient; there his Majesty alighted, and would speak with the Lady; to whom he made no scruple of Commending himself, well knowing her to be a Lady of that Honour, and Spirit, that she was superior to all kind of temptation. There he retir'd himself, and consulted with his three Servants, what he should next do, since there was neither Ship ready, nor could they presume that they could remain long there undiscover'd.

In this Debate, the life of *Wight* came to be mention'd (as they say) by *Albarnham*, as a place where his Majesty might securely repose himself, until he thought fit to inform the Parliament where he was. Colonel *Hammond* was Governour of an Officer of the Army, and of newereit trust with *Cresswell*, having by his advice been Married to a Daughter of *John Hambleton*, whose memory he always adored; yet, by some fatal mistake, this Man was thought a Person of Honour and Generosity enough to trust the King's Person to, and *Albarnham*, and *Berwick*, were sent to him with Orders, to deliver his Majesty up though the Parliament or Army should require him, but to give him his Liberty to flit for himself, if he were not able to defend him; and except he would make that promise, they should not let him know where his Majesty was, but should return presently to him.

With this Commission they two cross'd the Water to the life of *Wight*, the King in the mean time reposing himself at *Tisbury*. The next day they found Colonel *Hammond*, who was field. The next day they had Conversation with him in the known to them both, who had Conversation with him in the Army, when the King was well treated there (and that Persons had been very civilly treated by most of the Officers, who thought themselves qualified sufficiently for Court Ceremonies) They told him, "that the King was withdrate ferments) They told him, "that the King was withdrate from the Army, of which he seem'd to have had no notice, and to be very much surpris'd with it. They then said, "that the King had for good an opinion of him, knowing him to be a Gentleman, and for his relation to Dr *Hammond* (whose Nephew he was) that he would trust his Person

"with him, and would from thence write to the Parliament, if he would promise that if his Message had not that effect, which he hoped it would have, he would leave him to himself to go whither he thought fit, and would not deliver him to the Parliament, or Army, if they should require it. His Answer was, "that he would pay all the Duty and Service to his Majesty that was in his power; and, if he pleas'd to come thither, he would receive and entertain him as well as he could; but that he was an Inferior Officer, and must obey his Superiors in whatsoever they thought fit to command him: with which when he saw they were not satisfied, he asked, "where the King was? to which they made no other Answer, "but that they would acquaint his Majesty with his Answer, and, if he were satisfied with it, they would return to him again. He demanded that Mr *Albarnham* would stay with him, and that the other might go to the King; which Mr *Albarnham* refused to do.

AFTER some time spent in Debate, in which he made many expressions of his desire to do any Service to his Majesty, they were contented that he should go with them; and *Albarnham* said, "he would conduct him to the place where the King was; and so, he Commanding three or four Servants or Soldiers to wait on him, they went together to *Tisbury*; and, the other staying below, *Albarnham* went up to the King's Chamber. When he had acquainted him with all that had pass'd, and that *Hammond* was in the House, his Majesty broke out in a passionate exclamation, and said, "O *Tisk*, thou hast undone me! with which the other falling into a great passion of weeping, offer'd to go down, and to kill *Hammond*; to which his Majesty would not consent; and, after some pausing, and deliberation, sent for him up, and endeavour'd to persuade him to make the same promise, which had before been propos'd; to which he made the same Answer he had done, but with many professions of doing all the Office he could for his Majesty; and seem'd to believe that the Army would do well for him. The King believ'd that there was now no possible way to get from him, he leaving *Hammond* the Command of the Country, and could call in what help he would; and so went with him into the Isle of *Wight*, and was Lodg'd at *Carisbrook*-Castle, at first with all demonstration of Respect and Duty.

It never appear'd afterwards that the King was maliciously betray'd to this unhappy peregrination, by the treachery and practice of those he trusted; and his Majesty himself never had conceiv'd the least Jealousy, or Suspicion of it; yet the whole design appear'd to be so weakly contriv'd, the not being sure of a Ship, if the Resolution were tax'd for Embarking, which

He comes to
Lichfield
in Hamp-
shire.The King
finds *Albarnham*
and *Hammond*
in the
Isle of
Wight.

was never manifest, the making choice of the life of *Wight*, and of *Hammond* to be trusted, since nothing fell out which was not to be reasonably foreseen and expected, and the bringing him to *Whitefield*, without the permission of the King, if not directly contrary to it, seem'd to be all so far from a rational design and conduct, that most Men did believe there was Treason in the contrivance, or that his Majesty contrived those who were grossly impos'd upon and deceiv'd by his greatest Enemies. *Legg* had had so general a Reputation of Integrity, and Fidelity to his Master, that he never fell under the least Imputation or Reproach with any Man: he was a very punctual and steady observer of the Orders he receiv'd, very judicious and Understanding than either of the other two, his modesty and diffidence of himself never suffer'd him to contrive bold Counsels. *Berkley* was less known among those Persons of Honour and Quality who had follow'd the King, being in a very private Station before the War, and his Post in it being in the farthest Corner of the Kingdom, and not much spoken of till the end of it, when he was not beholden to reports; Ambition and Vanity were well known to be predominant in him, and that he had great confidence in himself, and did not delight to converse with those who had not; but he never fell under any blemish of Disloyalty, and he took care to publish that this Enterprize of the King's was all totally without his privy, that he was required to attend of Horse-back at such an hour, and had not the least intimation of his Majesty's purpose what he intended to do. Another particular, which was acknowledged by *Hammond*, did him much credit, that when *Hammond* demanded that *Albarnham* should remain with him whilst the other went to the King, which *Albarnham* refused to do, *Berkley* did offer himself to remain with him whilst *Albarnham* should attend his Majesty; so that the whole weight of the prejudice and reproach was cast upon *Albarnham*; who was known to have a great Interest in the Affections of his Majesty, and so could not be ignorant of any thing that mov'd him.

It is not having a Ship ready, if it were intended, was unexcusable; and the putting the King into *Hammond's* hands without his leave, could never be wiped out. These were some who said, that *Albarnham* refus'd that the King should go to the life of *Wight*, before he left *Hampton Court*; and the Lord *Langdale* often said, "that being in Mr *Albarnham's* Chamber at that time, he had the curiosity, whilst he was another went out of the Room, to look upon a Paper that lay upon the Table; in which was writ, that it would be bet

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"for the King to withdraw from the Army, where he was in such danger; and that the life of *Wight* would be a good retreat, where Colonel *Hammond* Commanded; who was a very honest Man. And this was some days before his Majesty remov'd. And then it was observ'd, that *Hammond* himself left the Army but two or three days before the King's remove, and went to the life of *Wight* at a Season when there was no visible occasion to draw him thither, and when the Agitators in the Army were at height, and it was looked upon with the more wonder, because *Albarnham* was not afterwards call'd in Question for being instrumental in the King's going away, but liv'd unquestion'd long after in the fight of the Parliament, and in conversation with some of the Officers of the Army who had most deceiv'd him; and which was more censur'd than all the rest, that after the Murder of the King he compounded, as was reported, at an easy rate, and liv'd at ease, and grew rich, for many years together without interruption.

On the other hand, he preserv'd his Reputation and Credit with the most eminent of the King's Party; and his remaining in *England* was upon the Marriage of a Lady by whom he had a great Fortune; and many conveniences; which would have been sciz'd by his leaving the Kingdom; and he did send over to the King, and had leave to stay there; and sometimes supplied the King with considerable Sums of Money. Afterwards he was committed to the Tower by *Cromwell*, where he remain'd till his Death; and the King was known to have had, to the last, a clear opinion of his Affection, and Integrity; and when King *Charles* the Second return'd, most of those of greatest Reputation, as the Marquis of *Hereford*, and the Earl of *Southampton*, gave him a good Testimony; yet then, the old discourses were reviv'd, and Major *Huntington* did affirm, "that Mr *Albarnham* did intend the King should go to the life of *Wight*, before he left *Hampton Court*. Many who did not believe him to be corrupted, did still think that *Cromwell* and *Irwin* had overwitted him, and perswaded him, upon great promises, that it should prove for his Majesty's benefit, and that they should the sooner do his business, that he should withdraw from the Army, and put himself into *Hammond's* hands; for if in truth Transportation had been thought of, it is hard to believe that a Ship would not have been provided.

Sir *John Berkley*, who, shortly after the King's being in the life of *Wight*, had Transported himself into *France*, and remain'd still with the Duke of *York* to the time of King *Charles* the Second's Return, and Mr *Albarnham*, who continued in *England*, and so the more liable to Reproach, had been to

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solicitous to wipe off the Aspersions which were cast upon them jointly, that they had it in care to preserve the Reputation of a joint Innocence; and whilst each endeavour'd to clear himself, he objected or imputed somewhat to the other, that made him liable to just censure; and, in this contention, their Friends mention'd their several discourses so loudly, and so passionately for the credit and reputation of him whom they lov'd best, that they contracted a very avow'd Animosity against each other, inasmuch as it was generally believ'd upon the King's Return, that they would, with some fierceness, have expostulated with each other in that way which angry Men choose to determine the right, or that both of them would have desir'd the King to have caus'd the whole to be so strictly examin'd, that the World might have discern'd, where the faults or oversights had been, if no worse could have been charg'd upon them; but they apply'd themselves to neither of those Expedients, and liv'd only as Men who took no delight in each others Conversation, and who did not desire to cherish any familiarity together. And the King, who was satisfi'd that there had been no Treasonable contrivance (from which his Father had absolv'd them) did not think it fit, upon such a Subject, to make strict Inquisition into Inadvertencies, IndireCTIONS, and Preamptions, which could not have been punish'd proportionally.

It is true that they both writ Apologies, or Narrations of all that had pass'd in that Affair, which they made not publick, but gave in writing to such of their Friends in whose opinions they most desir'd to be absolv'd, without any Inclination that one should see what the other had writ; in which differences in occurrences of this moment, there was nothing in either that seem'd to doubt of the Integrity of the other; nor any clear relation of any probable inducement that prevail'd with the King to undertake that Journey. I have read both their Relations, and confer'd with both of them at large, to discover in truth what the motives might be which led to so fatal an end; and, if I were oblig'd to deliver my own opinion, I should declare that neither of them were, in any degree, corrupted in their Loyalty or Affection to the King, or inclin'd to gratify any Persons with a difference to their Master. They were both of them great Opiniaters, yet irresolute, and easy to be shaken by any thing they had not thought of before; and exceedingly unservicel'd each others Understanding; but, as it usually falls out in Men of this kind of Composition, and Talent, they were both dispos'd to communicate more freely with, and, consequently, to be advis'd by new Acquaintance, and Men they had lately believ'd

to know, than old Friends, and such whose judgements they could not but esteem; who they had no mind should go flatters with them in the merit of any notable Service which they thought themselves able to bring to pass. Then, in the whole managery of the King's business, from the time that they came into the Army, they never convers'd with the same Persons; but govern'd themselves by what they receiv'd from those whose correspondence they had choic'd. *Ashburnham* seem'd wholly to rely upon *Cromwell*, and *Ireton*; and rather upon what they said to others than to himself. For besides outward Civilities, which they both exercis'd towards him more than to other Men, they seldom held private discourse with him, persuading him "that it was better for both their ends, in respect of the jealousy the Parliament had of them, that they should understand each others mind, as to the TransaCTION of any particulars, from third Persons mutually intrusted between them, than from frequent consultations together; and *St Edward Ford*, who had Married *Ireton's* Sister, but had been himself an Officer in the King's Army from the beginning of the War, and a Gentleman of good meaning, though not able to satism the secret and dark designs of his Brother in Law, was trusted to pass between them, with some other Officers of the Army, who had given *Ashburnham* reason to believe that they had honest Purposes.

BARKLEY had not found that respect, from *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, that he expect'd; at least discern'd it to be greater towards *Ashburnham*, than it was to Him; which he thought evidence enough of a defect of judgement in them; and therefore had apply'd himself to others, who had not so great Names, but greater Intellect, as he thought, in the Soldiers. His chief confidence was in *Dr Staines*, who, though a *Dr* in *Physick*, was Quarter Master General of the Army; and one *Walsin*, who was Scout Master General of the Army; both of the Council of War, both in good credit with *Cromwell*, and both notable Fanaticks, and professed Enemies to the *State*, and the Presbyterians and, no *Courts*, were both permitted, and intrusted to Care of *St John Barkley*, and, by admitting his Wisdom and Conduct, to oblige him to depend on *Theirs*; and dissimulation had so great, and supreme an influence on the Hearts and Spirits of all these who were trusted, and employ'd by *Cromwell*, that no Man was safe in their Company, but he who resolv'd before, not to believe one word they said. These two Persons knew well how to humour *St John Barkley*, who believ'd them the more, because they seem'd very much to blame *Ireton's* stubbornness towards the King, and to fear that he often prevail'd upon *Cromwell*.

against his own Inclinations: They inform'd him of many particulars which pass'd in the Council of Officers, and sometimes of advice from *Cromwell*, that was clean contrary to what the King receiv'd by *Albarnham* as his opinion, and which was found afterwards to be true (as it may be the other was too) which exceedingly confirm'd *St. John* in the good opinion he had of his two Friends. They were the first who positively adverted the King by him, that *Cromwell* would never do him Service; and the first who seem'd to apprehend that the King's Person was in danger, and that there was some secret design upon his Life.

I do not believe that *St. John Berkeley* knew any thing of the King's purpose in his intended escape, or whether he resolv'd to go, or, indeed, more of it than that he resolv'd at such an hour, and in such a place, to take *Horfe*, and was himself required to attend him, nor do I, in truth, think that the King himself, when he took *Horfe*, resolv'd whither to go. Some think he meant to go into the City; others, that he intended for *Jersey*; and that was the ground of the Question to *Mr. Albarnham*, "where is the Ship? Certain it is that the King never thought of going to the Isle of *Wight*. I am not sure that *Mr. Albarnham*, who had not yet given over all hope of the chief Officers of the Army, and believ'd the alterations, which had fallen out, proceeded from the barbarity of the Agitators, and the Levelling Party, had not the Isle of *Wight* in his view from the beginning, that is, from the time his Majesty thought it necessary to make an escape from the Army. It had been a difficult task to go about to dissuade the King from an apprehension of his own safety, when it was much more natural to fear an Assailment, than to apprehend any thing that they did afterwards do. *Mr. Albarnham* had so great a detestation of the *Stots*, that he expected no good from their Fraternity, the Presbyterians of the City; and did really believe that if his Majesty should put himself into their hands, as was advis'd by many with a purpose that he should be there consel'd, till some favourable conjuncture should offer it self (for no body imagin'd that, upon his arrival there, the City would have declared for him, and have enter'd into a Convent with that Army which had so lately subdu'd them) the security of such an escape was not to be relied on, and very earnestly dissuad'd his Master from entertaining the thought of it; and with this opinion of his was universally known, and, as hath been said before, was an ingredient into the composition of that civility and kindness the Officers of the Army had for him. They did, to him, frequently lament the Levelling Spirit that was gotten into the Soldiers, which they foresaw would in the future be as incon-

nient, and mischievous to themselves, as it was, for the present, dangerous to the Person of the King; which they seem'd wonderfully to apprehend, and protest'd "that they knew not how to apply any remedy to it, whilst his Majesty was in the Army; but that they would quickly correct or fufdue it, if the King were at any distance from them; and it is not impossible, that, in such discourses, some body who was trusted by them, if not one of themselves, might mention the Isle of *Wight* as a good place to retire to, and Colonel *Hennings* as a Man of good intentions; the minutes of which discourses *Mr. Albarnham* might keep by him; for the Lord *Langdale's* relation of such a Paper, which he himself saw, and read, cannot be thought by me to be a meer fiction; to which, besides that he was a Person of unblemish'd Honour and Veracity, he had not any temptation; yet *Mr. Albarnham* did constantly deny that he ever saw any such Paper, or had any thought of the Isle of *Wight* when the King left *Hampton Court*, and he never gave cause, in the subsequent Actions of his Life, to have his Fidelity suspected. And it is probable, that *Cromwell*, who many years afterwards committed him to the Tower, and did hate him, and desired to have taken his Life, would have been glad to have blasted his Reputation, by declaring that he had carried his Master to the Isle of *Wight*, without his privity, upon his own preumption; which, how well soever intended, must have been looked upon by all Men as such a transcendent Crime, as must have deprived him of all compassion for the worst that could befall him.

It is a sudden unexpected withdrawing of the King, made a great impression upon the minds of all Men, every Man fancying that his Majesty would do that which he wou'd he would do. The Presbyterians imagin'd that he lay concealed in the City (which they unreasonably thought he might easily do) and would expect a proper conjuncture, upon a new rupture between the Parliament, and the Army, and the many Factions in the Army, which every day appear'd, to discover himself. The Cavaliers hoped that he would transport himself into the parts beyond the Seas, and quietly attend there those alterations at home, which might probably in a short time invite his Return. The Army was not without this apprehension, as imagin'g it the worst that could fall out to their purpose.

THE Parliament, that is, that part of it that was devoted to the Army, was most frighted with the imagination that the King was in the City, and would lurk there until some Conspiracy should be ripe, and all his Party should be present in *London* to fcoold it; and therefore they no sooner heard that *King's* that he was gone from *Hampton Court*, than they pass'd an Ordinance of both Houses, by which they declared, "that

“it should be Confiscation of Estate, and loss of Life, to any Man who presumed to harbour and conceal the King’s Person in his House, without revealing, and making it known to the Parliament; which, no doubt, would have terrified them all in such a manner, that if he had been in truth amongst them, he would quickly have been discover’d, and given up. They caused some of the most notorious Presbyterians Houses to be searched, as if they had been sure he had been there; and sent Posts to all Parts of the Kingdom “that they might be true, and no Person be suffer’d to Embark, left the King, in disguise, Transport himself; and a Proclamation was issued out, “for the banishing all Persons who had ever borne Arms for the King, out of London, or any place within twenty Miles of it, and all Persons of that kind, who, upon strict search, were found, were apprehended, and put in several Prisons with all the circumstances of severity and rigour. But all these doubts were quickly clear’d, and within two days, Cromwell inform’d the House of Commons, “that he had received Letters from Colonel Hammond, of all the manner of the King’s coming to the Isle of Wight, and the Company that came with him; that he remain’d there in the Castle of Carisbrooke, till the pleasure of the Parliament should be known. He assured them, “that Colonel Hammond was so honest a Man, and so much devoted to their Service, that they need have no jealousy that he might be corrupted by any Body; and all this relation he made with so unusual a gaiety, that all Men concluded that the King was where He wished he should be.

And now the Parliament maintain’d no farther Comedies with the Army, but tamely submitted to whatsoever they propos’d; the Presbyterians in both Houses, and in the City, being in a terrible Agony, that some close Correspondences they had held with the King during his abode at Hampton Court, would be discover’d; and therefore would give no farther occasion of jealousy by any contradiction, leaving it to their Clergy to keep the fire burning in the hearts of the People by their Pulpit-Insinuations; and they stoutly discharged their trust.

But Cromwell had more cause to fear a fire in his own Quarters, and that he had rais’d a Spirit in the Army which would not easily be quieted again. The Agitators, who were first form’d by him to oppose the Parliament, and to resist the destructive doom of their disbanding, and likewise to prevent any inconvenience, or mischief, that might result from the drowsy, dull Presbyterian humour of Fairfax; who withheld nothing that Cromwell did, and yet contributed to bring it all to pass: These Agitators, had hitherto transcrib’d faithfully

all the Copies he had given them, and offer’d such Advice to the Parliament, and insisted upon such expostulations and demands, as were necessary; which there was either any purpose to treat with the King or any reason to flatter his Party. But now the King was gone from the Army, and in such a place as the Army could have no recourse to him, and that the Parliament was become of so soft a temper, that the Party of the Army that was in it, could make all necessary impression upon them. He desired to restrain the Agitators from that Liberty which they had so long enjoy’d, and to keep them within stricter Rules of Obedience to their Superiors, and to hinder their future Meetings, and Consultations concerning the settling the Government of the Kingdom; which, he thought, ought now to be solely left to the Parliament’s whole Authority, for the present, he thought best to uphold, and by it to establish all that was to be done. But the Agitators would not be so dismiss’d from State Affairs; of which they had so pleasant a relish; nor be at the mercy of the Parliament, which they had so much provoked; and therefore when they were admitted no more to consultations with their Officers, they continued their meetings without them; and thought there was as great need to reform their Officers, as any part of the Church or State. They enter’d into new Applications, and made many Propositions to their Officers, and to the Parliament, to introduce an equality into all Conditions, and a parity among all Men; from whence they had the Appellation of Levellers; which appear’d a great Party. They did not only meet against the express Command of their Officers, but drew very considerable Parties of the Army to Rendezvous, without the Order or Privy of their Superiors; and there persuaded them to enter into such Engagements, as would in a short time have dissolv’d the Government of the Army, and absolv’d them from a dependence upon their General Officers. The suppression of this licence, put Cromwell to the expense of all his cunning, dexterity, and courage; so that after he had cajoled the Parliament, as if the preservation of their Authority had been all he cared for and took to heart, and sent some false Brothers to comply in the Councils of the Confederators, by that means having notice of their Rendezvous, he was unexpectedly found with an ordinary Guard at those meetings; and, with a marvellous vivacity, having asked some Questions of those whom he observ’d most active, and receiving intolent Answers, he knocked two or three of them in the head with his own hand, and then charged the rest with his Troop; and took such a number of them as Cromwell thought fit; whereof he presently caused some to be Hang’d, and sent others to London to a more formal Tryal. By two

or three such Encounters, for the ordinary continued long he totally failed that Spirit in the Army, though it continued and encreas'd very much in the Kingdom; and if it had not been Encounterd at that time with that rough and brisk temper of Cromwell'd, it would presently have produced all imaginable confusion in the Parliament, Army, and Kingdom.

All opposition being thus suppressed and quiesc'd, and Cromwell needing no other assistance for the carrying on his designs, than the present temper and inclination of the Parliament, they sent a Message to the King, briefly proposing to him,

The Parliament sent such a Message to the King as follows
 "That he would forthwith grant his Royal Assent to four Acts of Parliament; which they then sent to him. By one of them, he was to confest the War to have been raised by him against the Parliament; and so that he was guilty of all the Blood that had been spild. By another, he was totally to dissolve the Government of the Church by Bishops, and to grant all the Lands belonging to the Church to such uses as they propos'd; leaving the settling a future Government in the place thereof to farther Time and Councils. By a third, he was to grant, and settle the Militia in the Manner and in the Persons propos'd, reserving not so much power in himself as any Subject was capable of. In the last place, he was in effect, to Sacrifice all those who had serv'd, or adher'd to him, to the Mercy of the Parliament.

THE Persons who were sent with these four Bills, had liberty given to expect the King's Answer only four days, and were then required to return to the Parliament. With the Commissioners of Parliament there came likewise the Commissioners of Scotland, who, after the four Bills were deliver'd, and read to the King, the very next day, desired an Audience; and, with much formality and confidence, deliver'd a Declaration, and Protestation on the behalf of the Kingdom of Scotland against those Bills and Propositions. They said, "they were so prejudicial to Religion, the Crown, and the Union, and Interest of the Kingdoms, and so far different from the former proceedings and engagements between the two Kingdoms, that they could not concur therein; and therefore, in the name of the whole Kingdom of Scotland, did declare

The Commons of Scotland enter a Protestation against these Bills
 "that their dissent. The King had receiv'd Advertisement, that as soon as he should refuse to consent to the Bills, he should presently be made a close Prisoner, and all his Servants should be removed from him; upon which, and because the Commissioners had no power to treat with him, but were only to receive his positive Answer, he resolv'd that his Answer should not be known till it was deliver'd to the Parliament; and that, in the mean time, he would endeavour to make his Escape, before new Orders could be sent from Westminster; so

when the Commissioners came to receive his Answer, he gave it to them sealed. The Earl of Denbigh, who was the chief of the Commissioners, and a Person very ungracious to the King, told him, "that though they had no Authority to treat with him, or to do any thing but to receive his Answer; yet they were not to be looked upon as Common Messengers, and to carry back an Answer that they had not sent; And, upon the matter, refus'd to receive it; and said, "they would return without any, except they might see what they carried.

HIS Majesty conceiv'd that their return without his Answer would be attended with the worst Consequences; and therefore he told them, "that he had some reason for having offer'd to deliver it to them in that manner; but if they would give him their words, that the Communicating it to them should be attended with no prejudice to him, he would open it, and cause it to be read, which they readily undertook (as in truth they knew no reason to suspect it) and thereupon he open'd it, and gave it one to read. The Answer was, "that his Majesty had always thought it a matter of great difficulty to comply in such a manner with all engaged Interests, that a firm and lasting Peace might ensue; in which opinion he was now confirm'd, since the Commissioners for Scotland do solemnly protest against the several Bills, and Propositions, which the two Houses of Parliament had presented to him for his Assent; so that it was not possible for him to give such an Answer as might be the foundation of a hopeful Peace. He gave them many unseverable reasons, "why he could not pass the four Bills as they were offer'd to him; which did not only develt him of all Sovereignty, and leave him without any possibility of recovering it to him or his Successors, but open'd a door for all intolerable oppressions upon his Subjects, he granting such an Arbitrary and limited Power to the two Houses. He told them, "that neither the desire of being freed from that tedious and irksome Condition of Life, which he had betal him, should ever prevail with him to consent to any one Act, till the conditions of the whole Peace should be concluded; and then that he would be ready to give all just and reasonable satisfaction, in all particulars; and for the adjusting of all this, he knew no way but a Personal Treaty (and therefore very earnestly desired the two Houses to consent to it) to be either at London, or any other place they would rather chioice. As soon as this Answer, or to the same effect, was read, he deliver'd it to the Commissioners; who no longer receiv'd it than they killed his hand, and departed for Westminster.

THE

*Privately of-
fer Ham-
mond's re-
sponse to
the King's old
Servants
from about
1648.*

THE Commissioners were no sooner gone than *Hammond* caused all the King's Servants, who till then had all Liberty forbid any of them to repair thither any more; and appointed a strong Guard to refrain any Body from going to the King, if they should endeavour it. This exceedingly troubled, and surpris'd him, being an absolute disappoinment of all the hope he had left. He told *Hammond*, "that it was not suitable to his engagement, and that it did not become a Man of Honour or Honesty to treat him so, who had so freely put himself into his Hands. He asked him, whether the Commissioners were acquainted with his purpose to proceed in this manner? To which he Answer'd, "that they were not; but that he had an Order from the Parliament to do as he had done; and that he saw plainly by his Answer to the Proposition, that he acted by other Counsels than stood with the good of the Kingdom.

It is inolent and imperious proceeding, put the Island (which was generally inhabited by a People always well affected to the Crown) into a high Motiny. They said, "they would not endure to see their King so used, and made a Prisoner. There was at that time there one Captain *Barly*, who was of a good Family in the Island. He had been a Captain of one of the King's Ships, and was put out of his Command when the Fleet Rebell'd against the King; and then he put himself into the King's Army, where he continued an Officer of good Account to the end of the War, and when the War was at an end, he repair'd into his own Country, the Isle of *Wight*; where many of his Family still lived in good Reputation. This Gentleman chanced to be at *Newport*, the chief Town in the Island, when the King was thus treated, and when the People seem'd generally to resent it with so much indignation; and was so much transported with the same fury, being a Man of more Courage than of Prudence and Circumference, that he caused a Drum to be presently beaten, and put himself at the head of the People who flock'd together, and cry'd "for God, the King, and the People, and said, "he would lead them to the Castle, and rescue the King from his Captivity. The attempt was presently discern'd to be irrational, and impossible; and by the great diligence, and activity of the King's Servants, who had been put out of the Castle, the People were quieted, and all Men refer'd to their own Houses; but the poor Gentleman paid dear for his ill advised and precipitate Loyalty. For *Hammond* caused him presently to be made Prisoner; and the Parliament, without delay, sent down a Commission of Oyer

and *Terminer*; in which an infamous Judge, *Wald*, whom they had made Chief Baron of the Exchequer for such Services, prefired; who caused poor *Barly* to be, with all formality, indicted of High Treason for Levying War against the King, and engaging the Kingdom in a new War; of which King, and the Jury they had brought together, found him guilty; upon which their Judge condemn'd him, and the Honest Man was forthwith hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd, with all the circumstances of Barbarity and Cruelty; which struck a wonderful Terror into all Men, this being the first precedent of their having brought any Man to a formal legal Trial by the Law to deprive him of his Life, and make him guilty of High Treason for adhering to the King; and it made a deeper impression upon the hearts of all Men, than all the Cruelties they had yet exercised by their Courts of War; which, though they took away the Lives of many Innocent Men, left their Estates to their Wives and Children; but when they saw now, that they might be condemn'd of High Treason before a formal Judge of the Law for serving the King, by which their Estates would be likewise Confiscated, they thought they should be justified if they kept their Hears entire, without being involv'd by their Actions in a Capital Transgression.

Upon the receipt of the King's Answer, there appear'd a new Spirit and Temper in the House of Commons; hitherto, no Man had mention'd the King's Person without Duty and Respect, and only lamented "that he was misled by evil and wicked Councilors; who being removed from him, he might by the advice of his Parliament govern well enough. But now, upon the refusal to pass these Bills, every Man's mouth was open'd against him with the utmost Sarcasms, and Licence; each Man striving to exceed the other in the impudence and bitterness of his Invective. *Croswell* declared, "that the King was a Man of great parts, and great understanding; (facilities they had hitherto endeavour'd to have him thought to be without) "but that he was so great a dilembler, and so false a Man, that he was not to be trusted. And thereupon, repeated many particulars, which he was in the Army, that his Majesty wou'd not do such, and such things might be done, which being done to gratify him, he was displeas'd, and complain'd of it: "That whilst he professed with all solemnity that he refer'd himself wholly to the Parliament, and depended only upon their Widom and Counsel for the Settlement and Composing the Diffractions of the Kingdom, he had, at the same time, secret Treaties with the *Scotts* Commissioners, how he might imbroil the Nation in a new War, and destroy the Parliament. He concluded, "that they might no farther trouble themselves with sending

"Messages

“Messages to him, or farther Propositions, but that they might
 “enter upon those Councils which were necessary towards
 “the Settlement of the Kingdom, without having farther Re-
 “course to the King. Those of his Party seconded this ad-
 “vice with new Reproaches upon the Person of the King,
 “charging him with such abominable Actions, as had been never
 “heard of, and could be only suggested from the malice of
 “their own Hearts; whilst Men who had any Modesty, and
 “alshord that way of proceeding, stood amaz’d and confound-
 “ed at the manner and presumption of it, and without Courage
 “to give any notable opposition to their Rage. So that, after
 “several days spent in passionate Debates to this purpose, they
 “Voted, “that they would make no more Addresses to the
 “King, but proceed towards settling the Government, and
 “providing for the Peace of the Kingdom, in such manner as
 “they should judge best for the benefit and liberty of the Sub-
 “ject: and a Committee was appointed to prepare a Declara-
 “tion to inform and satisfy the People of this their Resolu-
 “tion, and the grounds thereof, and to assure them, “that they
 “had Lawful Authority to proceed in this manner. In the
 “mean times, the King, who had, from the time of his coming
 “to the Isle of *Wight*, enjoy’d the liberty of taking the Air, and
 “refreshing himself throughout the Island, and was attended by
 “such Servants as he had appointed, or sent for, to come thir-
 “ther to him, to the time that he had refused to pass those Bills,
 “from thenceforth was no more suffer’d to go out of the Castle
 “beyond a little ill Garden that belonged to it. And now, after
 “this Vote of the House of Commons, that there should be
 “no more Addresses made to him, all his Servants being removed,
 “a few new Men, for the most part, unknown to his Majesty,
 “were deputed to be about his Person to perform all those Of-
 “fices which they believ’d might be requisite, and of whose Fi-
 “delity to themselves they were as well assur’d, as that they
 “were without any Reverence or Affection to the King.

It is very true, that within few days after the King’s with-
 drawing from *Hampton Court*, and after it was known that
 he was in the Isle of *Wight*, there was a meeting of the Gen-
 eral Officers of the Army at *Windsor*, where *Cromwell* and
Ireton were present, to consult what should be done with the
 King. For, though *Cromwell* was weary of the Agitators,
 and resolv’d to break their meetings, and though the Parlia-
 ment concurr’d in all he desir’d, yet his entire confidence was
 in the Officers of the Army; who were they who sway’d the
 Parliament, and the Army it self, to bring what he intended
 to pass. At this conference, the preliminaries whereof were
 always Fatings and Prayers, made at the very Council by
Cromwell or *Ireton*, or some other *Injured Person*, as most of
 the

Vote of an
 more ad-
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 King, &c.

A meeting
 of Crom-
 well and
 the Officers
 at Wind-
 sor, where
 the King’s
 Dissolution

the Officers were, it was resolv’d “that the King should be
 “prosecuted for his Life as a Criminal Person: of which his
 “Majesty was advertised speedily by *Watson*, Quarter Master
 “General of the Army; who was present; and had pretended,
 “from the first coming of the King to the Army, to have a
 “desire to serve him, and desired to be now thought to retain
 “it; but the Resolution was a great secret, of which the Parlia-
 “ment had not the least intimation, or jealousy; but was, as
 “it had been, to be cozen’d by degrees to do what they never
 “intended. Nor was his Majesty easily persuaded to give cre-
 “dit to the information; but though he expected, and thought
 “it very probable, that they would Murder him, he did not
 “believe they would attempt it with that formality, or let the
 “People know their Intentions. The great approach they
 “made towards it, was, their Declaration “that they would
 “make no more Addresses to the King, that by an Inter-
 “regnum they might feel the pulse of the People, and discover
 “how they would submit to another form of Government;
 “and yet all Writs, and Process of Justice, and all Commis-
 “sions, still issued in the King’s Name without his consent or
 “privity; and little other change or alteration, but that what
 “was before done by the King himself, and by his immediate
 “Order, was now perform’d by the Parliament; and, instead
 “of Acts of Parliament, they made Ordinances of the two
 “Houses to serve all their occasions; which found the same
 “Obedience from the People.

This Declaration of no more Addresses, contain’d a charge ^{the Vote of}
 against the King of whatsoever had been done amiss from <sup>more ad-
 dresses to</sup>
 the beginning of his Government, or before, not without a
 direct Infamation, as if “He had conspired with the Duke
 “of *Backingham* against the life of his Father; the prejudice
 “he had brought upon the Protestant Religion in *Foreign*
 “parts, by lending his Ships to the King of *France*, who im-
 “ploy’d them against *Rochel*: they renew’d the remembrance,
 “and reproach of all those grievances which had been men-
 “tioned in their first Remembrance of the State of the King-
 “dom, and repeated all the calumnies which had been contin-
 “u’d in all their Declarations before and after the War;
 “which had been all fully Answer’d by his Majesty, that the
 “world was convinced of their Rebellion and Treason: they
 “charged him with being “the cause of all the blood that had
 “been spilt, by his having made a War upon his Parliaments,
 “and rejecting all Overtures of Peace which had been made
 “to him; and in regard of all these things, they resolv’d to
 “make no more Address to him, but, by their own Autho-
 “rity, to provide for the Peace and Welfare of the King-
 “dom.

THIS Declaration found much opposition in the House of Commons, in respect of the particular reproaches they had now cast upon the Person of the King, which they had heretofore, in their own publick Declarations to the People, charged upon the evil Counsellors, and Persons about him; and some Persons had been entreated, and condemn'd, for those very crimes which they now accused his Majesty of. But there was much more exception to their conclusion from those premises, that therefore they would address themselves no more to him, and *John Maynard*, a Member of the House, and a Lawyer of great eminence, who had too much complied and concurred with their irregular, and unjust proceedings, after he had with great vehemence oppos'd, and contradicted the most odious Parts of their Declaration, told them plainly, "that by this resolution of making no more Address to the King, they did, as far as in Them lay, dissolve the Parliament; and that, from the time of that determination, he knew not with what severity, in point of Law, they could meet together, or any Man join with them in their Councils: That it was of the Essence of Parliaments, that they should upon all occasions repair to the King; and that his Majesty's refusal at any time to receive their Petitions, or to admit their Addresses, had been always held the highest breach of their Privilege, because it tended to their dissolution without dissolving them; and therefore if they should now, on their parts, determine that they would receive no more Messages from him (which was likewise a part of their Declaration) nor make any more address to him, they did, upon the matter, declare that they were no longer a Parliament; and then, how could the People look upon them as such? This Argumentation being boldly press'd by a Man of that Learning and Authority, who had very seldom not been believ'd, made a great impression upon all Men who had not prostitu'd themselves to *Cromwell*, and his Party. But the other five meant not to maintain their resolution by discourses; well knowing where their strength lay; and so still called for the Question; which was carried by a plurality of Voices, as they foresaw it would; very many Persons who about'd the determination, not having Courage to provoke the powerful Men by opposing their dissent; others, satisfying themselves with the resolution to withdraw themselves, and to bear no farther part in the Councils; which *Maynard* himself did; and came no more to the House in very many Months, nor till there seem'd to be such an alteration in the minds of Men, that there would be a reversal of that monstrous determination; and many others did the same.

WHEN

WHEN this Declaration was thus pass'd the Commons, and by them sent to the House of Peers for their concurrence, the Manner of the Matter was of that importance as to need much Debate; but, with as little formality as was possible, it had the concurrence of that House, and was immediately Printed, and published, and new Orders sent to the life of *Wight*, for the more strict looking to, and guarding the King, that he might not escape.

THE publishing this Declaration wrought very different effects in the minds of the People, from what they expected it would produce; and it appear'd to be so publicly received, that many who had serv'd the Parliament in several unwarrantable Employments and Commissions, from the beginning of the War, in the City and in the Country, withdrew themselves from the Service of the Parliament; and much weigh'd against it, for declining all the Principles upon which they had engaged them. Many private Persons took upon them to publish Answers to that Declaration, that, the King himself being under so strict a restraint that he could make no Answers, the People might not be posses'd with the belief of it. And the several Answers of this kind wrought very much upon the People, who open'd their Mouths very loud against the Parliament and the Army; and the clamour was excresc'd by the increase of Taxes, and Impositions, which were rais'd by new Ordinances of Parliament upon the Kingdom; and though they were so entirely possess'd of the whole Kingdom, and the Forces and Garrisons thereof, that they had no Enomy to fear or apprehend, yet they disbanded no part of their Army; and notwithstanding they rais'd incredible Sums of Money, upon the Sale of the Church and the Crown Lands; for which they found Purchasers enough amongst their own Party in the City, Army, and Country, and upon composition with Delinquents, and the sale of their Lands who refused, or could not be admitted, to compound (which few refused to do who could be admitted, in regard that their Estates were all under Sequestration, and the Rems thereof paid to the Parliament, so that till they compounded they had nothing to support themselves, whereby they were driven into extreme wants and necessities, and were compelled to make their Compositions, at above unreasonable rates, however, that they might thereby be enabled to sell some part to preserve the rest, and their Houses from being pulled down, and their Woods from being wasted or spoil'd) Notwithstanding all these well receiv'd receipts, which they ever pretend'd should ease the People of their Burthen, and should suffice to pay the Army their expences at Sea, and Land, their debts were so great, that they rais'd the publick Taxes; and besides

Mr Maynard, as
generally is
suppos'd.

besides all Customs, and Excise, they Levied a Monthly Contribution of above a hundred thousand pounds by a Land Tax throughout the Kingdom; which was more than had been ever done before, and it being at a time when they had no Enemy who contended with them, was an Evidence that it would have no end, and that the Army was still to be kept up, to make good the resolution they had taken, to have no more to do with the King; and that made the resolution generally the more odious. All this grew the more insupportable, by reason that upon the publishing this last monstrous Declaration, most of those Persons of condition, who, as hath been said before, had been seduced to do them Service throughout the Kingdom, declined to appear longer in so detestable an employment; and now a more inferior sort of the common People succeeded in those employments, who thereby exercised to great insulce over those who were in Quality above them, and who always had a power over them, that was very grievous; and for this, let the circumstances be what they would, no redress could be ever obtain'd, all distinction of Quality being renounced. They who were not above the condition of ordinary inferior Constables, six or seven years before, were now the Justices of Peace, and Sequestrators, and Commissioners; who executed the Commands of the Parliament, in all the Counties of the Kingdom, with such rigor and Tyranny, as was natural for such Persons to use over and towards those upon whom they had formerly looked at such a distance. But let their sufferings be never so great, and the murmur and discontent never so general, there was no shadow of hope by which they might obtain any possible relief: so that they who had struggled as long as they were able, submitted patiently to the Yoke, with the more satisfaction, in that they saw many of those who had been the principal Contrivers of all the mischiefs to satisfy their own Ambition, and that they might govern others, reduced to almost as ill a condition as themselves, at least to as little Power, and Authority, and Security; whilst the whole Government of the Nation remain'd, upon the matter, wholly in Their hands who in the beginning of the Parliament were scarce ever heard of, or their names known but in the places where they inhabited.

THE King being in this melancholick neglected Condition, and the Kingdom possessed by the new Rulers, without controul, in the new method of Government, where every thing was done, and submitted to, which they propounded; they yet found that there was no foundation laid for their Peace, and future Security; that beside the general discontent of the Nation, which for the present they did not fear, they

were to expect new Troubles from *Ireland*, and from *Saxland*; which would, in the Progress, have an influence upon *England*.

In *Ireland* (which they had totally neglected from the difference and content between the Parliament and the Army, and from the King's being in the Army) though they were possess'd of *Dublin*, and upon the matter, of the whole Province of *Munster*, by the activity of the Lord *Inchiquin*, and the Lord *Broggill*; yet the *Irish* Rebels had very great Forces, which cover'd all the other parts of the Kingdom. But they had no kind of fears of the *Irish*, whom they vanquish'd as often as they saw, and never declined Fighting upon any inequality of Numbers: they had an apprehension of another Enemy. The Marquis of *Ormond* had often attended the King at *Hampston* Court, and had great respect to him, whilst he stay'd in *London*, by all those who had serv'd the King, and not less by those who were known to be unsatisfy'd with the proceedings both of the Parliament and the Army; and by the *Scottish* Commissioners, who had frequently private Meetings with him; inasmuch as the Officers of the Army, who gave the first motion to all extravagant Acts of power, had resolv'd to have apprehended and imprison'd him, as a Man worthy of their fear, though they had nothing to charge him with; and by his Articles, he had liberty to stay six Months where he would in *England* (which time was little more than half expired) and then he might Transport himself into what part he desired beyond the Seas. The Marquis had notice of this their purpose; and having consider'd with his Majesty as much as was necessary, upon a reasonable foresight of what was like to fall out, shortly after, or about the time that the King left *Hampston* Court, he in disguise, and without being attended by more than one Servant, rid into *Salix*; and in an obscure and unguarded Port of *Ormond* or Harbour, put himself on board a *Shallop*, which safely Transported him into *Normandy*; from whence he waited upon the Queen, and the Prince of *Wales*, at *Paris*; to whom *Ormond* could not but be very welcome.

At the same time, there were Commissioners arriv'd from *Ireland* from the Confederate Roman Catholics; who, after they had driven the King's Authority from them, quickly found they needed it for their own preservation. The Factions grew so great amongst the *Irish* themselves, and the Pope's Nuncio exercised his Authority with so great Tyranny and Insolence, that all were weary of him; and found that the Parliament, as soon as they should send more Forces over, would easily, by reason of their divisions, reduce them into great distress, and necessities. They therefore sent Commis-

tioners to the Queen and Prince to desire, "that by their favour, they might have the King's Authority again among them; to which they promised, for the future, a ready obedience, with many acknowledgements of their former miscarriage and ill behaviour. It is very true that the Marquis of Antrim, who was one of the Commissioners, and was always inseparable from the highest Ambition (though without any Qualifications for any great Trust) had entertain'd the hope, that by the Queen's favour, who had too good an opinion of him, the Government of Ireland should be committed to Him, and his Conduct; which none of the other Commissioners thought of, nor had their Eyes fixed on any Man but the Marquis of Ormond, in whom the King's Authority was vested; for he remain'd still Lieutenant of Ireland by the King's Commission; and they had reason to believe that all the English Protestants, who had formerly liv'd under his Government (without a conjunction with whom, they well foresaw the Irish would not be able to defend or preserve themselves) would return to the same obedience, as soon as he should return to receive it. The Queen and the Prince thought not of trusting any other in that most hazardous and difficult Employment, and to refer'd the Commissioners to make all their Overtures, and Propositions to him; who knew well enough, what they would not do if they could, and what they could not do if they had a mind to it; and how devoted forever he was to the King's Service, nothing propos'd or undertaken by them, could have been the least inducement to him to engage himself, and to depend upon their Fidelity. But there were three things, which with the great and entire Zeal for the King's Service, to which he had dedicated himself, made him believe that he might with some success appear again in that Kingdom, in this conjuncture; and that his so doing, might have a good effect upon the temper of England towards the mending his Majesty's Condition there.

FIRST, the Cardinal *Maesarin* (who then absolutely govern'd *verm'd France*) seem'd very earnestly to advise it, and promise to supply him with a good Sum of Money, and force of Arms and Ammunition to carry with him; which he knew very well how to dispose of there. Secondly, he was privy to the *Scott's* Engagement, and to a resolution of many Persons of great Honour in England, to appear in Arms at the same time; which was design'd for the Summer following; where by the Parliament and Army, which were like to have new divisions amongst themselves, would not be able to send any considerable Supplies into Ireland; without which, their Power there, was not like to be Formidable. Thirdly, which was a greater Encouragement than the other two, he had, during

during his abode in England, held a close correspondence with the Lord *Inchiquin*, President of the Province of *Munster* in Ireland, who had the full Power of Command of all the English Army there; which was a better Body of Men than the Parliament had in any other part of that Kingdom. That Lord was weary of his Masters, and did not think the Service he had done the Parliament (which indeed had been very great, and without which it is very probable that whole Kingdom had been united to his Majesty's Service) well requited; and did really and heartily abhor the Proceedings of the Parliament, and Army, towards the King; and did therefore resolve to redeem what he had formerly done amiss, with exposing all he had for his Majesty's Restoration; and had frankly promised the Marquis to receive him into *Munster*, as the King's Lieutenant of that Kingdom; and that That whole Province, and Army, should pay him all Obedience; and that against the time he should be sure of his presence, he would make a Coalition with the Irish in Order to a firm conjunction of that whole Kingdom for the King. After the Marquis came into France, he receiv'd still Letters from that Lord to hasten his Journey thither.

THESE were the Motives which dispos'd the Marquis to comply with the Queen's, and the Prince's Command to prepare himself for that Expedition; and so he concert'd all things with the Irish Commissioners; who return'd into their Country, with promises to dispose their General Assembly to consent to those Conditions as might not bring a greater prejudice to the King, than any conjunction with them could be of advantage.

THE Parliament had too many Spies, and Agents at Paris, not to be inform'd of whatsoever was whisper'd there; but whether they undervalued any conjunction with the Irish (for the Lord *Inchiquin* they had no suspicion) or were content of the Cardinal's kindness, that he would not advance any design against them, they were not so apprehensive of Trouble from Ireland as they were of their Brethren from Scotland; where they heard of great preparations, and of a purpose to call a Parliament, and to raise an Army; which, they believ'd, would find too many Friends in England, the Presbyterian Party holding up their Heads again, both in the Parliament, and the City. Besides, they knew that some Persons of Quality and Intreld, who had serv'd the King in good Command in the late Wars, were gone into Scotland, and well receiv'd there; which, they thought, would draw the King's Party together upon the first appearance.

AFTER the King had been so infamously deliver'd up to the Parliament by the Scots at *New-Castle*, and as soon as the

Army had possess'd themselves of him, that Nation was in terrible Apprehension that the Officers of the Army would have made their Peace, and established their own greatness by restoring the King to his just Rights, of which they had so foully depriv'd him; and then the conscience of their guilt made them pefame, what Their Lot must be; and therefore, the same Commissioners who had been join'd with the Committee of Parliament in all the Transactions, made haste to *Westminster* again to their old Seats, to keep their Interest; which was great in all the Presbyterian Party, both of Parliament and City; for there remain'd still the same profession of maintaining the strict Union between the two Kingdoms, and that all Transactions should be by joint Councils. And as soon as the King appear'd with some few of Liberty, and his own Servants had leave to attend him, no Men appear'd with more confidence than the *Scottish* Commissioners; the Earl of *London*, the Earl of *Landwardale*, and the rest; as if they had been the Men who had contriv'd his Restoration: No Men in so frequent Whispers with the King; and they found some way to get themselves so much believ'd by the Queen, when whom they held a diligent Correspondence, that her Majesty very earnestly perswaded the King "to trust them, "as the only Persons who had Power and Credit to do him "Service, and to redeem him from the Captivity he was in. Duke *Hamilton*, who had been sent Prisoner by the King to the Castle of *Penderennis*, and had been deliver'd from thence by the Army, when that place was taken in the end of the War, had enjoy'd his Liberty at *London*, and in his own House at *Osney*, as long as he thought fit, that is, near as long as the King was with the *Scottish* Army and at *New-Castle*; and some time before his Majesty was deliver'd up to the Parliament Commissioners, he went into *Scotland* to his own House at *Hamilton*; look'd upon by that Nation as one who had unjustly suffer'd under the King's Jealousy, and displeasure, and who remain'd still very faithful to him; and during the time that he remain'd in and about *London*, he found means to converse with many of the King's Party, and made great professions that he would do the King a very signal Service, which he desired them to assure his Majesty of; and seem'd exceedingly trouble'd and ashamed at his Country Men's giving up the King. His having no share in that infamy made him the more trusted in *England*, and to be receiv'd with the more respect in *Scotland* by all those who abhor'd that Transaction.

THE Commissioners who attended his Majesty, made great Apologies for what had been done, imputing it wholly to the "malice and power of the Marquis of *Argyle*, and to his

"Credit

OF THE REBELLION; &c.

"Credit, and Authority in the Council, and in the Army; "so that nothing could be done which was desired by Himself "Men; but that now Duke *Hamilton* was amongst them, "who they knew was most devoted to his Majesty, they "should be able to over-power *Argyle*; and the proceedings "of the Army and the Parliament, were so equal, and so contrary to their publick Faith, that they were confident that "all *Scotland* would rise as one Man for his Majesty's defence "and vindication; and they were well assur'd, there would "be such a Party in *England* of those who were faithful to his Majesty, appear at the same time, that there would be little "question of being able, between them, to be had enough "for that part of the Army that would oppose them; which his Majesty knew well was resolv'd by many Persons of Honour, who afterwards perform'd what they had promis'd.

WHEN the Commissioners had, by these Informations, gain'd new Credit with the King, and had undertaken, that their Invading *England* with an Army equal to the undertaking, should be the foundation upon which all other hopes were to depend (for no attempt in *England* could be reasonable before such an Invasion, which was likewise to be had, that it might be at the same time when the Marquis of *Ormond* should appear in *Ireland*) they began to propose many Conditions, which would be necessary for his Majesty to engage himself to perform towards that Nation; without which *Scotland's* would not be easy to induce it into so unanimous a Consent and Engagement, as was necessary for such an Enterprise. They

They ^{the Commis-} ^{of} ^{scotland's} ^{private} ^{travels with} ^{the King at} ^{Westminster} ^{was} ^{demanded,} ^{that} ^{such} ^a ^{number} ^{of} ^{Scottish} ^{men} ^{should} ^{be} ^{always} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{Court,} ^{of} ^{the} ^{Bel-Chamber,} ^{and} ^{all} ^{other} ^{places} ^{about} ^{the} ^{Persons} ^{of} ^{the} ^{King,} ^{and} ^{Prince,} ^{and} ^{Duke} ^{of} ^{Tork} : ^{That} ^{the} ^{Baron} ^{and} ^{Cardinal} ^{should} ^{be} ^{put} ^{into} ^{the} ^{hands} ^{of} ^{the} ^{Northern} ^{Counties} ; ^{which} ^{stretch'd} ^{so} ^{far} ^{upon} ^{the} ^{Honour} ^{and} ^{Interest} ^{of} ^{the} ^{English} , ^{that} ^{his} ^{Majesty} ^{utterly} ^{refus'd} ^{to} ^{consent} ^{to} ^{it} ; ^{and} ^{to} ^{the} ^{Agreement} ^{was} ^{not} ^{concluded}

H 3

when

when the King left *Hampton Court*. But, as soon as he was at the Isle of *Wight*, the *Scottish* Commissioners repaired to him, at the same time with those who were sent to him from the Parliament for his Royal Assent to those four Bills spoken of before; then, in that season of despair, they prevailed with him to Sign the Propositions he had formerly refused; and, having great apprehension from the Jealousies they knew the Army had of them, that they should be seized upon, and searched in their return to *London*, they made up their precious Contract in Lead; and buried it in a Garden in the Isle of *Wight*, from whence they easily found means afterwards to retrieve it. So constant were those Men to their Principles, and so wary to be sure to be no losers by returning to their Allegiance; to which neither Confidence nor Honour did invite or dispose them. So after a stay of some Months at *London* to adjust all Accounts, and receive the remainder of those Monies they had so dearly Earn'd, or so much of it as they had hope would be paid, they return'd to *Scotland*, with the hatred and contempt of the Army, and the Parliament, that was then govern'd by it; but with the veneration of the Presbyterian Party, which still had Faith in them, and exceedingly depended upon their future Negotiation; which was now incumbent upon them: and in order thereto, a fast intercourse and correspondence was sent, as well by constant Letters, as by frequent Embassies of their Clergy, or other Persons, whose devotion to their Combination was unquestionable.

It can never be enough wonder'd at that the *Scottish* Presbyterians, being a watchful and crafty People, the principal of whom were as unreluctant by Confidence as any of the Officers of the Army were, and only intended their particular advantage and ambition, should yet hope to carry on their Interest by such conditions, and limitations, as all wise Men far must absolutely ruin and destroy it. They knew well enough the Spirit of their own People, and that though it would be no hard matter to draw a numerous Army enough together, yet that being together it would be able to do very little towards any vigorous attempt; and therefore their chief dependence was upon the Assistance they should find ready to join with them in *England*. It is true, they did believe the Body of the Presbyterians in *England* to be much more considerable than in truth it was; yet they did, or might have known, that the most considerable Persons who in the concert with the other Faction were content to be thought Presbyterians, were so only as they thought it might restore the King; which they more impatiently desired, than any alteration in the Government of the Church; and that they did heartily intend a conjunction with all the Royal Party, upon whose Interest,

Conduct,

Conduct, and Courage, they did more rely than upon the power of the *Scots*; who did publicly profess that all the King's Friends should be most welcome; and receiv'd by them; nor did they trust any one Presbyterian in *England* with the knowledge of the Particulars contain'd in the Agreement with the King; but conceal'd it between the three Persons who transacted it; and if it had been known, *Cromwell* might as easily have overrun the Country before their Army invaded *England*, as he did afterwards; nor would one *English* Man have join'd with them. Besides the infamous Circumstances by which they extorted Concessions from the King, which would have render'd any Contract odious (it being made in those four days, which were all that were assign'd both to the *English* and *Scottish* Commissioners, so that his Majesty had not only no time to advise with others, but could not advise with Himself up on so many monstrous Particulars as were demanded of him by both Kingdoms; which if he could have done, he would no more then have submitted to them, than he did afterwards upon long deliberation, and when his Life appear'd to be in mere manifest danger by his refusal) the Particulars themselves were the most scandalous, and derogatory to the Honour and Interest of the *English* Nation; and would have been abominated, if known and understood, by all Men, with all possible indignation.

AFTER they had made his Majesty give a good Testimony of his League and Covenant, in the Preface of their Agree-^{The Substance of the} ment, and "that the intentions of those who had enter'd into 1702 of the Treas-
"it, were real for the preservation of his Majesty's Person, of Dec.
"and Authority, according to their Allegiance, and no ways
"to diminish his just Power and Greatness, they obliged him
"as soon as he could, with Freedom, Honour, and Safety, he
"present in a free Parliament, to confirm the said League and
"Covenant by Act of Parliament in both Kingdoms, for the
"security of all who had taken, or should take it. It is true,
"they admitted a Provision, "that none who was unwilling,
"should be constrain'd to take it. They likewise oblig'd his
"Majesty "to confirm by Act of Parliament in *England*, Pres-
"byterian Government; the Directory for worship; and the
"Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*, for three years; so that
"his Majesty, and his Household, should not be hinder'd from
"using that form of Divine Service he had formerly practis'd;
"and that during those three years there should be a Confu-
"sion with the Assembly of Divines, to which twenty of
"the King's nomination should be added, and some from the
"Church of *Scotland*; and thereupon it should be determin'd
"by his Majesty, and the two Houses of Parliament, what
"form of Government should be establish'd after the expira-
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tion of those years, as should be most agreeable to the word of God: that an effectual course should be taken by Act of Parliament, and all other ways needful or expedient, for the suppressing the opinions and practices of Anti-Trinitarians, Arians, Socinians, Anti-Scripturists, Anabaptists, Antinomians, Arminians, Familists, Brownists, Separatists, Independents, Libertines, and Seekers, and, generally, for the suppressing all Blasphemy, Heresy, Schism, and all such scandalous Doctrines and practices as are contrary to the light of Nature, and to the known Principles of Christianity, whether concerning Faith, Worship, or Conversation, or the power of Godliness, or which may be destructive to Order and Government, or to the Peace of the Church or Kingdom. The King promised, that in the next Session of Parliament, after the Kingdom of Scotland should declare for his Majesty, in pursuance of this Agreement, he should in Person, or by Commission, confirm the League and Covenant in that Kingdom; and concerning all the Acts passed in the last Parliament of that Kingdom, his Majesty declared, that he should then likewise be content to give assent by Act of Parliament, that neither He, nor his Successors, should Quarrel, call in Question, or command the contrary of any of them, nor question any for giving Obedience to the same. Then they made a long recital of the Agreement the Parliament of England had made, when the Scots Army returned to Scotland, that the Army under Fairfax should be disbanded; and of that Army's submitting themselves: of their taking the King from Holdenby, and keeping him Prisoner till he fled from them to the Isle of Wight; and since that time both his Majesty, and the Commissioners for the Kingdom of Scotland, had very earnestly desired that the King might come to London, in safety, honour, and freedom, for a Personal Treaty with the Houses and the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland, which, they said, had been granted, but that the Army had, in violent manner, forced away divers Members of the Parliament from the discharge of their trust, and possessed themselves of the City of London, and all the strengths, and Garrisons of the Kingdoms: And that by the strength, and influence of that Army, and their adherents, Propositions and Bills had been sent to the King without the advice and consent of the Kingdom of Scotland, contrary to the Treaties which are between the two Kingdoms, and destructive to Religion, his Majesty's just Rights, the Privileges of Parliament, and Liberty of the Subject; from which Propositions, and Bills, the Scottish Commissioners had defended, and protested against, in the name of the Kingdom of Scotland.

AFTER

AFTER this preamble, and recital, they said, that concerning as his Majesty is willing to give satisfaction containing the settling Religion, and other matters in difference, as is express in this Agreement, the Kingdom of Scotland doth oblige and engage it self, first, in a peaceable way and manner to endeavour that the King may come to London in safety, honour, and freedom, for a Personal Treaty with the Houses of Parliament and the Commissioners of Scotland, upon such Propositions as should be mutually agreed on between the Kingdoms, and such Propositions as his Majesty should think fit to make; and for this end all Armies should be disbanded; and in case that this should not be granted, that Declarations should be emitted by the Kingdom of Scotland in pursuance of this Agreement, against the unjust proceedings of the two Houses of Parliament towards his Majesty and the Kingdom of Scotland; in which they would assert the Right that belonged to the Crown, in the power of the Militia, the Great Seal, bestowing of Honours and Offices of Trust, choice of the Privy Counsellors, and the Right of the King's Negative Voice in Parliament: And that the Queen's Majesty, the Prince, and the rest of the Royal Issue, ought to remain where his Majesty shall think fit in either of his Kingdoms, with safety, honour, and freedom: That, upon the issuing out this Declaration, an Army should be sent out of Scotland into England, for the preservation, and establishment of Religion; for defence of his Majesty's Person, and Authority, and restoring him to his Government, to the just Rights of the Crown, and his full Revenues; for defence of the Privileges of Parliament, and Liberties of the Subject; for making a firm Union between the Kingdoms under his Majesty, and his Posterity, and settling a lasting Peace. In pursuance whereof, the Kingdom of Scotland was to endeavour that there might be a free and full Parliament in England, and that his Majesty may be with them in honour, safety, and freedom; and that a speedy period be set to the present Parliament. And they undertook, that the Army which they would raise, should be upon its march, before the Message and Declaration should be deliver'd to the Houses. It was farther agreed, that all such in the Kingdoms of England, and Ireland, as would join with the Kingdom of Scotland in pursuance of this Agreement, should be protected by his Majesty in their Persons, and Estates; and that all his Majesty's Subjects in England or Ireland who would join with him, in pursuance of this Agreement, might come to the Scottish Army, and join with them, or else put themselves into other Bodies in England or Wales, for prosecution of the same ends, as the

“the King’s Majesty should judge most convenient, and under such Commanders, or Generals of the *English* Nation, “as his Majesty should think fit: And that all such should be protected by the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and their Army, “in their Persons and Estates; and where any injury or wrong “is done unto them, they would be careful to see them fully repaired, as far as it should be in their power to do; and “likewise when any injury or wrong is done to those who “joyn with the Kingdom of *Scotland*, his Majesty shall be “careful of their full reparation.

They obliged his Majesty to promise “that neither him- self, nor any by his Authority or Knowledge, should make “or admit of any Cession, Pacification, or Agreement whatsoever for Peace, nor of any Treaty, Propositions, Bills, or “any other ways for that end, with the Houses of Parliament, or any Army or Party in *England*, or *Ireland*, without the advice and consent of the Kingdom of *Scotland*; “and, reciprocally, that neither the Kingdom of *Scotland*, “nor any having their Authority, should make or admit of “any of these any manner of way, with any whatsoever, without his Majesty’s advice or consent: And that, upon the settlement of a Peace, there should be an Act of Oblivion to “be agreed on by his Majesty, and both his Parliaments of both Kingdoms: That his Majesty, the Prince, or both, “should come into *Scotland* upon the invitation of that Kingdom, and their Declaration, that they should be in honour, freedom, and safety, when possibly they could come with “safety, and convenience; and that the King should contribute his utmost endeavour, both at home and abroad, for assisting “the Kingdom of *Scotland* for carrying on this War by Sea and Land, and for their Supplies by Monies, Armes, Ammunition, and all other things requisite, as also for guarding the “Coasts of *Scotland* with Ships, and protecting all their Merchants in the free exercise of their Trade and Commerce “with other Nations; and likewise that his Majesty was willing, and did authorize the *Scottish* Army to possess themselves “of *Berrwick*, *Carlisle*, *New Castle* upon *Tyne*, with the Castle “of *Tinsmouth*, and the Town of *Hartlepool*: those places to be for Retreat, and Magazines; and that, when the Peace “of the Kingdom should be settled, the Kingdom of *Scotland* should remove their Forces, and deliver back again “those Towns and Castles.

AND as if all this had not been recompence enough for the wonderful Service they were like to perform, they obliged the King to promise and undertake to pay, the remainder of that Brotherly Assistance which was yet unpaid upon the large Treaty after their first Invasion of *England*, and likewise

two hundred thousand pounds, which remain’d still due upon the last Treaty made with the Houses of Parliament for return of the *Scottish* Army, when they had deliver’d up the King; and also, “that payment should be made to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, for the charge, and expence of their Army in this future War, with due recompence for the losses “which they should sustain therein; and that due satisfaction, “according to the Treaty on that behalf betwixt the two Kingdoms, should be made to the *Scottish* Army in *Ireland*, “out of the Lands of the Kingdom, or otherwise: And that the King, according to the intentions of his Father, should “endeavour a compleat Union of the two Kingdoms, so “they may be one under his Majesty, and his posterity; or “if that cannot speedily be effected, that all Liberties and Privileges, concerning Commerce, Traffick, Manufactures, “peculiar to the Subjects of either Nation, shall be common “to the Subjects of both Kingdoms without distinction; and “that there be a Communication, and mutual capacity, of “all other Liberties of the Subjects in the two Kingdoms: “That a competent number of Ships should be yearly assigned, and appointed out of his Majesty’s Navy, which “should attend the Coasts of *Scotland*, for a Guard, and freedom of Trade of that Nation; and that his Majesty should “declare that his Successors, as well as himself, are obliged to the performance of the Articles, and Conditions of this Agreement; but that his Majesty shall not be obliged to the performance of the aforesaid Articles, until the Kingdom of “*Scotland* shall declare for him in pursuance of this Agreement; and that the whole Articles, and Conditions aforesaid, shall be finished, perfected, and perform’d, before the “return of the *Scottish* Army; and that when they return into “*Scotland*, at the same time, *small* & *small*, all Armies should “be disbanded in *England*. And for a complement, and to give a relict to all the rest, the King engag’d himself “to employ those of the *Scottish* Nation equally with the *English* “in all Foreign Employments, and Negotiations; and that a “third part of all the Offices and Places about the King, “Queen, and Prince, should be conferr’d upon some Persons of that Nation; and that the King and Prince, or one of them, will frequently reside in *Scotland*, that the Subjects “of that Kingdom may be known to them. This Treaty and Agreement being thus presented to the King by the *Scottish* Commissioners in the Castle of *Carisbrooke*, his Majesty was prevailed with to sign the same: the *Scottish* Commissioners “in the word of a King, to “perform His part of the said Articles; and the Earl of *Lowden*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, and the Earl of *Lantherdale*, and the

the Earl of *Larick*, being intrusted as Commissioners from that Kingdom, sign'd it likewise at the same time; and engaged themselves⁴⁵ upon their Honour, Faith, and Confidence, and all that is dear to Honest Men, to endeavour to the utmost of their power, that the Kingdom of *Scotland* should engage to perform what was on its part to be perform'd,⁴⁶ which they were confident the Kingdom of *Scotland* would do, and they themselves would hazard their Lives and Fortunes in pursuance thereof.

No Man, who reads this Treaty (which very few Men have ever done) can wonder that such an Engagement met with the fate that attended it; which contain'd so many monstrous Concessions, that except the whole Kingdom of *England* had been likewise imprison'd in *Carlisle* Castle with the King, it could not be imagin'd that it was possible to be perform'd; and the three Persons who were Parties to it, were too wise to believe that it could be punctually observ'd; which they used as the best Argument, and which only prevailed with the King. That the Treaty was only made to enable them to engage the Kingdom of *Scotland* to raise an Army, and to unite it in his Majesty's Service; which less than those Concessions would never induce them to do; but when that Army should be enter'd into *England*, and so many other Armies should be on foot of his Majesty's Subjects for the vindication of his Interest, there would be no body to exact all those particulars; but every Body would submit to what his Majesty should think fit to be done; which though it had been urg'd more than once before to induce the King to consent to other inconveniencies, which they would never after release to him, did prevail with him at this time. And, to confirm him in the belief of it, they were contented that it should be insert'd under the same Treaty, as it was, "that his Majesty did declare, that by the Clause of conferring Presbyterian Government by Act of Parliament, he is neither oblig'd to desire the setting of Presbyterian Government, nor to present any Bills to that effect; and that he likewise understands that no Person whatsoever shall suffer in his Estate, nor undergo any Corporal punishment, for not submitting to Presbyterian Government; his Majesty understanding that this indemnity should not extend to those who are mention'd in the Article against Toleration: and to this the three Earls likewise subscrib'd their hands." As a Witness only, as they said, that his Majesty had made that Declaration in their presence, not as Assenters; so wary they were of admitting jealousy to their Masters, or of being thought to be less rigid in fundamental a Point, as they knew that would be thought to be.

T H E R E

THERE was a wonderful difference, throughout their whole proceedings, between the heads of those who were thought to sway the Presbyterian Councils, and those who govern'd the Independents, though they were equally Masters of dissimulation, and had equally malice and wickedness in their Intentions, though not of the same kind, and were equally unreluctant by any scruples or motions of Conscience, the Independents always doing that, which how ill and unjustifiable sever, contributed still to the end they aimed at, and to the conclusion they meant to bring to pass; whereas the Presbyterians, for the most part, did somewhat that reasonably must destroy their own end, and cross that which they first and principally design'd; and there were two Reasons that might naturally produce this ill Success to the latter, at least hinder'd the even progress and current which favour'd the other. First, their Councils were most distracted and divided, being made up of many Men, whose humours and natures must be observ'd, and complied with, and whose concurrence was necessary to the carrying on the same designs, though their Inclinations did not concur in them; whereas the other Party was entirely led and govern'd by two or three, to whom they resign'd, implicitly, the conduct of their Interest; who advanced, when they saw it seasonable, and stood still, or retired, or even declined the way they best liked, when they saw any inconvenient jealousy awaken'd by the Progress they had made.

In the second place, the Presbyterians, by whom I mean the *Sexts*, form'd all their Councils by the Inclinations, and Affections of the People; and first consider'd how they might corrupt, and seduce, and dispose them to second their purposes; and how far they might depend upon their concurrence and assistance, before they resolv'd to make any attempt; and this made them in such a degree submit to their senseless, and wretched Clergy: whose unseasonable breath contended and govern'd the People, and whose Authority was prevalent upon their own Wives, and in their Domestic Affairs; and yet they never communicated to them more than the outside of their designs: Whereas, on the other side, *Cromwell*, and the few others with whom he Consulted, first consider'd what was absolutely necessary for their main and determin'd end; and then, whether it were right or wrong, to make all other means subservient to it; to cuzzen and deceive Men, as long as they could induce them to contribute to what they desired, upon Motives how foreign soever; and when they would keep company with them no longer, or farther serve their purposes, to compel them by force to submit to what they should not be able to oppose; and so the one resolv'd, only

to do what they believ'd the People would like and approve; and the other, that the People should like and approve what they had resolv'd. And this difference in the measures they took, was the true cause of so different Success in all they undertook. *Machiavel*, in this, was in the right, though he got an ill name by it with those who take what he says from the report of other Men, or do not enough consider themselves what he says, and his method in speaking: (He was as great an Enemy to Tyranny and Injustice in any Government, as any Man then was, or now is; and says) "that a Man were better be a Dog than be subject to those Passions and Appetites, which pollute all Unjust, and Ambitious, and Tyrannical Persons; but he contemns, "that they who are so transported, and have entertain'd such wicked designs as are void of all Confidence, must not think to prosecute them by the rules of Confidence, which was laid aside, or subdued, because they enter'd upon them; they must make no scruple of doing all those impious things which are necessary to compass and support the Impiety to which they have devoted themselves; and therefore he commends *Cesar Bergia* for not being startled with breach of Faith, Perjuries, and Murders, for the removal of those Men who he was sure would cross, and enervate the whole Enterprise he had resolv'd, and addicted himself to; and blames those Usurpers, who had made themselves Tyrants, for hoping to support a Government by Justice, which they had assumed unjustly, and which having weakly attempted, they manifestly lost by not being wicked enough. The common old Adage, "that he who hath drawn his Sword against his Prince, ought to throw away the Scabbard, never to think of sheathing it again, will still hold good; and they who enter upon unarramable Enterprises, must pursue many unarramable ways to preserve themselves from the penalty of the first guilt.

CROMWELL, though the greatest Disturber living, always made his Hypocrisy of singular use and benefit to him; and never did any thing, how ungracious or imprudent soever it seem'd to be, but what was necessary to the design; even his roughness and unpoliteness, which, in the beginning of the Parliament, he affected contrary to the smoothness, and complacency, which his Cousin, and beloved Friend, Mr *Hambden* practis'd towards all Men, was necessary; and his first publick Declaration, in the beginning of the War, to his Troop when it was first Muller'd, "that he would not deceive or cozen them by the perplexed and involv'd expressions "in his Commission, to fight for King and Parliament; and therefore told them, "that if the King chanced to be in the Body of the Enemy that he was to Charge, he would sit

soon discharge his Pistol upon him, as any other private Person; and if their Conscience would not permit them to do the like, he advis'd them not to lift themselves in his Troop, or under his Command; which was generally look'd upon as imprudent, and malicious, and might, by the professions the Parliament then made, have prov'd dangerous to him; yet serv'd his turn, and fever'd from others, and united among themselves, all the furious, and incens'd Men against the Government, whether Ecclesiastical or Civil, to look upon him as a Man for their turn, upon whom they might depend, as one who would go through his work that he undertook. And his strict and unsociable Humour in not keeping company with the other Officers of the Army in their Jollities, and Excesses, to which most of the superior Officers under the Earl of *Essex* were inclined, and by which he often made himself ridiculous or contemptible, drew all those of the like sort or reserv'd Natures, to his Society and Conversation, and gave him opportunity to form their Understandings, Inclinations, and Resolutions, to his own Model. By this he grew to have a wonderful Interest in the Common Soldiers, out of which, as his Authority increas'd, he made all his Officers, well instructed how to live in the same manner with their Soldiers, that they might be able to apply them to their own purposes: whilst he look'd upon the Presbyterian Humour as the best incentive to Rebellion, no Man more a Presbyterian; he sung all Psalms with them to their Tunes, and sav'd the longest Sermons as much as they; but when he discern'd that they would prescribe some limits and bounds to their Rebellion, that it was not well teach'd, and would expire soon as some few particulars were granted to them in Religion, which he cared not for; and then that the Government must run still in the same Channel; it concern'd him to make it better; "that the State had been more Devis'd by the Civil than by the Ecclesiastical Power; and therefore that the Change of one, would give them little ease, if there were not as great an alteration in the other; and if the whole Government in both were not reform'd, and alter'd; which though it made him generally odious at first, and reconcil'd many of his old Friends to him; yet it made those who remain'd, more cordial and firm: he could better compare his own Strength, and upon whom he might depend. This discovery made him contrive the new Model of the Army; which was the most unpopular Act, and disabled all those who first contriv'd the Rebellion, and who were the very Soul of it; and yet, if he had not brought that to pass,

and changed a General, who, though not very sharp-fighted, would never be govern'd, nor applied to any thing he did not like, for another who had no Eyes, and so would be willing to be led, all his designs must have come to nothing, and He remain'd a private Colonel of Hony, not considerable enough to be in any figure upon an advantageous Composition.

AFTER all the Successes of his new Model, he saw his Army was billicqued by that of the *Scots*, who took themselves to have equal merit with the other, and was thought to have contributed no less towards the suppression of the King, than that under *Fairfax* had done; and after all the Victories, and Reduction of the King to that lowness, desired still a composition, and to submit again to the Subjection of the King; nor was it yet time for him to own or communicate his resolution to the contrary, lest even many of those who wished the extirpation of Monarchy, might be startled at the difficulty of the Enterprize, and with the Power that was like to oppose them. He was therefore fitt to incense the People against the *Scottish* Nation, *as being a mercenary aid, entertain'd at a * vast Charge to the Kingdom, that was only to be paid their * Wages, and to be dismiss'd, without having the honour to * judge with them upon what conditions the King should * be receiv'd, and restor'd, the accomplishing whereof, ought * to be the particular Glory of the Parliament without a Rival, and that the King might owe the benefit wholly to * them. And this was as popular an Argument as he could embark himself in, the whole Kingdom in general having at that time a great detestation of the *Scots*; and they who most detest the King's Restoration, wou'd that he might have as little obligation to them as was possible, and that they might have as little credit afterwards with him. With this universal Applause, he compell'd the *Scottish* Army to depart the Kingdom, with that circumstance as must ever after render them odious and infamous. There now seem'd nothing more dangerous and destructive to the power and interest of the *English* Army, in so general a discontent throughout the Kingdom, than a division, and mutiny within it self; that the Common Soldiers should erect an Authority distinct from their Officers, by which they would choose to govern against their Superior Commanders, at least without them, and to fancy that they had an Interest of their own sever'd from theirs, for the preservation whereof they were to trust none but themselves; which had scarce ever been heard of before in any Army, and was looked upon as a preface of the ruin of the whole, and of those who had adhered to them; yet, if he had

not rais'd this seditious Spirit in the Army, he could not have prevented the disbanding some part of it, and sending another part of it into *Ireland*, before the *Scots* left *New Castle*; nor have been able to have taken the King from *Holmby* into the hands of the Army, after the *Scots* were gone. And after all his Hypocrisy towards the King and his Party, by which he prevented many inconveniences which might have befallen him, he could never have been rid of him again so unexpectantly, as by his changing his own countenance, and giving cause to the King to suspect the safety of his Person, and thereupon to make his Escape from the Army; by which his Majesty quickly became a Prisoner, and so was depriv'd of any resort, from whence many mischiefs might have proceeded to have disturb'd his Councils. How constantly he pursued this method, in his subsequent Actions, will be observ'd in its place.

CONTRARY to this the Presbyterian *Scots* proceeded, in all their Actions after their first Invasion in the year 1640, and always interwove some Conditions in their Councils and Transactions, which did not only prove, but, in the instant, might have been discern'd to be, diametrically opposit to their publick Interest, and to their particular Designs. It is very true, that their first Invasion, having their breach of Allegiance, might have some excuse from their Interest. They were a poor People, and though many particular Men of that Nation had receiv'd great Bounties, and were exceedingly enrich'd in the Court of *England* by King *James*, and the present King, yet those particular Men who had been, and then were in the Court, were, for the most part, Persons of little Interest in *Scotland*; nor was that Kingdom at all enrich'd by the conjunction with this; and they thought themselves expos'd to some late pressures, which were new to them, and which their Preachers told them * were against Conscience, * and an Invasion of their Religion; from which they had vindicated themselves fondly, and unwarrantably, that they might well expect to be call'd to an account hereafter, if those Persons whom they had most provoked, retain'd their interest still with the King, and in his Councils; from whom they were promised to be secured, and to be well paid for their pains, if they would, by marching into *England* with an Army, give their Friends their countenance to own their own grievances, and so to procure Relief and Security for both Kingdoms. In this Enterprize, the Success crown'd their work; they were thought a *Wick*, and *Religious* Nation; and after an unbloody War of above a year, they return'd into their Country laden with Spoils and great Riches; and were

liberally rewarded, as well for going out, as for coming into *England*. But from their return from this Expedition, their whole true Interest consisted in, and depended upon, an entire adhering to the King, and vindicating his Honour and Interest from all Assaults; and their being favour'd afterwards (when the King was in a hopeful way to have reduced his *English* Rebels to their Obedience, by the strength and power of his Arms) to make a second Invasion of the Kingdom, was a weak and childish Engagement, directly opposite to their Interest, except they had at the same time a Resolution to have changed their own Government, and for ever to have renounced Subjection to Monarchy (which was never in their purpose to do) or to withdraw it from the present King. Again, when his Majesty had trusted them so far (which they had never reason to expect) as to put his Royal Person into their hands, and thereby given them an opportunity to redeem themselves in the Eyes of the World, and to undo some part of the mischief they had done, it was surely their Interest to have join'd cordially with him, and firmly to have united themselves to his Party in vindication of the Law, and the Government established; and if they had not had the Courage at that time to have looked the *English* Army in the face, as apparently they had not, it had been their Interest to have retired with the King in the Head of their Army into *Scotland*; and, leaving good Garrisons in *New-Castle*, *Berwick*, and *Carlisle*, all which were in their possession, to have expected a Revolution in *England* from the Divisions amongst themselves, and from some conjunction with a strong Body of the King's *English* Party, which would quickly have found themselves together; but the delivery of the King up, besides the infamy of it, was, in view, destructive to all that could be thought their Interest.

AFTER all this, when they found themselves couzen'd and deceiv'd in all the measures they had taken, and laugh'd at and despis'd by those who had deceiv'd them, to have a new opportunity to serve the King, and then to insult upon such Conditions as must make it impossible for them to serve him effectually, was such a degree of weakness, and a deprav'd understanding, that they can never be looked upon as Men who knew what their Interest was, or what was necessary to advance their own designs. And yet we shall be oblig'd to observe how incorrigibly they adher'd to this obnoxious and froward Method, in all the Transactions they afterwards had with the King; all which turn'd, as it could not but do, to their own Ruin, and the Destruction of that Idol they Ador'd, and paid their Devotion to. But it is time to return to our

discourse.

discourse, from whence this tedious digression hath misled us.

ALL designs and Negotiations, abroad and at home, being in this state and condition, the King remain'd under a strict, and disconsolate imprisonment, no Man being suffer'd to speak with him, and all diligence used to intercept all Letters which he might pass to, or from him; yet he found means sometimes, by the affection and fidelity of some Inhabitants of the Island, to receive important Advertisements from his Friends; and to write to and receive Letters from the Queen; and so he inform'd her of the *Swiss*'s Transaction, and of all the other hopes he had; and seem'd to have some ease; and looked upon it as a good Omen, that in that desperate lowness of his Fortune, and notwithstanding all the care that was taken that none should be about him but Men of inhuman tempers and natures, void of all reverence towards God and Man, his Majesty's gracious disposition, and generous affability still wrought upon some Soldier, or other Person plac'd about him, to undertake, and perform some Offices of trust, in conveying Papers to and from him. So great a force and influence had Natural duty; or some desperate Men had so much craft, and foresail, to lay out a little application that might bring advantage to them in such a change as they neither look'd for, nor desired. But many who did undertake to perform those Offices, did not make good what they promis'd; which made it plain, they were permitted to get credit, that they might the more usefully betray.

IN the Parliament, there was no opposition or contradiction in any thing relating to the Publick; but in all those conditions of Transactions which concern'd particular Persons, with reference to Rewards, Preferments, or matter of profit, Men were consider'd according to the Party they were of; every day those receiv'd benefit who had appear'd most to adhere to the Army; the notorious Presbyterians were removed from places of Profit and Authority; which vexed them; and well prepar'd and dispos'd them to be ready for revenge. But the Pulpit-Skirmishes were higher than ever; the Presbyterians, in those fields, losing nothing of their Courage, having a notorious power in the City, notwithstanding the emulation of the Independents, who were more Learned and Rational; who, though they had not so great Congregations of the Common People, yet infected, and were followed by, the most substantial, and wealthy Citizens; and by others of better condition. To these Men *crossed*, and most of the Officers of the Army adhered, with bitterness against the other. But the Divinity of the time was not to be judg'd by the Preach-

ing.

ing, and Congregations in Churches, which were now thought not to be the fit and proper places for Devotion and Religious Assemblies, where the Bishops had exercised such limited Tyranny, and which had been polluted by their Original Consecrations. Liberty of Conscience was now become the great Charter; and Men who were *inspired*, Preached and Prayed, when, and where they would. *Cromwell* himself was the greatest Preacher; and most of the Officers of the Army, and many Common Soldiers, threw'd their *gifts* that way. Anabaptists grew very numerous, with whom the Independents concurr'd so far as to joyn with them for the utter abolishing of Tithes, as of Judicial Intimation; which was now the patrimony of the Presbyterians, and therefore prosecuted by one Party, and defended by the other, with equal passion, and Animosity. If any honest Man could have been at so much ease as to have beheld the prospect with delight, never was such a scene of confusion, as at this time had spread it self over the face of the whole Kingdom.

The Prince's
condition at
Paris

DURING all this time, the Prince remain'd at Paris under the Government of his Mother; exercised with that strictness, that though his Highness was above the Age of seventeen years, it was not desired that he should meddle in any business, or be sensible of the unhappy condition the Royal Family was in. The Assignment which was made by the Court of France for the better support of the Prince, was annex'd to the Monthly allowance given to the Queen, and receiv'd by Her, and distributed as she thought fit; such Clothes and other necessaries provided for his Highness as were thought convenient; her Majesty desiring to have it thought, that the Prince lived entirely upon her, and that it would not consist with the dignity of the Prince of Wales to be a Pensioner to the King of France. Herby none of his Highness's Servants had any pretence to ask Money, but they were to be contented with what should be allow'd to them; which was dispensed with a very sparing hand; nor was the Prince himself ever Master of ten Pistolos disposable as he desired. The Lord *Jermyn* was the Queen's chief Officer, and govern'd all Her receipts, and he lov'd plenty so well, that he would not be without it, whatever others suffer'd. All who had any relation to the Prince, were to implore His aid; and the Prince himself could obtain nothing but by Him; which made most Persons of Honour of the *English* Nation who were driven into Banishment, as many of the Nobility and chief Gentry of the Kingdom then were, chuse rather to make their residence in any other place, as *Gene*, *Ros*, and the like, than in Paris, where the Prince was, and could do so little: nor

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was

was this Oeconomy well liked even in France, nor the Prince himself so much respect'd as he would have been if he had liv'd more like himself, and appear'd more concern'd in his own Business.

WHEN the Marquis of *Ormond* came thither, he was receiv'd very graciously by the Queen, and consulted with in all things, being the Person most depend'd upon to begin to give a turn to their Fortune, recommended to them by the King, and of the most universal Reputation of any Subject the King had. He press'd a speedy dispatch, that he might pursue his designs in *Ireland*; where he long'd to be, whilst the Affairs of that Kingdom were no more taken to heart by the Parliament, who had yet sent no supplies thither. He inform'd the Queen, and the Lord *Jermyn*, of the necessity of hasting that work, which they understood well enough by the *Irish* Commissioners; who had been there, and had been sent back with a million of promises, a Coyne that Court always abound'd with, and made most of its payments in.

WHEN the Queen, who was as zealous for the dispatch as was possible, press'd the Queen Regent, and the Cardinal, upon it, the receiv'd in words all the satisfaction imaginable, and assurance that all things should be speedily provided; and when the Marquis spoke first with the Cardinal upon the subject, he found him well dispos'd; making such ample promises for a very good Sum of Money, and such a Proportion of Armes, and Ammunition, as could be wished. So that he thought he had no more to do, but to appoint the place for his Embarkation, that those Provisions might be sent thither to meet him; and that he should be ready to Transport himself within a very short time; of which he gave notice to those who expected him in *Ireland*, and prepared all his own Accommodations accordingly. But he was very much disappointed in his expectation; the Cardinal was not so contented of the recovery of the King's Affairs as to disoblige the Parliament by contributing towards it: so that Affairs advanced very slowly.

HAVE we now, contrary to the order formerly observ'd by Me, crowd'd in all the particular passages, and important Transactions of two whole years into this Book, that I might not interrupt, or discontinue the relation of the mysterious Proceedings of the Army, their great Hypocrisy, and Diffimulation, practis'd towards the King and his Party, and then their pulling off their Mask, and appearing in their natural dress of Inhumanity and Savageness, with the vile Artifices of the *Scottish* Commissioners to draw the King into their hands, and

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and then their low and base compliance, and gross folly, in delivering him up, and lastly their absurd and merchandly Trafficking with him for the price of returning to their Allegiance, when there was no other way of preserving themselves, and their Nation from being destroyed, the many woeful Tragedies of the next year, which filled the World with amazement and horror, must be the subject of the discourse of the next Book.

THE END OF THE TENTH BOOK.

THE

THE
History of the Rebellion, &c.

BOOK XL

Deut. xxix. 24.

Even all Nations shall say, wherefore hath the Lord done thus unto this Land: what meaneth the heat of this great Anger?

Lam. ii. 7.

The Lord hath cast off his Altar; he hath abhorred his Sanctuary; he hath given up into the hand of the Enemy the Walls of his Palaces; they have made a noise in the House of the Lord as in the day of a solemn feast.

IF a universal discontent and murmuring of the three Nations, and almost as general a detestation both of the Parliament and Army, and a most passionate desire that all their follies and madneſs might be forgotten in restoring the King to all they had taken from him, and in ſentling that bleſſed Government they had deprived themſelves of, could have contributed to his Majeſty's recovery, never People were better diſpoſed to erect and repair again the Building they had fo maliciously thrown and pulled down. In England there was a general discontent amongst all forts of Men; many Officers and Soldiers who had ſerv'd the Parliament from the beginning of the War, and given too great Testimonies of their Courage and Fidelity to their Party, and had been disbanded upon the new Model, looked upon the preſent Army with hatred, as thoſe who reaped the Harvest and Reward of their Labours, and ſpoke of them and againſt them

them in all places accordingly: The Nobility and Gentry who had advanced the Credit and Reputation of the Parliament by concurring with it against the King, found themselves totally neglected, and themselves inferior. People prefer'd to all places of trust and profit: The Presbyterian Ministers talk'd very loud; their Party appear'd to be very numerous, and the expectation of an attempt from *Scotland*, and the importunity and clamour from *Ireland*, for Supplies of Men and Money against the *Irish*, who grew powerful, rais'd the Courage of all disinterested Persons to meet and confer together, and all to interpose against the Army, and the Officers who oppos'd it. The Parliament bore no reproach so concern'dly, as that of the want of Supplies to *Ireland*, and that, having ^{to} so great an Army without an Enemy, they would not spare any part of it to preserve that Kingdom. This Argument made a new warmth in the House of Commons, they who had been silent, and given over insisting upon the insolence and presumption of the Army, which had prevail'd, and crush'd them, took now new Spirit, and press'd the relief of *Ireland* with great earnestness, and in order thereunto made great inquisition into the Expences of the Money, and how fast Summs receiv'd had been disburs'd; which was a large Field, and led them to many Mens doors upon whom they were willing to be revented.

THERE was a design this way to get the Presbyterians again into power, and that they might get the Command of an Army for the subduing the Rebels in *Ireland*. *Cromwell* had, for the quieting the Clamours from thence, got the Lord *Lisle*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Leicester*, to be sent under the Title of Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom thither, with a Commission for a limited time. He had Landed in *Massachusetts*, or either out of the Jealousy they had of the Lord *Leicester*, or because the best part of their Army of *England* were under his Command in that Province. But that Expedition gave the *English* no relief, nor weaken'd the power or strength of the *Irish*; but rather increas'd their Reputation by the Factions and business that was between the Lieutenant and the President, who writ Letters of complaint one against the other to the Parliament, where they had both their Parties which adhered to them. So that, the time of his Commission being expired, and the contrary Party not suffering it to be renew'd, the Lord *Lisle* return'd again into *England*, leaving the Lord *Ischington*, whom he meant to have destroy'd, in the entire possession of the Command, and in greater Reputation than he was before. And, in truth, he had preserv'd both with wonderful dexterity, expediting every day the Arrival of the Marquis of *Ormonde*, and every day informing the Parliament of the

The Affairs of Ireland during the Lord Lisle's being there.

the ill Condition he was in, and pressing for a Supply of Men and Money, when he knew they would send neither.

UPON the return of the Lord *Lisle* the Presbyterians renew'd their design, and caus'd *St William Waller* to be nam'd for Deputy or Lieutenant of *Ireland*, the rather (over and above his merit, and the experience they had had of his Skill by *Cromwell*) because he could quickly draw together those Officers and Soldiers which had serv'd under him, and were now disbanded, and would willingly again engage under their old General. At the first, *Cromwell* did not oppose this motion, but consented to it, being very willing to be rid both of *Waller*, and all the Officers who were willing to go with him; who he knew were not his Friends, and watch'd an opportunity to be even with him. But when he saw *Waller* insist upon great Supplies to carry with him, as he had reason to do, and when he consider'd of what consequence it might be to him and all his designs, if a well form'd and disciplin'd Army should be under the power of *Waller*, and such Officers, he chang'd his mind; and first for his Instruments to create such a Supply of Men and Money, as he had propos'd; then the one, or more than necessary for the Service, and the other as more than they could spare from their other occasions: And when this check was put to *Waller*'s Engagement, he caus'd *Lambert* to be propos'd for that Expedition, a Man who was then fall to the same Interest. He embraced, and who had gotten a great Name in the Army. He formaliz'd so long upon this, that *Ireland* remain'd still unsupply'd, and their Affairs there seem'd to be in a very ill Condition.

THE *Stots* made to much noise of their purposes, even before their Commissioners left *London*, and gave such constant Advertisements of the impatience of their Country-men to be in Armes for the King, though they made no halt in providing for such an Expedition, that both the Presbyterians, who were their chief Correspondents, and the Royal Party, be thought themselves how they might be ready; the one, that they might redeem themselves from their former Oath; and the other, that they might not only have a good part in freeing the King from his Imprisonment, but be able to preserve him in Liberty from any Presbyterian Impositions, which they still apprehended the *Stots* might endeavour to oppose, though they had no suspicion of the Engagement lately mention'd at the Isle of *Wight*.

THE Earl of *Holland*, who had done twice very notoriously amiss, and had been, since his return from *Oxford* (notably despoil'd by all Persons of Credit in the Parliament and the Army, had a mind to redeem his former faults by a Trial of new and thorough Engagement. He had much Credit by Books and

Waller was oppos'd here, but oppos'd by *Cromwell* was well with *Cromwell*.

Lambert.

The Earl of Holland propos'd to be with the Army, had much Credit by Books and

descent and by alliance with the Presbyterian Party, and was privy to the undertakings of *Scotland*, and had constant Intelligence of the advance that was made there. His Brother, the Earl of *Warwick*, had undergone some mortification with the rest, and had not that Authority in the Naval Affairs as he had used to have, though he was the High Admiral of *England* by Ordinance of Parliament, and had done them extraordinary Services. He did not refrain, or endeavour to suppress the Earl of *Holland's* discontent, but inflamed them, and promised to join with him, as many others of that Gang of Men did; resolving that the *Scots* should not do all that work, but that they would have a share in the merit. The Duke of *Buckingham*, and his Brother, the Lord *Francis Villiers*, were newly return'd from *Travel*, and though both very young, were strong and active Men, and being, in respect of their Infancy, unengaged in the late War, and so unharmed by it, and coming now to the possession of large Estates, which they thought they were obliged to venture for the Crown upon the first opportunity, they fell easily into the Friendship of the Earl of *Holland*, and were ready to Embark themselves in his Adventure. The Earl had made tender of his Resolutions to his old Mistress the Queen at *Paris*, who was always disposed to trust him, and the Lord *Jermyn* and He renewed their former Friendship, the warmth whereof had never been extinguish'd.

So a Commission was sent from the Prince to the Earl to be General of an Army, that was to be rais'd for the redemption of the King from Prison, and to restore the Parliament to its freedom. The Earl of *Peterborough*, and *John Mordaunt* his Brother, the Family of the Earl of *Pierrepont*, and all the Officers who had serv'd the King in the War, with which the City of *London*, and all Parts of the Kingdom rebounded, applied themselves to the Earl of *Holland*, and receiv'd Commissions from him for several Commands.

Th'is Engagement was so well known, and so generally spoken of, that they concluded that the Parliament durst not take notice of it, or will'd well to it. And there is no question, never undertaking of that Nature was carried on with so little reservation; there was scarce a County in *England*, in which there was not some Affliction conce'd into to appear in Armes for the King. They who had the principal Command in *Wales* under the Parliament, sent to *Paris* to declare, that, if they might have supply of Armes and Ammunition, and a reasonable Sum for the payment of their Garrison, they would declare for the King, having the chief places of those Parts in their Custody. The Lord *Jermyn* encouraged all those Overtures with most positive Undertakings,

that they should be supply'd with all they expected, within so many days after they should declare; which they depended upon, and he, according to his custom, never thought of her; by which the Service miscarried, and many Gallant Men were lost.

Cromwell, to whom all these Machinations were known, chose rather to run the hazard of all that such a loose Combination could produce, than, by sitting upon Persons, to engage the Parliament in Examinations, and in Parties; the inconvenience whereof he apprehended more; finding already that the Presbyterian Party had so great an influence upon the General, that he declared to him, "He would not march against the *Scots*, whom he had a good mind to have visit'd before their Councils and Resolutions were form'd; and *Cromwell* had reason to believe, that *Fairfax* would be firm to the same mind, even after they should have invaded the Kingdom.

All things being in this forwardness in *England*, it is fit the Scots to enquire how the Scots complied with their obligations, and preparations for an Expedition they us'd in raising their Army. After the Commissioners return from London, upon the King's being made Prisoner in the Isle of *Wight*, it was long before the Marquis of *Argyle* could be prevail'd with to consent that a Parliament should be call'd. He had made a fair Friendship with *Cromwell*, and *Vane*; and knew that in this new Hypothesis with the King, the *Hamiltonian* Faction was the great Undertaker, and meant to have all the Honour of whatsoever should follow. And yet the Duke upon his return to *Scotland* liv'd at first very privately at his own House; seldom went abroad to any Meeting; and to those who came to him, and to whom that Reputation would be grateful, he us'd to speak darkly; and as a Man that thought more of revenge upon those who had imprison'd him, than of assisting the Crown to recover the Authority it had lost. *Argyle*, whose power was over that violent Party of the Clergy which would not depart from the most rigid clause in the Covenant, and were without any reverence for the King or his Government, discern'd that he should never be able to hinder the calling of a Parliament, which the People generally call'd for, and that he should sooner obtain his end by puzzling their proceedings, and obstructing their determinations, after they should be assembled, than by obstinately opposing their coming together. So Summons were issued for the Convention of a Parliament; and they who appear'd most concern'd for the King, and to set him at Liberty from his Imprisonment (which was all they pretend'd) were the Earl of *Leicester*, Brother to Duke *Hamilton*, and then restored to his Office of

of Secretary of *Scotland*, who had been Imprison'd at *Oxford*, and made his escape from thence; and the Earl of *Leinster*, *dale*, who had been with the forwardest from the beginning of the Rebellion, when he was scarce of Age, and prosecuted it to the end with most eminent Fierceness and Ambition.

The Characters of *Leinster* and *Leinster* are as follows.

THEY were both Men of great Parts and Industry, though they lov'd Pleasures too; both Proud and Ambitious; the former, much the civiler and better bred, of the better Nature, and better Judgement, and an openness and clearness more to be trusted and relied upon than most Men of the Party: the latter, Insolent, Imperious, Flattering, and Dissembling, fitter for Intrigues and Contrivances by the want of the Ingenuity which the other had, and by the Experience and Practice he had in the Committee of both Kingdoms in their darkeſt designs. The former, was a Man of Honour and Courage; the latter, had Courage enough not to fail where it was absolutely necessary, and no impediment of Honour to refrain him from doing any thing that might gratify any of his passions.

THESE two were the chief Managers and Contrivers to carry on this Affair; for though the Chancellor, the Earl of *London*, had been a Commissioner in *England*, and as party to the Treaty with the King, and had made as many professions and protestations of duty to him as they, and indeed was willing to perform them, yet he was so obnoxious for his loose and vitious Life, which was notorious, that he durst not provoke *Argyle* or the Clergy by dissenting from them. They used all the Interest and Skill they had, to get fast Elections in the Boroughs of Members for the Parliament as might comply with them; and the People generally were exceedingly offended, and abused of the infamous delivery up of the King to the *English*, to which they imputed all the danger that threaten'd them, and the reproach and infamy that lay upon their Country; and so had great prejudice to all Men who were thought to be the cause of it.

The Parliaments were not so in *Scotland* and *Leinster*.

AT the opening of the Parliament, they did all they could to inflame the People against the Army in *England*; which they said, "had forced the Parliament there to break the Treaty between the two Kingdoms in their ill usage of the King, who was Imprison'd by the Army, nor was it in the power of the Parliament to set him at Liberty: That they had never, upon the matter, absolutely deposed him, by not suffering him to perform the Office of a King, nor permitting any of his Subjects to repair to him; in which the Kingdom of *Scotland* was concern'd, in that being independent upon *England*, and the Parliament of *England*, they

were by them depriv'd of their King, and could not be admitted to speak with him, nor his Majesty to send to them; which was such a presumption, and violation of the Law of Nations, and such a perfidious breach and contempt of the solemn League and Covenant, and of the Treaty between the two Kingdoms, that they were bound by all the obligations Humane and Divine to be sensible of it, and to redress their King's Liberty, and their own Honour, with the hazard of their Lives and Fortunes and all that was dear to them: and therefore they desired that they might enact upon those Councils, which might sooner get an Army together, which should no sooner enter *England*, but it would find a conjunction from that whole Kingdom, except only the Army; and that it would then quickly appear that the Parliaments of both Kingdoms desired the same thing, and to live happily under the Government of the same King.

THIS discourse, urg'd and seconded by many of the principal Men, was entertain'd by the rest with so general a reception, that *Argyle* found it would be to no purpose directly to contradict or oppose it. He saw the Election of the Knights and Burgesses had succeeded according to the wishes of the other Lords, and that they would concert with what he ever was propos'd; and he found likewise that they had wrought upon the greatest part of their Clergy; who believ'd all they said to them. He did not therefore oppose any thing propos'd by them, but only desired, "that they would very well weigh the manner of their proceeding in an affair of so great concernment, which was like to terminate in a bloody War between the two Kingdoms; which had hitherto proceeded as Brethren, and had both reap'd great benefit and advantage from the conjunction: and he hop'd there was no purpose to shake any of these foundations which had been laid in the years by-gone, which supported that Government, and made that Kingdom happy; which if dissolv'd, all the mischief and tyranny they had formerly felt and undergone, would break in upon them with a current that should destroy them. Every Body declared, "that there was no purpose to sever, in the least degree, from what was establish'd for the Government in either Kingdom, by their solemn League and Covenant, which they had in perfect veneration, and look'd upon it as an obligation upon them to do all that had been propos'd, upon which *Argyle* acquiesced, as satisfied, not doubting but that, in the prosecution of their Councils, he should find opportunity enough to obstruct the quick progress, and to interrupt the conclusion, and execution.

Dr. Langdale and Dr. Milgrave and others, treated with by the Scots, and invited into Scotland; which went.

THE Lords who had been in *England*, and frequented *Hampton Court*, whilst the King was there, to make themselves the more gracious, had treated all the King's Party with all manner of carelesse, and more particularly had much applied themselves to those Gentlemen of the North who had most eminently serv'd the King, and who had good Fortune there to support their Interest. Of this kind there were two very notable Men, *Sr Marmaduke Langdale*, and *Sr Philip Mygrave*; both Men of large and plentiful Estates, the one in *Tork-shire*, the other in *Cumberland* and *Westmoreland*; who having been in the time of Peace eminent in their County in the Offices of Justice of Peace, and Deputy Lieutenants, had, in the beginning of the War, engag'd themselves in Commands in the King's Army with great reputation of office, diligent, and active Officers; and continued to the end, and had not after applied themselves to make any composition, but expected a new opportunity to appear with their Swords in their hands. They were both look'd upon by the Parliament, and the chief Officers of the Army, with great jealousy, as Men worthy to be fear'd, and who could never be induc'd to comply with them. The *Scottish* Lords had not been scrupulous to let these two Gentlemen know what they intended, and that they made no question but they should engage their whole Kingdom and Nation to enter into a present War with *England* on the King's behalf; and therefore do resolv'd them, by the Interest, and Influence they had upon the Northern Counties, to dispose them to a conjunctious with them. And because they knew that they two were too notorious to stay with any Security about *London*, made it in their own Country, they invited them into *Scotland*, where they assur'd them, that they should not only be safe, but very welcome; and should be Witnesses of their proceedings, and have parts of their own to act in, as soon as the Season should be ripe.

THESE Gentlemen, though they had been hitherto unhurt, and whilst the Army made those professions towards the King, had been much courted by the chief Officers thereof, and had been Quarter'd with them as Friends, knew well enough the Mask was off; that if they did not immediately comply themselves to make their compositions, they should be apprehended, and imprison'd. And therefore, being perswaded that the *Scots* would engage for the King, they accepted their Invitation, and told them, that they should quickly find them in *Scotland* after their own return. Accordingly, after having secretly spent some time in their own Countries, and directed their Friends to be in a readiness when they should be called upon, and in the mean time settled a way

how to correspond together, they went into *Scotland* to those who had invited them, and were receiv'd by them with civility enough. They own'd such a wariness, in respect of the jealousies amongst themselves, and the ill Arts of *Argyle*, that they desired them "for some time to withdraw to some place (which they recommended to them) "and there to remain in secret, and under feign'd Names, until the calling of the Parliament; at which time they might come to *Edenborough*, and appear in their own likeness with all freedom. So after having remain'd in that private manner, where they were well treated for some Months, when the Parliament was assembled at *Edenborough*, they return'd thither; and were very well look'd upon by all that knew them; which made them behave themselves with the more freedom and confidence in their conversation, the foremention'd Lords telling them all they meant to do, and what Arts they were to use till they could get their Army up, towards which they believ'd they had miter'd the greatest difficulties.

THOUGH the *Scottish* Commissioners had withdrawn from *London*, shortly after they had protested loudly against the proceedings of the Parliament, both in imprisoning the King, and in refusing to give them leave to repair to him, or to receive from him any directions or orders concerning the Government of that Kingdom, and thought it high time to provide for their own Security by quitting their Station at *London*, where they receiv'd every day Affronts, and their Persons were expos'd to contempt; yet there were no sooner Preparations towards a Parliament in *Scotland*, than Commissioners were sent from the Lords and Commons at *Westminster* to reside at *Edenborough*, as if they hoped to overcome them there too; and it was evident quickly that they were not without a strong or at least an active Party there. They were receiv'd with the same show of respect, and the same care mistaken for their Accommodation, as had been when they first came for contriving of the Covenant; not only the Marquis of *Argyle*, and his Party, very diligently visited them, and perform'd all offices of respect towards them, but even the *Hamiltonian* Faction, and they who were most solicitous to raise the War, attended them as officiously as the others, and made the same professions to preserve the Peace and Amity between the two Nations.

THAT rigid Party of the Clergy who so adored the Covenant in the strictest sense of the Letters, that they did not seem to have any more dependence upon the King, but in effect to lay him aside, and to settle the Government without him, as their Brethren in *England* had resolv'd to do, were never from them, and willingly receiv'd such Presents and Penions

Pensions from the *English* Commissioners, as they were prepared and provided to offer to them; and much Money was given to make them fast Friends. By this means nothing was resolv'd, or propos'd in the most secret Councils, that was not forthwith imparted, and made known to them; and they lov'd themselves as haughtily and imperiously, as if they had their Army at hand to second them. They took notice of the report of so many *English* to *Edenborough*, and that there were many amongst them who had been in Arms against the Parliament, and demand'd ¹ that they might either be imprisoned that Kingdom, or deliver'd to them to be sent to the Parliament.

They were so clamorous in this Argument, and found so much countenance to their clamour, that they who had lov'd the *English* hitherto, had not the Courage to own them; but advis'd them under-hand, ² to absent themselves from the Town, till that storm should be over. And even *St. Mandrake Langdale*, and *St. Philip Musgrave*, whom, ever since above all the circumstances held with them at *London*, the *Scott* Lords had sent to exhort with as they pass'd through the Northern parts Homewards, and had then conferred with them, and desired them ³ to prepare all things with their Friends for the surprisal of *Berwick* and *Carlisle*, when this Season should be ripe, and that they would harken to a Journey into *Scotland*, that they might be out of danger of imprisonment; even these Men were desired, ⁴ either to withdraw again from *Edenborough*, or to keep their Chambers there, and not to be seen abroad, until their Army should be rais'd, and such a General made choice of as would take care of their Protection. And they did not consent from them, that they made no doubt but that *Duke Hamilton* should be that General; who often conferr'd with them in private, and always assur'd them, ⁵ that whatever was in that place and season, discour'd of the Covenant, which was very necessary to bring their designs to pass, he should be no longer invest'd in the Command his Friends design'd for him, than he would manifest his resolution to join with the King's Party, upon the true Interest of the Cause, without which he would hope for little success in *England*, and he desired them, ⁶ though they saw little appearance of raising an Army, which would be soon finish'd as a gun, by the method they were accus'd to use, that they would write very earnestly to their Friends in *England* to begin, as soon as might be, to execute the designs they had laid, in as many parts of the Kingdom as they could upon confidence that they should receive relief before they could be oppress'd. To the same purpose they writ to the *Queen* and

⁷ and desired that the Prince might be in a readines to be with them against the time their Army should be ready to march; which, they assur'd Her, should be by the beginning of *May*. All which several Advertisements, being communicated in *England*, found a People too ready to give Credit to what was promised, and to begin the work sooner than they ought to have done; and yet they were blinde'd by such accidents, as, in truth, made their appearance even necessary.

The King, whilst he was at *Hampton Court*, when he perceiv'd that the Army would not comply with him, as he was believ'd, and resolv'd to get themselves out of their hands, had, as is mention'd before, directed the *Duke of York*, who was of years to be trusted with the secret, ⁸ that, when a fit opportunity should be offer'd, he should make his escape into the parts beyond the Seas, and follow the directions of his Mother: and about this time, when so much Action was expected, which probably might produce many alterations, his Majesty in all places, found some way to advertise the *Duke*, ⁹ that it would be a very proper Season for him to make his escape. The Person who was entrusted to contrive it was Colonel *Bamfield*, a Man of an active and insinuating Nature, and dextrous enough in bringing any thing to pass that he had the managing of himself. He had now no notion to the King's Service; he had serv'd the King in the late War as a Colonel of Foot, and had not behav'd himself so well in it, as to draw any suspicion upon himself from the other Party, and was in truth much more conversant with the Presbyterian Party than with the King's. So that his repair often to the place where the *Duke of York* and the other Children were, drew nothing of suspicion upon him.

The *Duke* and his Brother and Sister were then kept at *St. James's*, where they had the liberty of the Garden and Park of the *Duke of York* to walk and exercise themselves in, and Lords, and Ladies, and other Persons of Condition, were not restrain'd from resorting thither to visit them. In this manner *Bamfield* had been some times there; and after he had inform'd the *Duke* what he was to do, and found one or two more to be trusted between them, that he might not become suspected by being observ'd to speak too often with him, he provided a small Vessel to be ready about the Custom House, and to have its Pass for *Holland*, and then advertised the *Duke* to be ready in the clove of an Evening, when playing, as he us'd to do, with the other Children, in a Room from whence there was a pair of Stairs to the Garden, he might, untaken notice of, get thither; from whence there was a door into the Park; where *Bamfield* would meet him. And this was so well adjust'd, that

the Duke came at the hour to the place; where the other met him, and led him privately where a Coach was ready, and so carried him into a private House; where he only stayed whilst he put on Womens Apparel, that was provided for him; and privately, with Colonel *Banfield* only, went into a pair of Chaires that was ready; so he passed the Bridges, and went on Board the *Vessel* that was ready to receive him; which immediately hoisted Sail, and arriv'd safe in *Holland*, without any Man of the Ship having the least imagination what Freight they carried.

THE Duke, as soon as he was on Shore, and in a Lodging, resolving no longer to use his Womens habit, stayed there till he advertised his Sister, the Princess Royal of *Orange*, of his Arrival; who quickly took care to provide all such things as were necessary for his remove to the *Hague*; from whence the Queen was inform'd, and so knew all soon almost where he was, as she did of his escape from *London*. The Prince was not yet ready for his remove, nor was it resolv'd which way he should go, so that it was thought best that the Duke should, for the present, stay at the *Hague* with his Sister, till farther resolutions might be taken; and though the Service which *Banfield* had perform'd, was very well esteem'd, yet they thought the making him a Groom of his Bed-Chamber, would be an ample recompence, and that it was necessary to puts Person of a better Quality about his Highness, who might have a superior Command over the other Servants; and because the Lord *Byron*, who had been made Governour of the Duke of *York*'s by the King, was then in *England*, secretly attending the conjuncture to appear in Armes in a quarter assign'd to him, Sir *John Berkley* was sent by the Queen to wait upon the Duke, as Governour in the absence of the Lord *Byron*, which *Banfield* looked upon as a degradation, and bringing the Man he hated of all Men living, to have the command over him.

So John Berkley made in Highness Governour in the absence of the Lord Byron.

THE Lord *Capel*, who was in the most secret part of all these Intrigues in *England*, being entirely trusted by those who would not trust any of the Presbyterians nor communicate their purposes to them, had written to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who remain'd still in *Jersey*, the hopes he had of a good conjuncture, and his own resolution to Embark himself in that attempt, as soon as it should be ripe; and had signified the King's Command to him, that as soon as the Chancellor should be requir'd to wait upon the Prince, he should without delay obey the Summons: and the King had likewise writ to the Queen very positively, that when it should be necessary for the Prince to remove out of *France*, the Chancellor should have notice of it, and be required to give his

attendance upon the Person of his Royal Highness, in the condition he had formerly done. About the beginning of *May*, in the year 1648, the Lord *Capel*, who had always corresponded with the Chancellor, and inform'd him of the State of Affairs, and all that concern'd himself, writ to him, that all things were now so ripe, that he believ'd the Prince should not find it fit to remain longer in *France*; and therefore conjur'd him that he would be ready, if he should be sent for, as he was confident he would be, to attend upon his Highness; which, he said, all the King's Friends expected he should do; and which he was resolv'd to do as soon as the Prince should be out of *France*, though he should receive order or invitation so to do.

ABOUT the middle of *May*, the Queen, according to his Majesty's Command, sent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to *Jersey*, commanding, that he would wait upon the Prince in the *Levee* at *Paris*, upon a day that was put before the Letter came to his hands. But he no sooner receiv'd the Summons, than he betook himself to the Journey, and to transport himself into *Normandy*; where, after he was landed, he made what halt he could to *Caen*, supposing he should there find Secretary *Nicholas*, who had given him notice, that he had receiv'd the same Command. When he came to *Caen*, he found the Secretary's Lady there, but himself was gone to *Rouen*, to the Lord *Cottington*, and intended to stay there till the other should arrive, and to consult together there upon their further Journey. The old Earl of *Bristol*, who had liv'd likewise at *Caen*, was gone with the Secretary to *Rouen*, having likewise receiv'd the same Summons with the others to attend the Prince at the *Levee*. The Chancellor halter'd to *Rouen*, where he found the Lord *Cottington*, who had still the Title and Precedency of Lord High Treasurer of *England*, the Earl of *Bristol*, and Secretary *Nicholas*, who were all his very good Friends, and very glad of his Arrival. They had receiv'd Advertisement, the day before, that the Prince, with all his small Train, was pass'd by towards *Calais*; and direction was sent, that the Chancellor, whom they supposed to be on the way, and the rest, should stay at *Rouen*, till they should receive new Orders from *Calais*, where his Royal Highness would take new measures what he was to do. So they stayed together at *Rouen*, where there were at the same time very many English of Quality in their own condition, who were driven out of *England*, as well as they, for their fidelity to the King, and had brought somewhat with them for their support abroad, till they might upon some good change return to their own Country. In the mean time they liv'd very decently together

in that City; where they were well entertain'd. The way between *Rouen* and *Calais* was to dangerous without a very strong Convoij, that no day pass'd without Robberies and Murthers, so that they were glad of their Order not to stir from thence, till they should receive a very particular direction from the Prince; and within few days they receiv'd advice, ⁴⁴ that the Prince had, as soon as he came to *Calais*, put himself on board a Ship that he found there bound for *Holland*, whence they were to hear from him, how they should dispose of themselves. Whereupon they all resolv'd to remove from *Rouen* to *Diep*, from whence they might Embark themselves for *Holland* if they saw cause; the ways by Land, in regard that both the *French* and the *Spanish* Armies were in the Field, being very dangerous.

The Revolt of part of the Fleet in the King from Rainborough.

When the Prince's remove from *Paris* on such a suddain, proceeded from an Accident in *England* that was very extraordinary, and looked like a call from Heaven. The Parliament about this time had prepared, according to custom, a good Fleet of ten or a dozen Ships for the Summer Guard, and appointed *Rainborough* to be Admiral thereof; who had been bred at Sea, and was the Son of an eminent Commander at Sea lately dead; but he himself, from the time of the new Model, had been an Officer of Foot in the Army, and was Colonel of special Note and Account, and of *Cromwell's* chief Considents. This offended the Earl of *Warwick* much, and dispos'd him to that inclination to concur with his Brother lately mention'd. Captain *Batten* likewise was as much unsatisfied, who had staid a great part in the first alienating the Fleet, and the Affections of the Sea-men from the King, and had ever been their Vice-Admiral afterwards, and one of the Persons upon whom they principally rely'd at *Sea-Rainborough's*, as long as he remain'd in the Navy, had been under his Command, and both the Earl and *Batten* well knew that this Man was now made Admiral of this Fleet, because they, being Presbyterians, should have no credit or influence upon it; which made them solicitous enough that the Sea-men should not be well pleas'd with the Alteration; and They look'd upon *Rainborough* as a Man that had forsaken them, and prefer'd the Land before the Sea Service. The Sea-men are in a manners Nation by themselves, a humourous, brave, and sturdy People; fierce, and reiolute in whatsoever they are inclin'd to, somewhat unsteady and inconstant in pursuing it, and jealous of those to morrow by whom they are govern'd to day. These Men, observing the general discontent of the People, and that, however the Parliament was obeyed by the power of the Army, both Army and Parliament were grown very odious to the Nation, and hearing to

much

much discourse of an Army from *Scotland* ready to enter into the Kingdom, concluded that the King would be Retor'd; and then remembering that the revolt of the Fleet was the preamble to the loss of his Majesty's Authority every where else, and a great cause of all his Misfortunes, thought it would be a glorious thing to them, if they could lead the way to his Majesty's Restoration by their declaring for him. This was an Agitation among the Common Sea-men, without communicating it to any Officer of the Quality of Master of a Ship. This inclination was much improv'd in them by a general disposition in *Kent* to an Insurrection for the King, and by some Gentlemen's coming on board the Ships, according to the custom of that Country; who fomented the good disposition in the Sea-men by all the ways they could.

At this very time there appear'd generally throughout *Kent* the same indigested Affection to the King, and inclination to serve him, as was among the Sea-men, and was conducted with much less order and caution, neither the one nor the other having been design'd by those who took care of the King's Affairs, and who design'd those Insurrections which happen'd in other parts of the Kingdom. They knew nothing, that is, contributed nothing to this good disposition in the Sea-men, though they were not without some hope that, upon all other Revolutions, somewhat might likewise fall out at Sea to the advantage of the King's Affairs. They had some expectation indeed from *Kent*, where they knew the People were generally well affect'd, and depend'd upon two or three Gentlemen of that Country, who had been Officers in the King's Army, and resolv'd to bring in some Troops of Horse, when occasion should be ripe; but it was resolv'd and intended that the *Scottish* Army should be enter'd the Kingdom, by which the Parliament Army would be upon their march towards them, before they would have any appearance of force in the parts near *London*; and then they believ'd that both Country and City would rise together. And so those Gentlemen of *Kent*, who were privy to any design, lay privately in *London* to avoid all Cabals in their Country; so that what now fell out there, was by mere chance and accident, that could never be foreseen, or prevented.

There happen'd to be at some Jovial meeting in *Kent* about that time, one Mr *L'Estrange* a younger Brother of a good Family in *Northfolke*, who had been always of the King's Party, and for attempting somewhat in his own Country for his Majesty's Service, had been taken Prisoner by the Parliament, and by a Court of War condemn'd to dye, but being kept in Prison till the end of the War, was then set at liberty,

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berly, as one in whom there was no more danger. But he retain'd his old Affections, and more remember'd the cruel usage he had receiv'd, than that they had not proceeded as cruelly with him as they might have done. He had a great Friendship with a young Gentleman, Mr *Hales*, who liv'd in *Kent*, and was Married to a Lady of a Noble Birth and Fortune, he being Heir to one of the greatest Fortunes of that Country, but was to exped the Inheritance from the favour of an Old Severe Grand-father, who for the present kept the young Couple from running into any Excess; the Mother of the Lady being of as stout and strict a Nature as the Grand-father, and both of them too much of the Parliament Party, that they were not willing any part of their Estates should be hazarded for the King. At the House of this Mr *Hales*, Mr *L'Estrange* was, when by the Communication which that part of *Kent* always hath with the Ships which lye in the *Down*, the report first did arise that the Fleet would presently declare for the King, and those Sea men who came on Shore talked as if the City of *London* would joyn with them. This drew many Gentlemen of the Country who willed well, to visit the Ships, and they return'd more confirm'd of the truth of what they had heard. Good-fellowship was a Vice spread every where, and this young great Heir, who had been always bred among his Neighbours, affected that which they were best pleas'd with, and so his House was a Rendezvous for those who delighted in that Exercise, and who every day brought him the news of the good inclinations in the Fleet for the King; and all Men's Mouths were full of the general hatred the whole Kingdom had against the Parliament as well as the Army. Mr *L'Estrange* was a Man of a good Wit, and a Fancy very luxuriant, and of an enterprising Nature. He observ'd, by the good Company that came to the House, that the Affections of all that Large and Populous Country were for the King. He began to tell Mr *Hales*, that though his Grand-father did in his heart wish the King well, yet his carriage had been such in his conjunction with the Parliament, that he had more need of the King's favour than did his Grand-father's to be Heir to that great Estate; and that certainly nothing could be more acceptable to his Grand-father, or more glorious to Him, than to be the Instrument of his death; and therefore advised him to put himself into the Head of his own Country, which would be willing to be led by him, that when the *Sets* were enter'd first to the Northern Parts, and all the Kingdom should be in Arms, he might, with the Body of his Country-men, march towards *London*; which would induce both the City and the Parliament to joyn with him, whereby he

should have great share in the Honour of Restoring the King.

This Company that frequented the House thought the discourse very reasonable, and saw that the issue must be very Honourable: The young Lady of the House was full of Zeal for the King, and was willing her Husband should be the Instrument of his delivery: The young Gentleman himself had not been enough conversant in the Affairs of the World to apprehend the danger, or hazard of the Attempt, and so receiv'd himself and the whole Business to be govern'd, and conducted by Mr *L'Estrange*, whom they all believ'd by his discourse to be an able Soldier. He writ some Letters to particular Gentlemen, who he was inform'd would receive them willingly, and sign'd Warrants to the Constables of Hundreds with his own Name, which had been never heard of in the Country, requiring, "in his Majesty's Name, all Persons to appear, at a time and place appointed, to advise together, and to lay hold on such opportunities, as should be offer'd for relieving the King and delivering him out of Prison. There was an incredible appearance of the Country at the place appointed, where Mr *L'Estrange* appear'd with Mr *Hales*, and those Persons which had been used to that Company. Mr *L'Estrange* spoke to them in a style very much his own, and being not very clear to be understood, the more prevailed over them. He spake like a Man in Authority, inveigled against "the Tyranny of the Army, which had subdu'd the Parliament, against their barbarous Impri-sonment of the King, and against a Conspiracy they had to Murder him. He added "that the Affections of that Noble Company were well known to his Majesty, and that he had therefore appointed the Fleet that was in the *Down* to joyn with them; and that he doubted not but they would together be too strong for his Enemies, who were like to have enough to do to defend themselves in many other places; and that his Majesty was willing they should have a Gentleman of their own Country, well known to them, to be their General; and named Mr *Hales*, who was present. There was not one Man who so much as asked for any Letter or Commission, or other Authority from the King; but all of them, very frankly and unanimously, declared "they would be ready to joyn, and march as their General *Hales* should direct; and to another day and place was appointed for another appearance, and Lifting and Forming their Regiments; and in the mean time Mr *L'Estrange* let out such Declarations, and Engagements, as he thought most like to prevail with the People, and required "that they should be read in all Churches; which was done accordingly. The next appearance

appearance was greater than the former; and with the same fortwearing, many coming Armed both Horse and Foot, and throwing a marvellous alacrity to the Engagement. Their General then gave out his Commissions for several Regiments, and a new day was appointed for their Rendezvous, when all should come Arm'd, and keep together in a Body, until it should be fit to march to *London*.

It was known that the Fleet was gone out of the *Dover*, but it was as well known that it had absolutely renounced the Service of the Parliament, and rejected all their Officers. It was easy to persuade the People, that they were gone upon some important Enterprize, and would speedily return; and it was insinuated, "that it was gone to the life of *Wight* to release the King, who would return with it into *Kent*; which made them hasten their preparations.

At the time when the King made the Earl of *Northumberland* Admiral, he declared, and it was inserted in his Commission, "that he should enjoy that Office during the Minority of the Duke of *York*; and the Duke having made his escape at this time, when there was this Commotion amongst the Sea-men, it was no sooner known that his Highness was in *Holland*, but the Sea-men talked aloud "that they would go to their Admiral; and the Gentlemen of *Kent* stirring them up and inflaming them to that Resolution, and the Sea-men again pressing the Gentlemen to hasten their Rising in *Armes*, that they might assist and second each other, they both declared themselves fonder than they ought to have done, and before they were prepared for an Enterprize of that importance.

The Parliament was well inform'd of the distemper amongst the Sea-men, and had therefore forbore putting the half of the Provisions aboard the Ships, which, for the greatest part, lay ready in the *Dover*, wanting only half the Victual they were to have for the Summer Service. But those Officers which were on board, finding they had no Authority, and that the Sea-men mocked and laugh'd at them, sent every day to inform the Parliament, what mutinous humour the whole Fleet was in. Whereupon they sent *Rainsborough* and some other Officers thither; presuming that the presence of the Admiral would quickly quiet all. He, being a Man of a tough imperious Nature, as soon as he came on board his Ship, began to make a strict Enquiry into the former Disorders and Mutinous behaviour, upon which all the Men of his Ship retired into their old Fortrefs of One and All, and presently laid hold on Him, and put Him, and such other Officers of the Ship as they liked not, into the Boat, and sent them on Shore. Which was no sooner known to the rest of

Rainsborough and some other Officers put on Shore by the Sea-men.

the Ships, but they followed their example, and used their Officers in the same manner. After they had for some days been Peccated and Carested by the People of *Kent*, some of the Gentlemen putting themselves on board to poyne with them, and in order to assist them towards providing such necessaries as were wanting, they went out of the *Dover*, and stood for *Holland*, that they might find their Admiral; and let fall their Jacks before the *Breda*. What was done by the Gentlemen on Shore, and the success thereof, will be related hereafter.

THIS so very reasonable revolt of the Fleet, in a conjuncture when so many Advantages were expected, was looked upon as a sure Omen of the deliverance of the King. And the report that the Ships were before *Calais*, as if they had expected some Body there, which was true, for some time, was the reason that it was thought fit that the Prince (who had hitherto thought of nothing but being sent for by the *States*, and how to find himself with them) should make all possible haste to *Calais*. This was the Cause of that his sudden motion, which was yet retarded for want of Money, and all other things necessary for his Journey. The Cardinal shewed no manner of favouring all these Appearances of Advantage to the King; he gave less countenance to *Scotland*, than he had ever done when it was in Rebellion against the King; and, notwithstanding all his promises with reference to *Ireland*, the Marquis of *Ormond* remain'd still at *Paris*, without obtaining Armes or Money in any proportion (both which had been promis'd liberally) and was, after all importunities, compelled to transport himself into *Ireland* (where he was to sit ^{The Marquis of Ormond} fortunately called for) without any manner of Supplies, which were expected. And now, when the remove of the Prince was promis'd liberally, the Cardinal utterly refus'd to furnish him with any Money; all which discouragements were shortly after remember'd to *Cromwell*, as high merit.

THE Prince's remove was by every Body thought of necessary, that the Lord *Fermyns*, as was pretended, found means to borrow so much Money as was necessary for the Journey; which the King paid long after with full Interest. Dr *Goffe*, a Man well known in that time, as the chief Agent and Companion of my Lord *Fermyns*, was presently sent into *Holland*, to dispose the Sea-men to be willing to receive the Lord *Fermyns* to Command the Fleet. So foolish was that Noble Man as to be in the head of any Action that was like to prosper, how unfit soever he was for it; having neither industry, nor knowledge of any thing of the Sea, and being less belov'd by the Sea-men than any man that could be nam'd. The Prince made what haste he could to *Calais*, attended by Prince *Rupert*, the

The Prince
is receiv'd
at the Fleet.

the Lord *Hutton*, and the Lord *Colchester*, and some other Gentlemen, besides his own Domesticks; and finding one of the *English* Frigats before *Calais*, and understanding that the Duke of *Tork* was gone from the *Hague* to *Helvoet Sluis*, and had put himself on board the Fleet there, his Highness presently embarked, and made the more hall left his Brother should be in Action before him, and was receiv'd at the Fleet with all those acclamations and noyses of joy, which that People are accustomed to; they having expressed as much fondness before, at the arrival of the Duke of *Tork*.

As soon as it was known in *Holland* that the Prince of *Wales* was arriv'd, the Prince of *Orange*, with his Wife the Princess Royal, came presently thither to entertain his Highness the best that place would permit, but especially to rejoice together, having not seen each other from the time they were Children. The Prince found the Fleet in Faction and Disorder, and great pains had been taken to corrupt them. Sir *John Berkeley's* coming to the *Hague* to Assure the Government of the Duke of *Tork*, had not been acceptable to his Royal Highness; who was persuaded by Colonel *Banfield*, that he had been unfaithful, as well as unfortunate, in his attendance upon the King to the file of *Wight*. The Colonel himself was to incensed with it, that he used all the skill and infatuation he had, to lessen his Highness's reverence to the Queen, and to dispute her Commands. Then taking the opportunity of the Fleet's being come to *Helvoet Sluis*, he went thither, and having, as is said before, a wonderful Address to the disposing Men to Mutiny, and to work upon Common Men, which the Fleet consisted of, there being no Officers, for the most part, above the Quality of a Boat-Swaine or Miller's-Mate, he persuaded them "to declare for the Duke of *Tork*, without any respect to the King or Prince; and when his Highness should be on board, that they should not meddle in the Quarrel between the King and the Parliament, but entirely joyn with the Presbyterian Party, and the City of *London*; which by this means would bring the Parliament to reason. And these his Friends the Sea-men when the Duke should come to them, that they would except against Sir *John Berkeley*, and cause him to be dismissed; and then he believ'd he should be able to govern both his Highness and the Fleet.

At the same time Dr *Goffe*, who was a dextrous Man too, and could comply with all Men in all the Acts of good-fellowship, had gotten acquaintance with others of the Sea-men, and made them jealous of *Banfield's* activity; and endeavour'd to persuade them "that they should all Petition the Prince (who, he knew, would be shortly with them) "that the Lord

"*Torjans* might be made their Admiral; who would be able "to supply them with Money, and whatsoever else they wanted; That there was no hope of Money but from *France*, and that the Lord *Torjans* had all the Power and Credit there, and might have what Money he desired; and by these Agitations, the infant Loyalty of the Sea-men began to be distracted.

At the same time the Lord *Willoughby of Parham*, who had always adhered to the Presbyterians, and was of great esteem amongst them, though he was not tainted with their principles, had left the Parliament, and secretly Transported himself into *Holland*; and was arriv'd at *Rotterdam*, when *Banfield* return'd from the Fleet, and went to wait upon the Duke of *Tork* at the *Hague*. *Banfield* deliver'd such a Message from the Fleet as he thought would hasten the Duke's Journey thither; and told him, "the Sea-men made great enquiry after the Lord *Willoughby*, and much longed to have him with them; intimating to the Duke, "that he had much contriv'd to that good disposition in the Sea-men, and was privy to their revolt, and had promised speedily to come to them, and that it would be the most acceptable thing his Highness could do to carry him with him to the Fleet, and make him his Vice-Admiral. The Duke made all imaginable haste to *Helvoet Sluis*, and immediately went on board the Admiral; where he was receiv'd with the usual marks of joy and acclamation. He declared the Lord *Willoughby* his Vice-Admiral, and appointed some other Officers in the several Ships, and seem'd very desirous to be out at Sea. In the mean time *Banfield* continued his Activity; and the Doctor, finding he had little hope to raise his Parson to the height he propos'd, did all he could to hinder the Operation of *Banfield*, and took all the ways he could that the Prince might be advertised of it, and thereupon halten his own Journey; which did likewise contribute to the last his Highness made. He arriv'd at *Helvoet Sluis* very seasonably to prevent many inconveniences, which would have inevitably fallen out; and the Sea-men, upon his Highness's appearance, return'd again into their old cheerful humours; which the Prince knew would be best prefer'd by Action; and therefore exceedingly desired to be at Sea, where he was sure he must be Superior to any Force the Parliament could in a short time put out. But the Fleet already wanted many Provisions, of which Beer was the chief; which, by the countenance and assistance of the Prince of *Orange*, was in a short time procur'd in a reasonable proportion; and then the Prince set sail first for *Yarmouth Road*, then for the *Dunns*; having sent his Brother, the Duke of the *Dunns* with his Family to the *Hague*, to remain there.

T H O U G H

The Prince
comes into
the Fleet.

THOUGH the Duke was exceedingly troubled to leave the Fleet, which he had been perswaded to look upon as his Province, yet he could not but acknowledge, that right reason should not permit they should both be ventur'd at one time on board the Fleet; and, the Prince determining to engage his own Person, he submitted to the determination; and was well content to remain with his Sister. The Prince did not think fit to remove the Lord *Whilpoy* (who, he knew, was much relied upon by the Presbyterian Party) from the Charge the Duke had given him; though he was not much known to the Sea-men. But Captain *Batten* coming at the same time when his Highness did to the Fleet, and bringing the *Constant Warwick*, one of the best Frigates the Parliament had built, with *Yendax*, and two or three Sea-men of good Command, his Highness knighted him, and made him Rere-Admiral of the Fleet; believing, that he could not do a more popular and acceptable thing to the Sea-men, than by putting the same Man, who had Commanded them for many years, over them again at this time; whose experience and government would supply the defects and want of skill of the Vice-Admiral, who was very willing to be advised by him. But the Prince formerly found he was mistaken in that expedient, and that the Sea-men (who desired to serve the King upon the clear principles of Obedience, and Loyalty) did not in any degree affect *Batten*, because he had failed in both, and was now of a Party towards which they had no veneration. The truth is, the Prince came prepared and dispos'd from the Queen, to depend wholly upon the Presbyterian Party, which, besides the power of the *Scottish Army*, which was every day expected to invade *England*, was thought to be possessed of all the strength of the City of *London*; and the Lord *Colchester*, and Mr *Long*, the Prince's Secretary, were trusted by the Queen to keep the Prince steady and fast to that dependence; and his Highness was enjoy'd to be entirely advised by them; though all the other Lords about him were of another mind, and the Prince himself not inclined that way. Dr *Stewart*, the Dean of the King's Chapel, whom his Majesty had recommended to his Son to instruct him in all matters relating to the Church, and Dr *Earles*, and the rest of his Chaplains, waited diligently upon him to prevent those Insinuations. But, by those two, the benefit of the Fleet was principally consider'd, as a happy means to put the Prince on Shore, that he might be in the Head of the *Scottish Army*; and no doubt if that Army had been then enter'd into *England*, as it was very shortly after, the Prince would have been directed, with the Fleet, to have followed all the advice which should have been sent from the *Scots*.

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In the mean time it was thought most Counsellable, after the Prince had failed some days about the Coast, that the Kingdom might generally know that his Highness was there, that they should all go into the River of *Thames*, and lyc thence into full seas; the River of by which they expected two great Advantages; the River of first, that the City would be thereby engaged to declare itself, when they saw all their Trade obstructed; and that their Ships homewards bound, of which, at that Season of the year, they expected many, must fall into the Prince's hands; and then, that the presence of the Prince in the River would hinder the Parliament from getting Seamen; and from setting out that Fleet which they were preparing to reduce the other, under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick*; whom they thought fit, in this exigent, again to employ; and who, by accepting the Charge, thought he should be in a better posture to choose his Party, in any other alteration that should happen at Land.

WHEN the Parliament first heard of the Commotion in *Kent*, and saw the Warrants which were sent out and sign'd by *Elfrange*, whom no body knew (and the Gentlemen of full rank who sat in the Parliament, assured them, "that there was no such Gentleman in that County; and Sr *Edward Hales*, who likewise was present there, told them, "he was very confident that his Grandson could not be Embarked in such an Affair) they neglected it, and thought it a design to smother them. But when they heard that the meetings were continued, and saw the Declarations which were published, and were well assured that young *Hales* appear'd with them as their General, they thought the matter worth their care; and therefore appointed their General, "to send two or three Troops of Horse into *Kent* to suppress that insurrection; Sr *Edward Hales* now excusing himself with revellings, threats, and detestation of his Grandson; who, he protested, should never be his Heir.

THE Earl of *Holland*, who had a Commission to be General, and the rest who were engaged, were not yet ready, the *Scots* being not yet enter'd; nor did they understand any thing of the business of *Kent*; however when they were assured that they were drawn into a Body, and were to bring that the Officers who Commanded the Troops which had been sent to suppress them, had sent to the Parliament word, "that they durst not advance, for that the Enemy was much stronger than they, and increased daily; and that they had sent a letter to the City of *London* inviting them to join with them; the Earl of *Holland* I say, and the others with him, thought it fit to send them all the countenance, and encouragement they could; and thereupon dispatch'd those Officers who had been design'd for the Troops of that County, when

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the Season should be ripe, and who had hitherto lurk'd privately in *London* to avoid suspicion. They were desir'd to call their Friends together, as soon as was possible, to joya with their Neighbours; and were told "that they should very theryly receive a General from the King: for they did not think Mr *Hales* equal to the work, who found his Power and Credit to grow less, the greater the appearance grew to be; and they began to enquire for the King's Commission. The Earl of *Holland* had form'd his Party of many Officers who had serv'd both the King and the Parliament; all which were in the City; and he had not yet a mind to call them together, but to expect the appearance of their Northern Friends, and therefore consulting with the rest, and finding the Earl of *Newark*, who had been some Months in *England* under a Pass from the Parliament (upon pretence of making his composition, from which he had never been excluded) willing to engage himself in the Conduct of those in *Kent*, where he was well known and belov'd, his Affection and Zeal for the King's Service being not to be doubted, they resolv'd that he should go thither; and there being many blank Commissions ready to be dispos'd as the Service should require, they fill'd one with his Name, by which the Command of all *Kent* was committed to him, "with power to lead them any whither as the good of the King's Service should make re-quisite. And with this Commission he made hast into *Kent*, and found at *Maidstone* a better Body of Horse and Foot Arm'd than could have been expected; enough in number to have met any Army that was like to be brought against them. They all receiv'd him with wonderful Acclamations, and vowed obedience to him. Mr *Hales*, upon the news of another General to be sent thither, and upon the frowns of threat and rage which fell upon him from his Grand-father, on the one side, and on his Wife by her Mother on the other side, and upon the Conscience that he was not equal to the Charge, though his Affection was not in the least declined, found means to Transport himself, and Wife, together with his Friend Mr *L'Esperance*, who had lost his Credit with the People, into *Holland*; resolving, as soon as he had put his Wife out of the reach of her Mother, to return himself, and to venture his Person in the Service which he could not Comand; which he did quickly after very heartily endeavour to do.

THE importunities from *Scotland* with the Presbyterian their Correspondents, the fame of Sr *Marmaduke Langdale's* being well receiv'd at *Edinburgh*, and that many English Officers and Soldiers daily flock'd thither, but especially the promises from *Paris* of Supplies of Armes, Ammunition, and Money, as soon as they could expect it, set all the other

wheels going in *England* which had been preparing all the Winter. There were in *South Wales* Colonel *Langborn*, Colonel *Paswell*, and Colonel *Poyer*, who Commanded those parts under the Parliament, which they had serv'd from the beginning: the first of them a Gentleman of a good Extraction, and a fair Fortune in Land in those Counties, who had been bred a Page under the Earl of *Essex*, when he had a Command in the *Low Countries*, and continu'd his dependence upon him afterwards, and was much in his favour, and by that relation was first engag'd in the Rebellion, as many other Gentlemen had been, without willing till to the King: the second was a Gentleman too, but a Soldier of Fortune: the third, had from a low Trade rais'd himself in the War to the Reputation of a very diligent and stout Officer, and was at this time trusted by the Parliament with the Government of the Town and Castle of *Pembroke*. These three communicated their dissentments to each other, and all thought themselves ill requir'd by the Parliament for the Service they had done, and that other Men, especially Colonel *Milton*, were prefer'd before them; and resolv'd to take the opportunity of the Scots coming in, to declare for the King upon the Presbyterian Account. But *Langborn*, who was not inclined with any of those frowns, and doubted not to reduce the other two, when it should be time, to sober Resolutions, would not engage till he first sent a confident to *Paris* to inform the Prince of what he had determin'd, and of what their wants consist'd, which if not reliev'd, they should not be able to pursue their purpose, desiring to receive Orders for the time of their declaring, and Assurance that they should in time receive those Supplies they stood in need of. And the Lord *Jernyn* sent him a promise under his hand, "that he should not fail of receiving all the things he had desired, before he could be press'd by the Enemy; and therefore engag'd him, and his Friends, forthwith to declare for the King, which he assur'd them would be of singular benefit, and advantage to his Majesty's Service: since, upon the first notice of their having declared, the Scottish Army would be ready to march into *England*. Hereupon they presently declared, before they were provided to keep the Field for want of Ammunition and Money, and when *Pembroke* was not supplied with Provisions for above two Months; and were never thought of after.

THE Lord *Byron* had been sent from *Paris*, upon the importunities from *Scotland*, to get as many to declare in *England* in several places, as might distrust the Army, and keep it from an entire Engagement against them; to dispose his old Friends about *Cheshire* and *North Wales* to appear as soon as might

might be: and he presently, with the help of Colonel *Rolleston*, possessed himself of the Islands of *Anglesey*, and disposed all *North Wales* to be ready to declare alikon as the Scots should enter the Kingdom. But that which was of most importance, and seem'd already to have brought the War into the heart of *England*, was that some Gentlemen, who had formerly serv'd the King in the Garrison of *Newark*, and in the Northern Army, under *St. Marmaduke Langdale*, had (by a design consulted with him before his going into *Scotland*, and upon Orders receiv'd from him since, when he believ'd the Scots would be in a short time ready to begin their March) surpris'd the strong Castle of *Festref* in *Yorkshire* (which had a Garrison in it for the Parliament) and given secretly to numerous, by the resort of Officers and Soldiers from the adjacent Counties, that they grew formidable to all those parts, and made the Communication between *London* and *York* insecure, except it was with strong Troops. Upon which Argument of the surpris'd of *Festref*, We shall enlarge hereafter, before We speak of the Tragick conclusion of this Enterprize. All Affairs were in this motion in *England*, before there was any appearance of an Army in *Scotland*, which they had promis'd should be ready to march by the beginning of *May*.

INDEED as for the raising an Army in *Scotland*, the difficulties were well nigh over, nor did they ever look upon that as a thing that would trouble them, but who should Command, and be General of this Army was the matter upon which the Success of all they propos'd would depend; and if they could not procure *Duke Hamilton* to be made choice of for that Service, they would promise themselves no good issue of the Undertaking. It was a hard thing to remove the old General *Lesley*, who had been hitherto in the Head of their Army in all their prosperous Successes; but he was in the confidence of *Argyle*, which was objection enough against him, if there were no other; and the Man was grown old, and appear'd, in the Actions of the last Expedition into *England*, very unequal to the Command. And therefore some expedient was to be found to be rid of him; and they found it no hard matter to prevail with him to decline the Command, upon pretence of his Age and Infirmities, when in truth he had no mind to venture his Honour against the *English*, except assist'd by *English*, which had been his good Fortune in all the Actions of Moments he had perform'd in this War; and when he had been destitute of that help, he had always receiv'd some Assistance. When by this means there was a new General to be named, *Duke Hamilton* was propos'd, as a fit Man to be employ'd to redeem the Honour of

the Nation. He had formerly discharged the Office of General under the King of *Sweden*, where *Lesley*, that had now declined the employment, was Major General under him; and therefore could not be thought to be without ample experience of War.

WHILEST this was depending, *Argyle* took notice of *St. Marmaduke Langdale*, and *St. Philip Mylgrave* being in the Town, and of some discourses which they had utter'd, or some other *English* Officers in their Company, and desired "that, if they were to have any Command in the Army, they might presently take the Covenant; and that there might be a general Declaration, that there should be neither Officer nor Soldier receiv'd into their Army, before he had first taken the Covenant; and that, after they were enter'd into the Kingdom of *England*, they should make no conjunction with any Forces, or Persons, who had not done, or should refuse to do the same. This propos'd found no opposition; they who were most forward to raise the Army for the delivery of the King, being as violent as any to advance that Declaration. And though *Duke Hamilton* and his Brother of *Lauris* did as well disapprove it in their own judgement, as they did foresee, out of the long experience they had of *England*, what prejudice it would bring upon them there, yet they had not the Courage in any degree to speak against it; and the Chancellor of *Scotland*, and the Earl of *Lauterdale* were as passionate for the Advancement of it, as *Argyle* himself; and seem'd to think that those two Gentlemen either had already taken, or would be willing to take it.

I can hardly be believ'd, that, after so long knowledge of *England*, and their observation of whom the King's Party did consist, after their so often conferences with the King without prevailing upon him, in any degree, either to preserve himself at *New-Castle* from being deliver'd up to the Parliament, or in their last agitation with him, when he yielded to so many unreasonableness particulars to gratify them, to consent to or promise, "that any Man should be compell'd to take the Covenant; that they should still adhere to that fatal Combination against the Church, which they could never hope to bring to pass, except they intended only to change the hand, and to keep the King under as strict a restraint, when they should get him into their hands, as he was under the domination of the Parliament and Army; yet they were so infatuated with this resolution, that they discovered their apprehension of the King's Party, and design'd no less to oppress them than the Independents, and Anabaptists; and upon the news of the revolt of the Bishops to the Parliament to the King, the Insurrection in *Kent*, and other places, and the general inclinations throughout the Kingdom for the

King, they slacken'd their preparations, that they might defer their March, to the end that all that strength might be oppressed and reduced, that fo they might be absolute Masters after they had prevailed over the Army. And at last, when they could defer their March no longer, upon the impromissive picture of their Friends in London, they sent the Earl of *Lansdowne* with those insolent instructions, which will be mention'd anon, and positively required the Prince immediately to repair to them, declaring, "that if his Person should not be forthwith in their Army, they would return again into Scotland without making any attempt; and the knowing this resolution, was the reason that the Queen was so positive in her Instructions, notwithstanding the appearance of any other Advantage to the King in England.

So *Mr. Arminius Langdale* and *St. Philip Musgrave* no longer heard of this Declaration, than they went to those Lords, and expostulated very bitterly with them, for "having broken their Faiths, and betray'd them into their Country; where they were looked upon as Enemies. They were Answer'd, "that they must give over their design to redeem the King, or yield to this determination, which their Parliament was so firm and united in; and would never depart from. And therefore they entreated them with all imaginable importunity, that they would take the Covenant; some of them desiring to confer with them upon it, and undertaking to satisfy them, that the Covenant did not include those things in it, which they thought it did. But when they saw those Gentlemen would not be prevailed with, but that on the contrary they resolv'd presently to leave the Country; and told them, "they would undevote those honest People in England, who were too much inclined to trust them; and that they should find that they had a harder work in hand than they imagin'd; the *Scottish* Lords knew well enough of what importance this promise was to be to them, for their very entrance into England; and thereupon desired them, "that they would have a little patience, and again absent themselves from *Edinburgh*, till the heat of this dispute was over, and till the Army should be ready to march; and *Duke Hamilton*, who had a marvellous insinuation to get himself believ'd, assured them in confidence, "that as soon as he should find himself in the head of his Army, and upon their march, there should be no more talk of Covenants, but that all the King's Friends should be welcome, and without distinction. So they left *Edinburgh* again, and went to their old Quarters; where they had not stay'd long, before the Duke sent for them to come to him in private; and, after a very cheerful reception, he told them, "he was now ready; and that their Friends in

England

England called so importunately for them, that he was resolv'd to march in very few days; which he thought necessary to communicate to them, not only for the Friendship he had for them; which would always keep him with a due reserve towards them; but because he must depend upon them too to sacrifice the Towns of *Bornwick* and *Cerliffe*, against the time he should be able to march thither; for he intended to march between those two Places.

The work was not hard to be perform'd by them, they having from their first entrance into Scotland, adjust'd with their Friends who inhabited near those places, to be ready for that enterprize when they should be call'd upon; which they then believ'd would have been much sooner; so that they were willing to undertake it, and demanded Commissions from the Duke for the doing thereof; which he excus'd himself for not giving, under pretence of "the secrecy that was necessary; in respect whereof he would not trust his own Secretary; and likewise, as a thing unnecessary for the work; since it was their own reputation and interest, and their being known to have been always trusted by the King, by which they could bring it to pass, and not His Commission; for which those Towns would have no reverence. Besides, he told them, "that the Marquis of *Argyle* had still proceeded against their beginning the War by any Act of Hostility against the English, in forcing any of the Towns; which was not necessary in order to the King's deliverance; but that an Army might march to the place where the King was, to the end that those Messengers who were sent by the State to speak with the King, might have liberty to speak with his Majesty; which was a Right of the Kingdom, and the demanding it could be no breach of the Pacification between the two Kingdoms.

This Argument, they knew, was not reasonable enough to sway the Duke. But they foresaw two other reasons, which did prevail with him not to give those Commissions they desired, which otherwise might have been given with the same secrecy that the business was to be acted with; the one, the Order against giving any Commission to any Man before he had taken the Covenant; And how much Authority forever the Duke might take upon him to dispense with that Order after he should be in England, it might not be convenient that he should assume it whilst he remain'd yet at *Edinburgh*; the other was, that, when they had done it without his Commission, he might, upon his March, or as soon as he came thither, dispossess them of the Government, and put *Swiss* men into their places; the last of which he did not dissemble to them; but content'd "that, though the Council of Scotland

would

as would not attempt the taking of those Towns, yet when they should be taken, they would expect the Government thereof should be in Their hands, and depend upon Them, without which they should not be able to send him those continual Supplies which he expected from them. And there being then a recruit of five or six thousand, which *Sr Georg Avenae* had near raised in the North, and from *Ireland*, who were to begin their March after him, altho as he should be out of *Scotland*, the two Gentlemen had no purpose of remaining in those Governments, well knowing that their presence would be of importance to the Army, at least whilst they stayed in the Northern Counties; yet they knew well, it was for the Service that those Towns should remain in the hands of the *English*, without which few of the Gentlemen of those Parts would declare themselves, how well affected forever they were; which when they had offer'd to the Duke, they left it to him, and accepted the employment he preferr'd them to undertake, and parted to put the same in execution in both places at one time, all things being concert'd between them to that purpose.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale had several Officers, and Soldiers, laid privately on the *Scottish* side to wait his Commands, and more on the *English*; there being two or three good Families within two or three Miles of *Berwick*, who were well affected, and ready to appear when they should be required; in expectation whereof they had harboured many Men. Some of them *Sr Marmaduke* appointed to meet him, on the *Scottish* side, at a place about a Mile distant from *Berwick*, the Night before he intended the surprisall; and the rest to be in the Town by the rising of the Sun; some about the Market place, and some upon the Bridge, by which he must enter. The next Morning, being Market day, when great droves of little Horses, laden with packs of Corn, always resorted to the Town, *Sr Marmaduke Langdale*, with about a hundred Horses, and some few Foot, which walked with the Market People, presently after Sun rising, was upon the Bridge, before there was any apprehension; and finding his Friends there whom he expected, he caus'd the Bridge presently to be drawn up, and guarded by his Foot, and sent others to the other parts. Himself with most of his Troops went into the Market place, where he found his Country Friends ready to do all he would Command. There was so general a confection raised upon the whole Town, there being no other *Berwick*, Garrison but Towns-men, that after they had seized upon the Mayor, who was the Governour, all things were in a short time so quiet, that they open'd their Ports again, that the Market might not be interrupted. *Sr Philip Musgrave*, with

16 M. Langdale's Garrison but Towns-men, and Sr P. Musgrave Carlisle (see after)

as little opposition, possess'd himself of *Carlisle*; where he had a greater Interest; and the People were generally better affected to the King, and more disinclined to the *Scott*; than those of *Berwick* used to be; and they both hasten'd advertisement to the Duke of what they had done.

It will be much wonder'd at, that after *Cromwell* plainly foresaw they should have a War with *Scotland*, and had constant Intelligence from thence of the Advantages they made, he did not take care to put Garrisons into those two important places, the very strength of which could for some time have withstood all the power which *Scotland* could have brought against them. But the same reason which had been current at *Edinburgh* to this very time, had prevail'd at *Westminster*. It was specially provided for by the Act of Pacification between the two Kingdoms, when the Parliaments of both Kingdoms Combine against the King, "that there should be no more Garrisons kept on either Side in *Berwick* or *Carlisle*; where they were then obsouded, and some of their Fortifications slighted; which could easily have been repaired; and, without repairing, could have kept out an Enemy for some time. And the Parliament would not now permit any Men to be sent thither, that the *Scotts* might not pretend that the War was begun by them; but left *Berwick* to the Government of the Mayor and the Citizens; who could have defended themselves against the *Scotts* if they had expected them. But the truth is, *Cromwell* had so perfect a contempt of the whole strength of that Nation, that he never cared what Advantages ground they had upon any Field, or what place they ever possess'd.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale and *Sr Philip Musgrave* were no sooner possess'd of *Berwick*, and *Carlisle*, than all the Gentlemen, Officers, and Soldiers thereabouts, who had formerly serv'd the King, resorted and flock'd to them well Arm'd, appointed, and provided for the War; so that they had not only very sufficient Garrisons to keep those places, but Troops enough of Horse to free the adjacent Counties from those Forces, and Committees, and other Persons, who were either publicly engag'd in, or well known privately to wish well to the Parliament. It was upon the 28th of *April* that *Sr Marmaduke Langdale* possess'd himself of *Berwick*; and soon after *Sr Philip Musgrave* surpris'd *Carlisle*, about eight of the Clock at Night, many Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood being in, and about the Town, expecting his Arrival; so that the Citizens were in confusion, and made little resistance. It is very true, they had both given under their hands to *Duke Hamilton*, that they would deliver up the Towns to him when he should require them; he having assur'd them, "that the King had

L 3 promis'd,

promised, under his hand, that those two Towns should be deliver'd into the possession of the *Scots*; which it muſt needs be ſuppos'd that they should firſt take from the Parliament, in whole poſſeſſion they were had; when the King ſign'd the Engagement at *Carisbrooke* Caſtle. And the Duke had not only refus'd to give them any Men, or other Aſſiſtance towards the taking them, but, as hath been ſaid, would not grant them his Commiſſion to perform it; pretending "that he durſt not do it, becauſe they were bound not to begin the War: only He, and the other Lords of his Fraternity, promiſed "to ſend five hundred Muſkets, and ten Barrels of Powder to each Garrifon; and that their whole Army ſhould march into *England* within twenty days; and that, if they were longer in diſtreſs, they ſhould be ſure to be reliev'd.

But after he heard that both places were poſſeſſed by them, he deſer'd not to ſend a Governour and Garrifon to receive *Berwick*; to whom *St Marmaduke Langdale* deliver'd it according to his promiſe; and was requir'd "to march with all the *Engliſh* to the parts adjacent to *Carlisle*, and there to recreate his Troops to what Number he could, with what expedition was poſſible; which he perform'd ſo effectually, that, in very few days, he had a Rendezvous upon a Heath within five Miles of *Carlisle*, where he Muſter'd above three thouſand Foot well Arm'd, and ſeven hundred Horſe not ſo well Arm'd; all which were rais'd in *Cumberland*, and *Wiltſhire*, over and above the Garrifon of *Carlisle*; which yet remain'd under *St Philip Muſgrave*; and, within two days, five hundred Horſe, very well appointed, came out of *Tireſhire*, the Biſhoprick of *Dorſet*, and the Neighbour parts; ſo that *St Marmaduke Langdale* receiv'd preſently to march into *Lancuſhire*, to reduce thoſe who were for the Parliament there; which he could eaſily have done, the Lord *Byron* being ready upon the Borders of *Cheſhire* to have join'd with him. But this quick advance and progress towards an Army, was not well look'd upon at *Edenborough*; and an Expreſs was diſpatched with poſitive Orders to *St Marmaduke Langdale* "not to Engage or Fight with the Enemy, upon what advantage ſoever, until the *Scottiſh* Army ſhould come up. And whenever that Expreſs ſhould overtake *St Marmaduke*, he was immediately to retire with his Forces near *Carlisle*; which he obey'd ſoon as he receiv'd the Order, and when he might have march'd againſt *Lambert*; who was ſent before with a leſs Strength than *St Marmaduke* Commanded, and which in all probability would have been Deſeated.

But, as if this had not been diſcouragement enough, within one or two days after that Expreſs, Letters were ſent from the Council in *Scotland*, by which *St Marmaduke Langdale* was

very

very feverely reprehended, "for receiving Papists into his Army, and not owning the Covenant in the Declarations "which he had publiſhed; and told, "that he ſhould receive "no Aſſiſtance from Them, except the Covenant was embraced by all his Army. This ſtruck at the root of all their hopes; and was ſo contrary to all the Engagements they had receiv'd from the *Scottiſh* Lords, both by Words and Letters, "that they ſhould never be troubled with any ſuch motions, "after they were once upon *Engliſh* ground; and that then "they ſhould proceed upon thoſe Grounds as were like to bring in moſt Men to their Aſſiſtance; that *St Marmaduke* perſwaid with *St Philip Muſgrave* to make a Journey forthwith to *Edenborough*, to expoliatate upon the whole matter, and declare their firm Reſolution to the Lords there.

But *St Philip Muſgrave*, that it might appear that they did not exclude any who had taken the Covenant, and were willing to join with them, carried a liſt with him of the names of many Officers in their Troops who had been compell'd to take the Covenant before they could be admitted to compoſition, or procure the Sequeſtrations to be taken from their Eſtates, and of ſome others who had taken it for quietneſs ſake in the places where they liv'd; with which the *Scotts* were in ſome degree mitigated, but ſeem'd to retain ſtill their rigour, that it ſhould be ſubmitted to by the whole Army.

At the mean time *Lambert*, having gotten a ſtrong Body of Horſe and Foot, advanced upon *St Marmaduke Langdale*, who, being enjoy'd not to Fight, was forced to retire to *Carlisle*, and ſuffer himſelf to be, upon the matter, block'd up on one ſide, whilſt he ſent Letters upon Letters to the Duke "to halten his March, or to ſend ſome Troops to his Aſſiſtance, and Liberty to Fight the Enemy.

The Earl of *Norwich* had found the Aſſembly at *Maid*: The Earl of *Down* very numerous, but likewise very diſorderly, and with our Government, not eaſy to be reduced under any Command. They had been long enough together to enter into Jealouſies of one another, and from thence into Factions, and Feuds, were of ſeveral opinions what they were to do. And though they all pretended an entire ſubmiſſion and obedience to the Earl of *Norwich* as their General, yet no Man forbore to declare his opinion of Things and Perſons, nor to enquire by what means they had firſt been drawn together; which imply'd that many Men wou'd they had been to begin again. The Earl was a Man fitter to have drawn ſuch a Body together by his frolick and pleaſant humour, which reconciled People of all conſtitutions wonderfully to him, than to form and conduct them towards any Enterprize. He had always

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liv'd in the Court in such a station of business as raised him very few Enemies; and his pleasant and jovial Nature, which was every where acceptable, made him many Friends, at least made many delight in his Company. So that by the great favour he had with the King and Queen, and the little prejudice he brood in with any Body else, he was very like, if the fatal disorder of the time had not blasted his hopes, to have grown Master of a very fair Fortune; which was all that he propos'd to himself. But he had no experience or knowledge of the War, nor knew how to exercise the Office he had taken upon him of General, but was very willing to please every Man, and comply with every Bodies humour; which was quickly discover'd; and so Men withdrew the Reverence they were prepared to have paid him, and grew more obstinate in their own opinions what was to be done; and the indispotion increas'd, when they heard that Fairfax himself was appointed to march towards them. They who best understood the Affairs, and how to apply the strength they had to the best advantage, advis'd "that they might retire beyond Rochester, and by breaking down the Bridge there, and Fortifying another Part or two, which was easy to be done, they might keep the Enemy from entering into the East of Kent (which was the largest and best part of that rich and populous County) " longer than they would be able to continue the attempt; for fear of being inclosed by an Enemy at their back, if the City of London, or those of Essex, who were most spoken of, had a mind to declare for the King; and by this means they might be sure of a correspondence with the Fleet; of the return whereof in a short time they were most confident; and the more, because some Gentlemen of their own Body were on board the Fleet in some Authority, who, they knew, would hasten their return all they could.

MANY were the more perswaded that the Fleet was gone to the Ill of Wight for the rescue of the King, because these Gentlemen were gone in it. And without doubt that advice was the most reasonable, and if it had been pursued might have kept the Enemy at a Bay for some time. But other Men less reasonable were of another mind: they did not believe that Fairfax could have leisure to look after them; they were confident that the Parliament had so many Enemies to look after, that in Wales growing strong, and having occasion the Party that had been sent against them; and the Officers in the North, who had lifted upon Penryn Castle in York-shire, and had drawn in a strong Garrison from the parts adjacent, had a Body of Horse, that infested all those parts; and the Scots were upon their march for England; and

and therefore they concluded that Fairfax could not be at leisure to visit them: The retiring would be an Argument of fear, which would dishearten their Friends at London; and all those of that part of Kent, which must be deferred upon their Retreat, would desert them, as soon as that resolution should be known; and therefore they desired, "that they might all march towards Black-Heath; which would strike the Spirits of their Enemies, and many would desert every day to them out of London and the parts adjacent; all which were eminently well affected.

THE Notice for this was the greater, and the Earl of Northampton himself was thereby sway'd to be of that opinion; and so they resolv'd to advance, and a short day was appointed for a general Rendezvous upon Black-Heath; and Orders were sent out accordingly.

THE disturbance in so many places made the resolution of the General now to be known, which had been hitherto carefully concealed, "that Fairfax himself was not willing to march against the Scots; which was not now Counsellable for him to do. Cromwell was very willing to take that Province to himself, and had always for great a conceipt of the Scots, that he was willing to march with a much lesser Number than he well knew the Scottish Army to consist of; and being inform'd which way the Scots resolv'd to enter the Kingdom, and that they were even ready to march, he advanced to meet them, as soon as they should be enter'd, with those Troops which he had made choice of, having first surpris'd the Rings in South Wales by taking of Pembroke Castle, and making Prisoners therein Laughorn, Powell, and Poyer, and the heads of that Insurrection, and not troubling himself with Fairfax Castle, which he thought would not be of great consequence, if the Scots were subdued.

FAIRFAX, with a numerous part of the Army, remain'd in and about London to suppress the Insurrection in Kent, and watch any other which should fall out in the City or thereabouts, of which they had more apprehension than of all the power of Scotland. And so when the Parliament was adversed by their Troops which were first sent, that they were too weak to advance farther, and heard that the Earl of Northampton was declared General of the Kentish Troops, and was marching in the Head of them towards Black-Heath, Fairfax drew all his Army together, and his Cannon, and march'd over London Bridge to meet the Men of Kent at Black-Heath, and to stop their march to London. The Earl of Northampton was now advanced so far, and Fairfax advanced too fast to put the former Council in practice, of breaking down the Bridges, and keeping the Passes, and they who had oppos'd

that Counsel, and were fo forward to advancy, thought they were now too far. The Country-men were weary of being all night in the Field, though it was the warmest Season of the Year, and many withdrew themselves every day; so that they who remain'd had no reason to believe themselves equal to the power that march'd towards them, and yet there were more left than could hope to preserve themselves by flying, and by concealment. And therefore, as *Fairfax* advanced, the *Kentish* Forces drew back; made several stands; but, being had perfect, they divided, some retiring to *Recheff*, others to *Maidstone*. Those at *Maidstone* had a sharp Encounter with the Generals whole strength, and fought very bravely, but were at last Defeated. In the mean time the Earl of *Norwich*, and divers other Officers who were with the Party at *Recheff*, quitting that place, march'd back towards *London*, in hope still of the City's joining with them. But that failing, and apprehending *Fairfax* would be soon in their Rear, the Earl and those who remain'd, and design'd to run to the utmost hazard, resolv'd to pass themselves and their Horses by such Boats as they had ready about *Greenwich*, and down the River, over into *Essex*, where they knew they had many Friends, and where *Fairfax* and his Army could not visit them in some days. So they made a shift to transport themselves to the number of near a thousand Men, Horse and Foot, whereof many were Officers and Soldiers who had serv'd the King, and young Gentlemen grown up in *Loyal* Families, who had been too young to appear before.

They found many Persons in *Essex* ready to join with them, who came foner together than they intended, upon the Alarm of *Kent*; and who had purposed to have pall'd over into *Kent* to have join'd with, and assisted those who had so frankly appear'd for the King, if they had not been prevented by their unexpected coming to them. There was the brave Lord *Capel*, *St William Compton*, *St Charles Lucas*, *St George Lisle*, all excellent Officers. There was *St Bernard Coligny*, and many other Gentlemen, and Officers of Name, who had drawn together many Soldiers. To these join'd Colonel *Ferr*; who had serv'd the Parliament, and was a known Creature and Confident of the Earl of *Warwick*, and had at that time the Command of *Langsard Post*, a Post of importance upon the Sea; so that when they were all come together, with those who came from *Kent*, they made a Body of above three thousand Horse and Foot, with Officers enough to have form'd and commanded a very good Army.

They well knew *Fairfax* would quickly visit them, and therefore they chose to post themselves in *Colchester*, a great

and populous Town, which though unfortified, they cast up such works before the Avenues, that they did not much fear to be forced by an Assault; and resolv'd to expect a Contestation with other of their Friends; and were in great hope that the *Staff* Army, which they heard was upon its march, would be with them before they could be distressed.

They had scarce put themselves and the Town, which was not glad of their company, into any order, before *Fairfax* came upon them; who made no stay in *Kent*, after he heard what was become of the Earl of *Norwich* and his Friends; but left two or three Troops of Horse to settle that County, with the assistance of their Committees, who had been driven from thence, and returning now Victorious knew well enough how to deal with those who had revolted from them. When *Fairfax* first came first before *Colchester*, and saw it without any Fortifications, he thought presently to have enter'd the Town with his Army; but he found so rude resistance, that by the advice of *Irwin*, who was left by *Cromwell* to watch the General as well as the Army, he resolv'd to encompass it with his Troops, and without hazarding the loss of Men to block them up, till Famine should reduce them; and dispos'd his Army accordingly; which quickly flopp'd up all Passages by which either Men or Provisions should get into the Town; though by many brave Salies from within, their Quarters were often beaten up, and many Valiant Men were lost on both sides.

This Fleet, after it had, with all imaginable cheerfulness, submitted to the Commands of the King, was not so active as it was expected it should be; and was very much the worse for the Factions, and Divisions, which were amongst those who attended upon the Prince; who, according to their several humours, endeavour'd to work upon the Sea-men; People capable of any impression, but not very reverent of it. *Prince Rupert*, to whom the Prince was very kind, did not, upon many old contentions in the late War, love the Lord *Colchester*, who was not of a temper that cared to court him; and there was one, who had the greatest influence on *Prince Rupert*, *Herbert* the Attorney General, that of all Men living was most dispos'd to make discord and disagreement between Men; all his faculties being resolv'd into a spirit of contradicting, disputing, and wrangling upon any thing that was proposed. He having no title or presence to interpose in Councils, and yet there being no secret in the Debate there, found it easy to insufe into *Prince Rupert*, who totally resign'd himself to his Advice, such Arguments as might dilute any Resolution: and there were to many who were angry that they were not admitted into the Council, as the Lord *Forcy*, *Wilmot*,

The Earl of
Norwich
and some
Essex, and
down into
Essex, where
many
Friends; and
where
Fairfax
and his
Army
could not
visit
them
in
some
days.

Fairfax
first
came
before
the
Town.

Wilton, and Howorth, that it was no hard matter to get any thing dissolved that was resolv'd there. They had all that admission and countenance from the Prince, that they had a much confidence to speak to, and before him, as any other should. Prince *Rupert* had a great mind that somewhat should be attempted upon the Coast, which might have caus'd some Sea Towns, and the parts adjacent, to have declared for the King; which seem'd not a design that would bear a reliable discourse. But *Action* was a very grateful word to the Sea-men, and they who opposed any thing that tended toward it, were looked upon with great jealousy and prejudice. But the Prince was oblig'd, as hath been said, by his Intrusions at *Paris*, not to engage himself in any thing that might drive him from being ready at the minute when the Scots should call for his presence; and they expected the first intimation of that from *London*; from whence they had the assurance already, that *Duke Hamilton* was enter'd into the Kingdom with an Army of above thirty thousand Men; which was then generally thought true, though they fell far short of the number.

When the Prince came with the Fleet into the Sea from *Helvoet Sluice*, he met a Ship of *London* bound for *Rotterdam*, and laden with Cloath by the Company of Merchant Adventurers, who did not think that the Fleet could have been so soon ready for Sea. This Ship was taken, and the Decks being Sealed up, was kept under Guard with the Fleet; which at their Entrance into the River of *Thames*, took many other Ships of great value outward bound, and intercepted all Vessels homeward bound, and amongst those an East India Ship richly laden, and the more welcome because the Ship it self was a very strong Ship, and would make an excellent Man of War, and the Captain thereof was a Sea-man of Courage and Experience, and was very well inclin'd to serve the King, and without doubt, if all the Ships which were then taken, had been sent into some secure Ports, the value of the Goods would have amounted to great a Sum, as might have costervall'd a very great Expence at Sea and Land. But as it would have been very difficult to have found such a secure Port, where that Treasure might have been deposited, it was not suitable to those measures which had been taken, and were still pursued, for his Royal Highness's proceedings. The City of *London* was to be courted by all the Artifices imaginable, and that was to alarm'd by the Fleet's being in the River, and by the Seizure of so many of their Ships, especially the Cloath Ships; that there was a general contentation amongst the People; and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen applied themselves to the Parliament, for leave to send down some Agents to the

Fleet to procure a release of that Ship; and if that could not be brought to pass, that they might buy it at as good rate as they could get it. Which was the introducing such a Commerce and Correspondence between the Fleet and the City, in such a conjuncture of jealousy, that most Men believ'd the Parliament would never have hearken'd to it; and concluded, from the granting it, that there was another sort of Treasure hid in that Ship, than what belonged to the Merchant Adventurers; and that many of those who granted that indulgence to the City, had more Money on board that Vessel than the Coast was worth, though the value thereof amounted to less than forty thousand pound.

Upon this liberty granted by the Parliament a Committee ^{Commission} was sent from the City with a Petition to the Prince of *Wales*, ^{as first is} what he would restore the Ship which belonged to his Father's good Subjects. With these Men came Letters from the City with a list of those who were well known to be very solicitous at this time for the advancement of the King's Service, and priority to the Treaty with the Scots, and whatever was intended by the Earl of *Holland*: The Countess of *Corleife*, who was trusted by all that People, and had gotten again confidence with the Queen, trusted *Mr Lowe*, who was employ'd by the City in this Negotiation, to say many things to the Prince of the good inclinations of the City, and how necessary it was not to irritate it. And he brought other Letters, and Testimonies to give him credit, as a Man trusted by all who intended to serve the King, who had with wonderful Address got him to be one of those employ'd by the City, that he might, under that security, give such Animadversions to the Prince, and to his Council, as was necessary. He was a Man intelligent enough of the spirit and humour of the City, and very conversant with the Nobility and Gentry about the Town; and though he was trusted by the Presbyterian Party, as a Man entirely addicted to them, he took pains to inform himself into many of the King's Party, which did believe him fit to be trusted in any thing that might concern them. But he was a Man of so voluble a Tongue, and so overbearing a Talker, and so underraking and vain, that no other Man could be imposed upon by him.

Upon the receipt of this Petition, the Prince writ a long Letter to the City, and inclosed in it a Declaration, for the publishing of both which in Print care was taken, the substance of which was, "That the great affliction he bore to the City, and the prosperity thereof; the whole being in such a State as might best please the Presbyterians; with less care than should have been used to preserve the Zeal of the King's Party; and desiring "that they should joy with him for the delivery

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Fleet

of the King his Father out of Prison, and to make a good understanding between his Majesty and the Parliament, which his Highness desired with all imaginable contentment. The Citizens quickly found, that there was no hope to have their Ship releas'd without a good Sum of Money, which the Prince told them ^{was} was absolutely necessary for the payment of the Sea-men, and he would receive it as a loan from them, and repay it when a Peace should be made. So some of them return'd to London, and the rest remain'd with the Fleet, coming and going for a Month, and driving many bargains for other Ships. By this means the Prince receiv'd Advertisement of the Scots continuing their march, and that those who were inclos'd in *Colechester*, were in a very good condition, and willing to expect relief; which they would be free to receive in due time, the Earl of *Holland* being ready to declare as soon as their prelates should require it. After near a Month's negotiation, there was about twelve thousand pounds paid to the Prince, and thereupon that Cloth Ship was deliver'd to the Merchants, with a general opinion, as has been said, that there was somewhat else besides Cloth in the Body of it; for which there was not any Search suffer'd to be made.

WHILE the Prince lay in the Downs, there was an Enterprize necessary to be made on Shore, which did not succeed to wish. Upon the first revolt of the Fleet from the Parliament, and before it set fail for *Holland*, it had taken one or two of those Block-Houses, or Castles, which are nearest the Downs; and had left some Sea-men in them, with sufficient Provisions to defend themselves till the Fleet should return. The Prince found that those Block-Houses besieg'd, and receiv'd Intelligence out of them, that their Provisions were for near spent, that they could not hold out above many days. The strength that lay before them, consisted more in Horle than Foot; and at high Tyde the Boats might go so near, that there seem'd little difficulty of parting in relief, or to compel the Besiegers to rise: and the Sea-men, having nothing else to do, offer'd to undertake the Service for the redemption of their Fellows; many Land Officers being likewise on board, and some Foot Soldiers, the Prince sent some of those with the Sea-men to undertake the business, but it had no good issue; the Tyde was too far spent before it began; whereby they had more ground to march between their Landing and the Castle than they imagin'd, and the Horle charged them with such resolution, that many of the Men were killed, and more taken Prisoners, and the rest forced to their Boats with more disorder than became them. And some other attempts being afterwards made with no better success, the Block-Houses ^{all}

all came into the hands of the Enemy; which, though of little inconvenience to the Prince, those Forts being of very small importance to do any prejudice, yet there was some disparagement in it; and it discredit'd the design, which had not yet appear'd very prosperous in any place; and any prospect of good Fortune rais'd the Spirits of the Parliament's Party, who easily were perswaded to think it greater than it was, at a time when they lay under some Mortification.

By this time another Fleet was prepar'd by the Parliament of more and better Ships than had Revolv'd, and the Command thereof given to the Earl of *Warwick*; who very frankly accepted it; and was already on board, and with the Tyde was come within sight of the Prince; and there dropp'd Anchor. So that both Fleets lay within that distance of each other, that there was now nothing thought of but a Battle; in which there seem'd all alacrity in the Prince's Fleet; and, it may be, the more upon the Intelligence that the other was so well Mann'd, and that many were put on board who had more affection for the King; which they would manifest when they came within distance: but whether that fancy was from Imagination or Intelligence, it seem'd to have no foundation in truth.

THE Earl of *Warwick* and his Fleet appear'd resolute and prepar'd enough for an Engagement: yet it was well known, that the Earl was privy to the Engagement of his Brother the Earl of *Holland*, and had promis'd to joyn with him. And therefore it was thought fit, that the Prince should write to the Earl to summon, or invite him to return to his Allegiance. This was sent by *Harry Seymour*, who quickly return'd with an Answer from the Earl, which, in terms of Duty enough, humbly besought his Highness "to put himself into the hands of the Parliament; and that the Fleet with him might submit to their Obedience; upon which they should be pardon'd for their Revolt."

THOUGH at this might well have satisfis'd concerning the Earl's inclination, yet the Prince was prevail'd with that Mr *Ostry* might give the Earl a visit; who, having more acquaintance with him, having Married his Aunt, might be able to get a private Audience of the Earl; which *Seymour* endeavor'd, but could not obtain. But *Ostry* return'd as the other did; and now there wanted only a Wind to bring them together, which coming fair for the Prince, he resolv'd to attack them. All Anchors were weigh'd, and preparations made to advance to the Assault, the whole Fleet being under Sail towards the other; which seem'd equally resolv'd and dispos'd, though the Wind, which drove the Prince upon them, compell'd them a little to retire, where the River was somewhat narrower.

narrower. In an instant the Wind ceased, and there was a Calm; so that the Prince could not advance, and some doubts arose, upon the narrowing of the River, as if some of his Ships might want Water in the Engagement. In this deliberation the Wind arose again, but from another Quarter, which was directly in the Prince's face; and I will not suffer him to move towards the Enemy, but drove him back, and would carry him out of the River. Hercules were new consultations; great want of Provisions was discover'd to be in the Fleet, inasmuch as that they should not be able to stay at Sea above ten days, and many Ships would want sooner, and therefore since the Earl of Warwick, as the Wind flood, could not be compell'd to Fight, and they were in danger to be distressed for Provisions, it was thought most Counsellable to put to Sea; where they could more commodiously engage in a Battle, if the Earl of Warwick would advance; and if he did not, there was great reason to hope, that the Prince might meet with those Ships which were coming from Portsmouth to joyn with the Earl, and which might easily be surpris'd or taken by the Prince's Fleet; which was much superior to them in strength.

At this time the Earl of *Lanterdale* arriv'd in a Ship from *Sotland*, and having left *Duke Hamilton* upon his march towards *Bermouth*, he was sent to demand the performance of the Treaty, and that the Prince would immediately repair to that Army. This confirm'd the Prince in the purpose of putting out to Sea, since it was absolutely necessary to carry the Fleet first into *Holland*, before it could transport him into the Northern parts. So the whole Fleet went to Sea, and continued their course for *Holland*, with hope still to meet with those Ships which were coming from *Portsmouth*. And met with them they did in the Night; which the Prince knew not till the Morning; when one put the fault upon another; and it was now necessary to make all possible hast to *Holland*, since by the conjunction with these Ships, besides all other Advantages, the Earl of Warwick was now become superior in the number, as well as the strength and goodnes of his Ships; which appear'd by his coming before *Helvoet Sluce*, within few days after the Prince's arrival there.

It was near the middle of *July*, when *Duke Hamilton* arriv'd into *England* with his Army, when he came to *Carlisle*, and immediately took that Government from *Sr Philip Mordaunt*, and drew out all the *English* Garrison, and put *Scottish* in their place. And after some few days they there, the *English* and *Scottish* Forces met at a Rendezvous, in the way to that part of *Cumberland* where *Lambert* then Quarter'd; and if they had continued their March, as they ought to have done;

it is very probable they had broken that Body of *Lambert's*. But the Duke would Quarter that Night two Miles short; and *Lambert*, in the same Night, march'd from thence in great disorder and confusion to the edge of *Yorkshire*. The Duke retted many days, that all his Forces might come up, which came slowly out of *Sotland*. Altho' as they were come up, he march'd to *Kendal*; where he retted again several days; the reason whereof no body could imagine. It was suspected, that those Forces which were up in several parts of the Kingdom, for the King, might undergo some defeat, that they might not be so united, as to contrive or obstruct the Presbyterian design. For after that Army was enter'd into *England*, it mov'd, as hath been said, by such very slow Marches, and so negligently, and with so little apprehension of an Enemy, and it was Quarter'd at so great a distance, that the head Quarter was very often twenty Miles distant from some part of the Army; the Duke himself performing no part of the office of a General, but taking his ease, and being wholly govern'd by the Lieutenant General of the Army, and two or three other Officers.

Sr Marmaduke Langdale march'd, with his Body of *Eng-lish*, consisting of near four thousand Foot, and seven or eight hundred Horse, always a day before the Army; by which *before him*, they intended to have timely Advertisement of the Enemies motion, and likewise meant that he should bear the first brunt of them, desiring to weaken him by all the ways they could. They had not march'd many days, it being now near the middle of *August*, when *Sr Marmaduke Langdale* Adviser'd the Duke, by an Express, "that he had receiv'd unquestionable Intelligence that *Cromwell* was within two or three days march, and resolv'd to engage his Army as soon as possibly he could, and that he would not be diverted from it, by the People's gathering together at any distance from him, in what posture soever; and therefore desired his Grace, "that he would keep his Army close together; for they could not be far asunder with any security; and declared; "that he himself would ret, and wait the advance of the Enemy, "and then retire back as he should find it necessary.

THE Duke, notwithstanding this Advertisement, reform'd not the Order of his March in any degree, but was persuaded "that the Enemy could not be so near; and that, if *Cromwell* was advanced to such a distance, it was only with such a Party, as he would not presume to engage with *Sr Marmaduke's* whole Army. In this confidence, he march'd as he had done before. *Sr Marmaduke* lent him every day advice that he continu'd the former, "and that his Horse had encounter'd English some of the Enemy, and that their whole Body was at hand; "Vol. III. Par. 1. M but

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The Earl of
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The Duke
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“but that it was true, it was not a Body equal in number to their Army, yet all that *Cromwell* expected was to joyn Battle with him. All this gain’d not credit, till *St Marmaduke* himself making his retreat with very sharp Skirmishes, in which many Men fell on both sides, was pursued into the best Quarters of the Duke; whither he likewise brought with him some Prisoners, who averr’d, that the whole Body of the Army was within five or six Miles, and march’d as fast as they were able.

THE Duke was confounded with the Intelligence, and knew not what to do: the Army was not together; and that part that was about him, was without any order, and made no show of any purpose to Fight. In this Amazement, the Duke stay’d himself with some Officers at *Preston*; and caus’d his Foot to be drawn over a Bridge, that they might march towards *Wigan*, a Town in *Lancashire*, where he should, as he thought, find some Regiments, and where they might make some stand till the rest should come up. In the mean time *St Marmaduke Langdale* return’d to his Troops, the Duke having promised to send him some Troops to assist, and that some Foot should be sent to keep a Lane, that would flank his Men upon his retreat. *St Marmaduke* retired before the Enemy, and drew up his Troops into the Clofes near *Preston*. The Enemy follow’d him close, and press’d him very hard; so withstanding which he maintain’d the dispute for above six hours with great Courage, and with very great loss to the Enemy in Officers, and Common Soldiers; as they seem’d to retire, at least to make a stand. And in all this time the Scots sent him no Assistance, but concluded that it was not *Cromwell*’s whole Army that assur’d him, but only some Party, which he would himself be well enough able to disengage himself from. And *St Marmaduke Langdale* told me of ten afterwards, “that he verily believ’d, if one thousand Foot “had then been sent to him, he should have gain’d the day; and *Cromwell* himself acknowledged, that he never saw Foot Fight so desperately as they did.

THE Scots continued their march over the Bridge, without *St M. Langdale* taking care to secure the Lane, which he had recommended to them; by which *Cromwell*’s Horse came upon his Flank, *where*; and which he was equally press’d in the Van. So that his excellent Body of Foot being broken, *St Marmaduke*, and such of his Horse as kept together, were driven into the Towns where the Duke remain’d yet with some Officers; who all retreated over a Ford to the Foot, who were in equal disorder. For all soon as the English Forces were broken, the Scots were presently beaten from the Bridge, and forced to a very disorderly march. However, the Duke had still a great part of his own

Army together; with which he continued to march two or three days to *Wigan*; thence, to *Warrington*; where *Baile* Captivated, and deliver’d up all the Foot; thence to *Nantwich*, and at last to *Uxeter*; and in all that time many of the Scots Noblemen forsook him, and render’d themselves Prisoners to the Gentlemen of the Country; and *Cromwell*’s Troops under *Lambert*, press’d so hard upon the Rear, that they killed, and took as many Prisoners as they pleased, without hazzarding their own Men. The Duke was forc’d to go into *Uxeter*, when his Troops, which made no resistance, were beaten in upon him, and so close pursued by *Cromwell*’s Horse under *Lambert*, that himself and all the principal Officers (some few excepted, who, lying conceal’d, or by the benefit of the swiftness of their Horses, made their escape) were taken Prisoners: the Duke neither behaving himself like a General, nor with that Courage which he was before never thought to want; but making all submission, and all excuses to those who took him.

THUS his whole Army was Routed, and Defeated; more killed out of contempt, than that they deserv’d it by any opposition; the rest taken Prisoners, all their Cannon and Baggage taken, and their Colours; only some of their Horse, which had been Quarter’d most backward, made halt to carry news to their Country of the ill success of their Arms. They who did not take the way for *Scotland*, were for the most part taken by the activity of the Country, or the Horse that pursued them; whereof *St Marmaduke Langdale*, after he had made his way with some of his Officers and Soldiers, who stood with him till they found it safest to disperse themselves, had the ill Fortune to be discover’d; and was so taken Prisoner, and sent to the Castle of *Nottingham*. All this great Victory was got by *Cromwell* with an Army amounting to a third part of the Scots in Number, if they had been all together; and it was not diminished half a hundred in obtaining this Victory, after the English Forces under *Langdale* had been defeated.

It may be proper now to mention, that the Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had many misadventures; which detain’d them from attending upon the Prince in the Fleet. Aftoon as they heard that his Highness had put himself on board a Ship at *Calais* to find the Fleet in *Holland*, they embark’d at *Diepe*, in a French Man of War that was bound for *Dunkirk*; where when they arriv’d, they found a Gentleman, a Servant of the Prince’s, who inform’d them, that the Prince was with the whole Fleet in the *Dowry*; and that he had sent him with a Letter to the Marshal *Ranzenes*, who was Governour of *Dunkirk*, to borrow a

of him; which he had there, and had by some civil Message offer'd to lend to his Highness; and the Marshall, who receiv'd them with great civility, assur'd them that the Frigate should be ready the next day; and if they pleas'd to make use of it, should carry them to the Prince.

THEY look'd upon it as a good opportunity, which would deliver them much sooner at the Fleet, than they had before expected to be; and so, without weighing the Dangers which might accompany it, and might very naturally have been foreseen, they embraced the occasion; there being no hazard which they apprehended at Sea, but that they might be taken by the Parliament Ships; which, by the Prince's being with his Fleet in the Downs, and so being Master at Sea, was barely possible. So they unadvisedly put themselves into that Frigate, and set Sail in the Evening from *Dunirk*; presuming that they should, the next Morning, find themselves in the Downs with the Prince. But there was so dead a calm that Night, that they made very little way; and, the next Morning, they found that they were chased by six or seven Frigates of *Offend*. In their, they were taken Prisoners, and plunder'd of all they had (which amounted to good value in Jewels and Money) and were carried into *Offend*, where, though they were presently at liberty, they were compell'd to stay many days, not without some hope, rais'd by the civility of the *Spanish* Governour, and the Lords of the Admiralty there, who very liberally promis'd an entire restitution of all that they had lost. But that being without any effect; that brutish People, the Free-booters, being subject to no Government, they found means to give notice to the Prince of all that happen'd, and that they would attend his Command at *Flushing*; whether they easily went. Within few days after, the Prince, out of the Downs, sent a Frigate for them to *Flushing*; where they embarked several times, and were at Sea the whole Night, and in the Morning driven back by high Winds, sometimes into *Flushing*, sometimes to *Ramiskin*; and so were compell'd to go to *Middelsborough*, and after a Months stay in those places, and many attempts to get to Sea, they receiv'd Order from the Prince to attend him in *Holland*, whither he had resolv'd to go, as soon as the Earl of *Lauterdale* arriv'd from *Sweden* in the Fleet, and had deliver'd his impetuous invitation for the Prince's immediate repair to the *Stettin* Army; which was then enter'd into *England*. By this means they came not to the Prince, till the next day after he came to the *Hague*, having left the Fleet before *Goree* and near *Holinet Sloce*.

The Prince comes to the Hague.

THE Prince was receiv'd by the States with all outward respect; and treated by them for four or five days at their charge;

charge; his Royal Highness every Night lodging in the Palace, which belonged to the States too, where the Prince of *Orange* and the Prince's lay, and where both his Royal Highness and the Duke of *Tork* had very good apartments; the Prince and Duke, after two or three days, always eating with the Prince's Royal, the Prince of *Orange* himself keeping his own Table open, according to custom, for the rest of such of the States, or Officers of the Army, or other Noble Persons, who frequently repaired thither.

THE Prince of *Wales's* Court was full of Faction, and ^{Disorder among the Prince of Wales's Court.} Animosity against each other, so that the new comers were not only very well receiv'd by the Prince, but very welcome to every Body, who being angry with the other Counsellors there, believ'd that matters would be better carried now they were come. They had not been an hour in the *Hague*, when *Hieret* the Attorney General came to them, and congratulated their Arrival, and told them "how much they had been wanted, and how much Prince *Rupert* longed for their Company." And within a very short time after, Prince *Rupert* himself came to bid them welcome, with all possible grace, and profession of great kindness and esteem for them. They both inveighed bitterly against the whole administration of the Fleet, in which most part of the Court, which had been present, and who agreed in nothing else, concurr'd with them.

THE whole clamour was against the Lord *Colepepper*, and *St Robert Long* the Prince's Secretary, who, by the Queen's appointment, was wholly subservient to the Lord *Colepepper*. They accus'd them of corruption, not only with reference to the Cloath Ship, but to the release of very many other Ships, which they had discharged upon no other reason, but as it would be a very Popular thing, and make the Prince grateful to the City of *London*. Though there was much discourse of Money brought to both their Cabinets by Mr. *Loase*, yet there was never any proof made of any corruption in the Lord *Colepepper*, who was not indeed to be wroaght upon that way; but, having some infirmities, and a multitude of Enemies, he was never acknowledg'd from any thing of which any Man accus'd him; and the other was so necessarily inclin'd to that way of Husbandry, that he was always thought guilty of more than he was charged with. It was true enough that great Riches were parted with, and had been released for little or no Money; which being now exceedingly wanted, made it easily believ'd that such unthrifty Council could not have been given, except by those who were well rewarded for it; which fill fell upon those two.

THERE was a general murmur that the Fleet had lain for

long idle at the mouth of the River, when it had been proposed that it might go to the life of *Hughes*, where they might, in the confirmation the whole Kingdom was then in, probably have been able to have relieved the King; *Carrivoreak* being near the Sea, a Castle not strong in it self, the Island well fortified, and at that time under no such power as could subdue them. And why such an attempt, which, if unsuccessful, could have been attended with no damage considerable, was not made, was never fully Answer'd.

THEY were very angry with *Ratons*, and would have Treachery in him, that the two Fleets did not Fight with each other, when they were so near engaging in the River; which, they said, they might well have done before the Wind changed, if he had not dissuaded the Prince; and in this clamour of the Sea-men joy'd with them. But it was but clamour, for most dissatisfied Men gave him a good Testimony in that affair, and that he behaved himself like a skillful Officer, and was very forward to Fight whilst there was reason to effect it. The other reproach upon him of passing by the Ships which came from *Portsmouth*, in the Night, was not so well Answer'd: for it was known, though he said that they were pass'd by, and out of reach before he was inform'd of them, that he had notice time enough to have engag'd them, and did decline it, which might reasonably enough have been done, out of apprehension, besides the inconvenience of a Night Engagement, that the noise of the conflict might have call'd the Earl of *Warwick* out of the River to their Assistance, before they could have mist'r'd them; their being two or three of the best Ships of the Royal Navy, which would have made a very notable resistance. But this being never urg'd by himself, and what would have been too much for him to have taken upon himself, it was imputed to his Cowardice, of which the Sea-men, as well as the Courtiers, accus'd him; though, as was generally thought, without reason, and only with prejudice to the Man for what he had done before, and because he was a Man of a regular and orderly course of Life, and Command, and of very few words, and less passion than at that time rais'd Men to reputation in that Province. There was only one Man in the Council of whom no body spoke ill, nor laid any thing to his Charge; and that was the Lord *Hepton*. But there was then such a combination, by the countenance of Prince *Rupert*, with all the other Lords of the Court, and the Arturine Generals upon former prejudices, to undervalue him, that they had down the Prince himself to have a less esteem of him than his singular Virtue, and Fidelity, and his unquestionable Courage, and Industry (all which his Enemies could not deny that he excelled in) did deserve.

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THIS State the Court was in, when the two lately mentioned Councilors came; who quickly discern'd, by the unflinching humours, and strong passions all Men were possess'd with, that they should not preserve the Reputation they seem'd to have with every Body for the present, any long time, and forelaw that necessity would presently break in upon them like an Arm'd Man, that would disturb and distract all their Councils. And there was, even at the instant in which they arriv'd at the *Hague*, the fatal Advertisement of that Defeat of the *Scottish Army*, which must break all their measures, and render the condition of the Prince, and of the whole Kingdom, very deplorable, and leave that of the King his Father in the utmost despair.

THE Rumour of this Defeat came to the *Hague* the next day after the Prince came thither, but not so particularly that the extent of it was known, or the Tragical effects yet thoroughly understood. And his Highness appointing his Council to meet together the next Morning after the Lord *Ottaviano* and the Chancellor of the Exchequer came thither, he inform'd them of the Lord *Lasterdale's* Message to him from the Parliament of *Scotland*, and that he very earnestly press'd him, ever since the News of the Defeat, that he would bring with repair to their Army; and his Highness thought fit, that the Earl should give an Account of his Commission at the Board; whereupon he was sent for in; and, that all respect might be shew'd to the Parliament of *Scotland*, he had a Chair allow'd him to sit upon.

He first read his Commission from the Parliament, and the Letter of then the Letter which the Parliament had writ to the Prince; the Parliament of *Scotland* was in which, having at large magnified the great Affliction of *Scotland* as the Parliament, that out of their native, and constant Affection to the King, and Duty to their King, and fixing that, contrary to the Duty of Subjects, his Majesty was imprison'd by the Treacherous and Rebelious Army in *England*, they had rais'd an Army in that Kingdom, that, since their Advice, Council, and Entreaty in an amicable way, could not prevail, might by force redeem his Majesty's Person from that captivity; which they held themselves oblig'd by their solemn League and Covenant to endeavour to do, with the hazard of their Lives and Fortunes: That this Army was already enter'd into *England*, under the Command of *James Duke Hamilton*, whom, in respect of his known and eminent Fidelity to his Majesty, they had made General thereof; and having now done all that was in their power to do for the present, and having taken due care for the seasonable supply and recruit of that Army, they now sent to his Highness, that he would with all possible speed, according to

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“the promise which the King his Father had made, transport his Royal Person, that he might himself be in the head of that Army to obtain the Liberty of his Father; and they desired him, “that for the circumstances of his Journey he would be advis’d by the Earl of *Lantherdale*, to whom they had given full Instructions; and they bequeath his Highness to give credit to him in all things.

THE Earl likewise shew’d his Instructions, by which none of the Prince’s Chaplains were to be admitted to attend him, and great care to be taken, that none but *Godly Men* should be suffer’d to be about the Person of his Highness; and particularly that neither *Prince Rupert*, nor the Chancellor of the Exchequer, nor some other Persons should be admitted to go with the Prince. And after all these things were read and enlarged upon, he press’d the Prince, with all imaginable instance, and without taking notice of any thing that was befallen their Army in *England*, of which he could not but have had particular relation, that he would lose no time from entering upon his Journey; and all this with as insolent, and supercilious behaviour, as if their Army had been triumphant.

WHEN he had said all he meant to say, he sat still, as if he expected to hear what the Prince or any Body else would say to what he propos’d. It was then mov’d, “that, if he had no more to say, he would withdraw, to the end that

Deliberation in the Prince's Council about it.

“the Council might Debate the matter, before they gave their Advice to the Prince. He took this motion very ill, and said “he was a Privy Counsellor to the King in *Scotland*, and being likewise a Commissioner from the Parliament, he ought not to be excluded from any Debate that concern’d the Affairs upon which he was employ’d. This he urg’d in so imperious, and offensive a manner, that drew on much Harshness; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who knew him very well since the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, when they had often differ’d in matters of the highest importance, treated him with the same liberty they had then been accustomed to. He told him, “he meant not to say any thing in that Debate, when he should be withdrawn, that he desir’d should be concealed from him, or unheark’d by him; and that he was ready to say, that in his judgement, all he had propos’d was very unreasonable; but he would not “rebat the Dignity of the Board should be profittous to him.” Demand, nor that he should be present there at any Debate. The Earl replied, “that he was sent by the Parliament, and Kingdom of *Scotland*, to the Prince of *Wales*, and that he did protest against having any thing be propos’d to be created, and debated by, or before the *English Board*; nor “did he consider what was, or should be said, by any

“but the Prince himself. The Prince told him, “it was necessary that he himself should hear, and know what the opinion of the Council should be; and that it was as unreasonable that He should be present; and thereupon Commanded him to withdraw; which he presently submitted to with indecency enough. The Prince then told them, “that there were some Persons come to the Town, the last night, who came out of *England* after the News of the Victory over the Scots came to *London*, with all the circumstances thereof; and of the Duke’s being taken Prisoner; and that the Prince of *Orange* had told him, “that the States had receiv’d Intelligence of it from their Embassadour *Neupert*, who resided in *London*. Upon the whole matter, the Prince resolv’d “to meet again the next Morning to Consult farther what he was to do, and that probably, in the mean time, the Intelligence would be more perfect, and unquestionable, and they should see whether *Lantherdale* would take any notice of it.

BUT the Night made no alteration in him; he appear’d the next Morning with the same confidence, and the same impetuosity for the Prince to remove, and begin his Journey. He was ask’d, “whether he had receiv’d no Information of some ill Fortune, that had befallen that Army, which might so change the case since he left *Scotland*, that what might Then have been fit, would be Now unfit and unaccountable? The Earl said, “he knew well what the News was from *England*; and whatever he hoped, that he was not content it was not true; however he hoped, that would not change the Prince’s purpose, but that it would more concern him to pursue the resolution he was formerly oblig’d to; that if any misfortune had befallen that Army, the Prince had the more reason to endeavour to repair it; which could be done no other way, than by his making all possible haist into *Scotland*; which remain’d still a Kingdom entire, wholly devoted to his Service; and that, by the benefit of his presence, might quickly draw together another Army, towards which there was a good beginning already by the preservation of that Body under *Marston*. That if his Highness should decline this only probable way to retrieve himself, and to recover his other two Kingdoms, it would be thought he had little zeal for the Liberty of his Father, and as little for his own Interest, and for the preservation of the Crown; he therefore bequeath his Highness, that he would cause some of his Ships to be forthwith made ready, and would therein immediately Transport himself into *Scotland*; where, by the late wound would, in a short time, be healed; which would otherwise prove incurable.

BUT

BUT *Scotland* was so well known, and the power of *Argyle* (which might be now greater than ever by the total defeat of the contrary Party) that his Proposicion was by all dispassionate Men thought to be very extravagant, and not to be hearken'd to: and the News from *London*, that *Cromwell* was march'd into *Scotland* with his whole Army, confirm'd every honest Man in that opinion. And within few days the Earl of *Langside* seem'd rather to think of going thither himself, where his own Concernments were in great danger, than of pressing the Prince to so hazardous a Voyage; and after six Weeks more stay at the *Hague*, upon the Intelligence from his Friends in *Scotland*, how Affairs went there, he return'd thither in the same Ship that Transported him from thence, with much Rage and Malice against the Council about the Prince, as against *Cromwell* himself.

The Earl of Langside return'd into Scotland.

THE Defeat of the *Scottish* Army at *Profen*, though it was not at first believ'd to be an entire Victory over their whole Body, there being double that number that was not there: that march'd from thence, broke or disappointed most of the designs which were on foot for raising Men, in those Northern Counties, for the King's Service, to have join'd and united under *St Marmaid's Langdale*. *St Thomas Thistlefey*, a Gentleman of a fair Estate, who had serv'd the King from the beginning of the War with good Courage, was then with a Body of *English*, with which he had Besieged the Castle of *Lancaffer*, and was upon the point of Reducing it, when the News of *Profen* arriv'd. It was then necessary to quit that design; and hearing that Major General *Mooros*, who shortly after the Duke march'd out of *Scotland*, followed him with a Recruit of above fix thousand Horse and Foot, was come to the skirts of *Langshire*, he retired thither to him, having gather'd up many of *St Marmaid's Langdale's* Men, who had been broken at *Profen*, and some others who had been newly Levied. *St Thomas Thistlefey* mov'd *Mooros*, "that his Forces, and some Regiments of *Scots*, who yet remain'd about *Kendal*, might join with the *English* under his Command, and march together towards *Profen*, and follow *Cromwell* in the Rear," as He perswad the *Scots*; which they might very well have done, being a Body, when in conjunction, of above eight thousand Men; which was equal in number to the Army under *Cromwell*. But the Major General would not consent to the Motion, but retir'd to the farther part of *Westmorland*, and the *English* followed them in the Rear; presuming that though they would not be perswad'd to advance after *Cromwell*, yet that they would choose some other more convenient Post to make a stand in, if the Enemy follow'd them; and then that they would be glad to join with them:

St Thomas Thistlefey mov'd St Mooros.

to which he was perswad again the next day, but continu'd still fix in his Sullen Resolucion, without declaring what he meant to do; and retir'd through *Cumberland*, where he had left a sad remembrance of his having pillag'd that way a few days before, having then raited vast Sums of Money upon the poor People, and now in his retreat plunder'd almost all they had left.

THE *English* march'd into the Bishoppri of *Darbum*, to join with such new Levies as were then raising there; and their number being encreas'd by the addition of those Troops which were under the Command of *St Henry Bellingham*, *Montrose* they met again Major General *Mooros* in *Northumberland*, and desired him "that they might unite together against the Common Enemy, who equally desired the destruction of them both. But he resolutely refused, and told them plainly, that he would march directly into *Scotland* and expect Orders there; which he did, with all possible Expedition."

St Philip Mulgrave believ'd that he and his Foot might be welcome to *Carlisle*; and went thither; and sent *St Henry Mulgrave Bellingham*, *St Robert Strickland*, and Colonel *Charter*, to the Earl of *Lawrick*, and offer'd that they should carry their Troops into *Scotland* to join with him; who he knew well would stand in need of help. But he durst not accept their Motion, "as if he should, *Argyle* would from thence take an opportunity to invite *Cromwell*; who they heard was then upon his march towards *Carlisle*, to bring his Army into *Scotland*: upon which *St Henry Bellingham* return'd with the Party he Commanded into *Cumberland*, paying for all they had brought that part of *Scotland* it was necessary for them to pass through."

St Philip Mulgrave had no better success with *St William Levingham*, the Governour of *Carlisle*: for though he receiv'd him very Civilly, and enter'd into a Treaty with him (for he knew well enough that he was not able to Mutual, or defend the place without the assistance of the *English*, and therefore desired the assistance of *St Philip* in both) yet when Articles were agreed upon, and sign'd by *St Philip Mulgrave*, the Governour fell back, and refus'd to engage himself "not to deliver up the Garrison without the consent of *St Philip Mulgrave*"; who was contented that none of his Men should come within the Walls, until it should be most apparent, that they could no longer keep the Field.

WITHIN a short time after, Orders were sent out of *West-Berwick* for the delivery of *Barnwick* and *Carlisle* to the Parliament; and *Carlisle* in which Orders there was not the least mention of making any Conditions for the *English*. *St Philip Mulgrave* had yet *Apley* must. Cattle in his own possession, having taken it after he had deliver'd *Carlisle* to Duke *Hamilton*, and after he was march'd from

from thence. By this good accident, upon the delivery of it up, which could not long have made any defence, he made Conditions for himself, and one hundred and fifty Officers, many of them Gentlemen of Quality, who he'd again to venture, and some, to lose their Lives for the King: after which, he soon Transported himself into *Holland*.

СРОМ W E L L. relolv'd to lose no advantage he had got, but as soon as he had perfected his Defeat of Duke *Hamilton*, by gathering up as many Prisoners, as he could, of the dispersed Troops, he march'd directly towards *Scotland*, to pull up the Roots there, from which any farther trouble might spring hereafter; though he was very earnestly call'd upon from *York* to reduce thole at *Powis* Castles; which grew very troublesome to all their Neighbours; and, not satisfied with drawing Contributions from all the parts adjacent, they made Excursions into places at a great distance, and took divers substantial Men Prisoners, and carried them to the Castle; when they remain'd till they redeem'd themselves by great Ransoms. However, he would not defer his Northern march; but believing that he should be in a short time capable to take Vengeance upon thole Affronts, he satisfied himself in sending Colonel *Ramsburgh*, with some Troops of Horse and Foot, to restrain their adventures, and to keep them blocked up; and himself, with the rest of his Army, continued their march for *Scotland*, it being about the end of *August*, at beginning of *September*, before the Harvest of that Country was yet ripe; and so capable of being destroy'd.

It was generally believ'd, that the Marquis of *Argyle* earnestly invited him to this Progress; for the Defeat of the *Scottish* Army in *England* had not yet enough made him Master of *Scotland*. There was still a Committee of Parliament sitting at *Edinburgh*, in which, and in the Council, the Earl of *Lawrick* sway'd without a Rival; and the Troops which had been rais'd under *Monroe* for the Recruit of the Duke's Army, were still together, and at the Earl's devotion; so that the Marquis was fill upon his good behaviour. If he did not invite *Cromwell*, he was very glad of his coming; and made all possible haie to bid him welcome upon his entering into the Kingdom. They made great shews of being mutually glad to see each other, being link'd together by many promises, and professions, and by an entire conjunction in publick.

There was no Act of Hostility committed; *Cromwell* declaring, "that he came with his Army to preserve the Godly Party, and to free the Kingdom from a force, which it was under, of Malignant Men, who had forced the Nation to break the Friendship with their Brethren of *England*, who had been so faithful to them: That it having pleased God

"to Defeat that Army under Duke *Hamilton*, who endeavour'd to engage the two Nations in each others Blood, he was come thither to prevent any further mischief; and to remove a safe from Authority who had us'd their Power there so ill; and that he hop'd he should, in very few days, return with an assurance of the Brotherly Affection of that Kingdom to the Parliament of *England*; which did not desire in any degree to invade their Liberties, or infringe their Privileges; he was Conducted to *Edinburgh* by the Marquis of *Argyle*, he receiv'd above, and with all solemnity, and the respect due to the Deliverer of their Country, and his Army Quarter'd about, and supplied with all Provisions the Country could yield.

The Earl of *Lawrick*, and all the *Hamiltonian* Faction (but is all who had a mind to continue of it) were withdrawn, and out of reach; and they who remain'd at *Edinburgh* were relolv'd to obey *Argyle*; who they saw could protect them. There were then enough left of the Committee of Parliament to take care of the Safety and Good of the Kingdom, without putting *Cromwell* to help them by the Power of the *English*; which would have been a great offence to their Government. Whilst he remain'd their Guest (whom they esteem'd magnificently) *Argyle* thought himself able by the Laws of *Scotland*, to reform all that was amiss, and preserve the Government upon the true foundation. So the Committee of Parliament sent to *Monroe* an Order and Command to Disband his Troops; which when he receiv'd relolv'd not to do, he quickly discern'd that *Cromwell* must be Arbitrator; and thereupon he observ'd the Orders of the Committee very punctually: so that there was no Power in *Scotland* that could oppose the Command of *Argyle*; the Committee of Parliament, the Council, all the Magistrates of *Edinburgh*, were at his devotion; and whoever were not, few were either in Prison, or fled. The Pulpits were full of Invectives against the Sinfulness of the late Engagement, and solemn Fasts enjoy'd by the Assembly to implore God's pardon and forgiveness for that heinous Transgression; the Chancellor at *Leodis* giving the good example, by making his Recantation and humble Submission with many Tears. *Cromwell* had reason to believe that it would henceforward prove as peaceable a Kingdom as he could wish; and having thus concert'd all things with his bosome Friend *Argyle* (who relolv'd, as soon as he was withdrawn a distance from *Edinburgh*, that he and his Army might not be thought to have an influence upon the Councils, to call the Parliament to confirm all he should think fit to do) he return'd for *England*; where he thought his Presence was like to be wanted.

THE Committee of Parliament at *Edenborough* (who had Authority to Convene the Parliament when the Major part of them should please) care being taken in the nomination of them, that they were such as were thought most like to pursue the way they were enter'd into) sent out their Summons to call the Parliament. They who appear'd, were of another mind from what they had been formerly; and with the same Passion and Zeal with which they had enter'd into the Engagement, they now declared it unlawful, and ungodly; and the Assembly joyning with them, they Excommunicated all who had the most eminent Parts in the promoting it; and made them incapable of bearing any Office in the State, or of sitting in Council, or in Parliament; subjecting those who had finned in a leis degree, to such penalties as would forever make them subject to their Government. By these judgements, amongst others, the Earl of *Leinick* was depriv'd of being Secretary of State, and that Office was conferr'd upon the Earl of *Leitran*; who, in the beginning of the Rebellion, had been imprison'd by the Conspirators into *France*, and coming afterwards into *England* was imprison'd thereupon, and being after set at liberty continued amongst those who, upon all occasions, carried the Rebellion highest, and showed the most implacable malice to the Person of the King. And by this time *Argyle* was become so much more Master of *Scotland* than *Cromwell* was of *England*, that he had not so much as the shadow of a Parliament to contend, or to comply with, or a necessity to exercise his known great Talent of dissimulation, all Men doing as he enjoy'd them, without asking the reason of his direction.

To return to the State of the King's Affairs in *England*: when the Earl of *Northam* and the Lord *Capel* with the *Knoll* and *Essex* Troops were inclosed in *Colchester*, their Friends could not reasonably hope that the *Scottish* Army, which had so long deferr'd their March into *England*, contrary to their promise, would, though they were now come in, march fast enough to relieve *Colchester* before they should be reduced by Famine. The Earl of *Holland* thought it necessary, since many who were in *Colchester*, had engaged themselves upon His promises and Authority, now to begin his Enterprize; in which the youth and warmth of the Duke of *Buckingham* who was General of the Horse, the Lord *Francis Villiers*, his Brother, and divers other young Noblemen, spur'd him on. And he might have the better opinion of his Interest and Party, in that his purpose of rising, and putting himself into Arms for the relief of *Colchester*, was so far from being a secret, that it was the common discourse of the Town. There was a great appearance every Morning, at his Lodging, of

The Earl of
Holland
who was
General of the
Horse, and
King's son;

whole Officers who were known to have serv'd the King; his Commissions these'd in many hands; no question being more commonly asked, than "when doth my Lord *Holland* go out?" and the Answer was, "such and such a day; and the hour he did take Horse, when he was accompanied by an hundred Horse from his House, was publicly talk'd of two or three days before."

His first Rendezvous was at *Kingstun* upon *Thames*; where he layed two Nights, and one whole Day, expecting a great resort to him, not only of Officers, but of Common Men, who had promised, and lited themselves under several Oaths; and he imputed the fecuity he had enjoy'd so long, notwithstanding his purpose was to generally know, to the Apprehension both the Parliament and the Army had of the Affections of the City to joyn with him; and he believ'd, that he should not only remain secure at *Kingstun*, as long as he should think fit to stay there, but that some entire Regiments of the City would march out with him for the Relief of *Colchester*.

DURING the short stay he made at *Kingstun*, some Officers and Soldiers, both of Horse and Foot, came thither, and many Persons of Honour and Quality, in their Coaches, came to visit him and his Company from *London*; and return'd thither again to provide what was still wanting, and resolv'd to be with him soon enough. The principal Officer the Earl rais'd upon (though he had better) was *Dalroer* a *Dutchman*, of name and reputation, and good experience in *Wars*; who had serv'd the Parliament as Comissary General of the Horse under the Earl of *Essex*, and having been left out in the new model, was amongst those discontented Officers who look'd for an opportunity to be revenged of the Army; which they despid for their ill breeding, and much preaching. Thus *Dalroer* was glad to depend upon the Earl of *Holland*, who thought himself likewise happy in such an Officer. The keep good Guards, and sending out Parties towards the *Knoll* parts, where it was known some Troops remain'd since the last Commotion there, was committed to his care. But he discharged it ill, or his Orders were so ill observ'd, that the second or third Morning after their coming to *Kingstun*, some of the Parliament's Foot, with two or three Troops of Colcol *Rick*'s Horse, fell upon a Party of the Earl's about *St. Newick*; and beat, and pursued them into *Kingstun*, before these who wish'd had notice to be ready to receive them; the Earl and most of the rest making too much halt out of *Town*, and never offering to Charge those Troops. In this confusion the Lord *Francis Villiers*, a young man of rare Beauty and comeliness of Person, endeavouring to make resistance, was unfortunately killed,

killed, with one or two more but of little note. Most of the Foot made a Shift to conceal themselves, and some Officers, until they found means to retire to their safe Mansions in London. The Earl with near an hundred Horse (the rest wisely taking the way to London, where they were never inquired after) wander'd without purpose, or design, and was, twice ^{Escape to} three days after, taken in an Inn at *St Neots* in *Huntingdon-shire*, ^{Next, taken by} those few Horse who pursued him, being join'd with some Troops of Colonel *Scroop's*; where the Earl deliver'd himself Prisoner to the Officer without resistance: yet at the same time *Dalboe* and *Kensel Drby*, the eldest Son of *St Kenin*, were killed upon the place; whether out of former pride, or that they offic'd to defend themselves, was not known; and the Duke of *Beckingham* escap'd, and happily found a way into London; where he lay concealed, till he had an opportunity to force himself by being Transported into *Holland*, where the Prince was; who receiv'd him with great grace and kindness. The Earl of *Holland* remain'd Prisoner in the place where he was taken, till by Order from the Parliament he was sent to *Warwick Castle*, where he was kept Prisoner with great strictness.

THE total defect of the *Satellit* Army lately mention'd decreed this, and when those Noble Persons within *Wolfe*, were advertis'd of both, they knew well that there was no possibility of relief, nor could they subsist longer to expect it, being press'd with want of all kind of Victual, and having eaten near all their Horse. They sent therefore to *Parley*, to treat about the delivery of the Town upon reasonable conditions, but he refused to treat, or give any conditions; if they would not order to mercy all the Officers, and Gentlemen; the Common Soldiers he was contented to dismiss. A day or two was spent in deliberation. They within, propos'd "to make a brisk Sally; and thereby to shift for themselves, as many as could. But they had too few Horse, and the few that were left unsecur'd were too weak for that Enterprize. Then, "that they should open a Port, and every Man sit with their Armes in their hands; but that way they could only beure of being killed, without much hurting their Adversaries, who had ways enough securely to assault them. Hereupon, they were in the end oblig'd to deliver themselves up Prisoners at mercy; and were, all the Officers and Gentlemen, led into the publick Hall of the Town; where they were lock'd up, and a strong Guard set upon them. They were required presently to send a list of all their Names to the General; which they did; and, within a short time after, a Guard was sent to bring *St Charles Lucas*, and *St George Lisle*, and *St Bernard Gascoigne* (the General, being late with his

Council

Council of War. They were carried in, and in a very short discourse told, "that after to long and to obtrusive a defence "untill they found it necessary to deliver themselves up to mercy, it was necessary, for the example of others, and that "the Peace of the Kingdom might be no more disturbed in "that manner, that some Military justice should be executed; "and therefore, that Council had determin'd they three should "be presently shot to death; for which they were advis'd to prepare themselves; and without confidering, or hearing what they had a mind to say for themselves, they were led into a Yard there by; where they found three Files of Musketeers ready for their dispatch.

St Bernard Gascoigne was a Gentleman of *Florence*; and had serv'd the King in the War, and afterwards remain'd in London till the unhappy adventure of *Colchester*, and then accompanied his Friends thither; and had only *English* enough to make himself understood, that he desired a Pen and Ink and Paper, that he might write a Letter to his Prince the Great Duke, that his Highness might know in what manner he lost his Life, to the end his Heirs might possess his Estate. The Officer that attend'd the execution thought fit to acquaint the General and Council, without which he durst not allow him Pen and Ink, which he thought he might reasonably demand. When they were inform'd of it, they thought it a matter worthy some consideration; they had chosen him out of the List for his Quality, conceiving him to be an *English* Gentleman, and prefer'd him for being a Knight, that they might receive three of that Rank.

THEY delay brought the News of this bloody resolution to the Prisoners in the Town; who were infinitely afflicted with it; and the Lord *Capel* prevail'd with an Officer, or Soldier, officer Guard, to carry a Letter, sign'd by the chief Persons and Officers, and in the name of the rest, to the General; in which they took notice of that judgement, and desired him "either to forbear the execution of it, or that they might all, "who were equally guilty with those three, undergo the same Sentence with them. The Letter was deliver'd, but had no other effect than the sending to the Officer to dispatch his Order, relieving the *Italian* to the last. *St Charles Lucas* was their first work; who fell dead; upon which *St George Lisle* ^{St Ch. Lisle} ran to him, embraced him, and kissed him; and then flood up, ^{and St} and look'd those who were to execute him in the face; and thinking they flood at too great a distance, spake to them to come nearer; to which one of them said, "I'll warrant you, "Sir, We'll hit you: he Answer'd smiling, "Friends, I have "been nearer you, when you have mis'd me. Thereupon, they all fired upon him, and did their work home, so that he fell

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fell down dead of many wounds without speaking word. So *Bernard Gascoigne* had his Doublet off, and expected the next turn; but the Officer told him "he had order to carry him back to his Friends; which at that time was very indifferent to him. The Council of War had consider'd, that if they should in this manner have taken the Life of a Foreigner, who seem'd to be a Person of Quality, their Friends or Children who should visit *Italy*, might pay dear for many Generations; and therefore they commended the Officer, "when the other "two should be dead, to carry him back again to the other "Prisoners.

Tom Cruise
valley

THE two who were thus murder'd, were Men of great name and esteem in the Wars; the one being held as good a Commander of Horse, and the other of Foot, as the Nation had; but of very different tempers and humours. *Lucas* was the younger Brother of the Lord *Lucas*, and his Heir both to the Honour and Estate, and had a preient Fortune of his own. He had been bred in the Low Countries under the Prince of *Orange*, and always amongst the Horse. He had little conversation in that Court, where great civility was practiced, and learned. He was very brave in his Person, and in a day of Battle a gallant Man to look upon, and follow; but at other times and places, of a Nature farce to be liv'd with, of no good understanding, of a rough and proud humour, and very morose conversation; yet they all desired to accompany him in his death. *Life* was a Gentleman who had had the same Education with the other, and at the same time an Officer of Foot; had all the Courage of the other, and led his Men to a Battle with such an Alacrity, that no Man was ever better followed; his Soldiers never forsaking him; and the party which he commanded, never left any thing undone which he led them upon. But then, to his fierceness of Courage he had the softest and most gentle nature imaginable; was kind to all, and below'd of all, and without a Capacity to have an Enemy.

THE manner of taking the Lives of these worthy Men was new, and without Example, and concluded by most Men to be very barbarous; and was generally imputed to *Iretes*, who sway'd the General, and was upon all occasions of an unmerciful and bloody Nature. As soon as this bloody Sacrifice was ended, *Rairfax*, with the Chief Officers, went to the Tower House to visit the Prisoners; and the General (who was still Orator on the most plausible occasion) apply'd with his civility to the Earl of *Norwich*, and the Lord *Capel*; and, seeming in some degree to excuse the having done that, which he said "the Military justice required, he told them, "that all "the Lives of the rest were fate; and that they should be well

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treated,

"treated, and dispos'd of as the Parliament should direct. The Lord *Capel* had not so soon digested this so late barbarous proceeding, as to receive the visit of those who caus'd it, with such a return as his condition might have prompted to him; but said, "that they should do well to finish their work, and "execute the same rigour to the rest; upon which there were two or three such sharp and bitter replies between Him and *John*, that cost him his Life in few Months after. When the General had given notice to the Parliament of his proceedings, he receiv'd order to send the Earl of *Norwich* and the Lord *Capel* to *Windsor* for Cattle; where they had afterwards the Society of Duke *Hamilton*, to lament each others misfortunes; and after some time they two were sent to the Tower.

THOUGH the City had undergone so many severe Mortifications, that it might very well have been discouraged from entering into any more dangerous Engagements; at least all other People might have been terris'd from depending again upon such Engagements, yet the present fright was no sooner over than they recover'd new spirits for new undertakings; and seem'd always to have observ'd somewhat in the last misfortune which might be hereafter prevented, and to more oblige their future proceedings; and many in the Parliament, as well as in the City, who were controll'd and dispirited by the presence of the Army, when that was at a distance appear'd resolute, and brisk in any contradiction and opposition of their Councils. So that *Cromwell* had no sooner begun his March towards the North, and *Rairfax* his into *Kent*, but the Common Council deliver'd a Petition to the Parliament, "that

The Inhabitants
of the City at this time

"they would entertain a Personal Treaty with the King, that for a personal Treaty,

"the Kingdom might be restored again to a happy Peace; which could be hoped for no other way. This was the first proposition that had been offer'd, since their Vote of no more Addresses be made to the King; which had been near half a year before; and this seem'd to be made with too universal concurrence of the City, that the Parliament durst not give a pallive refusal to it. And in truth the Major part thereof did really desire the same thing; which made *St. Harry Vane*, and that Party in the Parliament to which the Army offer'd, or rather which adher'd to the Army, to contrive some specious way to defer and delay it by seeming to consent to it, rather than to oppose the motion. And therefore they appointed a Committee of the House of Commons, to meet with a Committee of the Common Council, as they should see fit, to make choice of, to confer together of the ways and means to provide for the King's safety and security during the time of the Treaty; which Committee being met together, that of the House of Commons perplexed the other with many

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Questions,

Questions, " what they meant by those Expressions, they used in their Petition (and had been the Common Expressions, long used both by the King and the Parliament, in all applications which had concern'd a Treaty) " that his Majesty " might treat with honour, freedom, and safety? what they " intended by those words? and whether the City would be " at the Charge in maintaining these Guards, which were to " be kept for the security of the King during such Treaty? " and if the King should in that Treaty refuse to give the Petitioner satisfaction, how his Person should be dispos'd of? and many such Questions, to which they well knew that the Committee it self could make no Answer, but that there must be another Common Council called, to which they must repair for directions. And by this means, and administering new Questions at every meeting, much time was spent, and the delays they witheld could not be avoided. So that notwithstanding all the City's earnestness that the Treaty might be presently enter'd upon, it was delayed till the Insurrection a *Kent*, and the designs of the Earl of *Holland* (to both which they had promised another kind of Assistance) were both disappointed, and expired. However, the Prince was still in the *Droms* with his Fleet, and the Gentlemen in *Chilster* defended themselves resolutely, and the *Scottish* Army was enter'd the Kingdom, all which kept up their Courage; inasmuch as, after all the delays, the Parliament confented, and declared, " that they would enter into a Personal Treaty with the King for the settling the Peace of the Kingdom; but that the Treaty should be in the life of *Wight*, where his Majesty should enjoy honour, freedom, and safety.

THE City had offer'd before to the Committee upon some of the Questions which had been admitt'd to them, " that if the Treaty might be in *London*, they would be at the Charge of maintaining those Guards which should be necessary for the safety and security of the King; and therefore they were very much troubled, that the Treaty should be now in the life of *Wight*, upon which they could have no reliance; yet they thought not fit to make any new Instance for change of the place, lest the Parliament might recede from their Vote, that there should be a Treaty enter'd upon.

So they only renew'd their importunity, that all expedition might be used; and in spite of all delays, in the beginning of *August* a Committee was sent from both Houses to the King to *Carisbrooke* Castle, where he had been clost that up beginning of about half a year, without being suffer'd to speak with any but such who were appointed by them to attend, and watch him. THE Message the Committee deliver'd was, " that the Houses did desire a Treaty with his Majesty, in what place

of the life of *Wight* he would appoint, upon the Proposition tender'd to him at *Hampton* Court, and such other Propositions, as they should cause to be presented to him; and that his Majesty should enjoy honour, freedom, and safety to his Person. The Messengers, who were one of the House of Peers and two Commoners, were to return within ten days, nobody being very strict in the limitation of time to a day, because the Treaty was so much the longer kept off, which they hoped still would by some accident be prevented.

THE King receiv'd them very graciously, and told them, they could not believe that any Man could desire a Peace more heartily than Himself, because no Man suffer'd so much by the want of it: that, though he was without any Man to Consult with, and without a Secretary to write what he should dictate, yet they should not be put to stay long for an Answer; which he gave them within two or three days, all written in his own hand; in which, after he had lamented his present Condition, and the extreme restraint he was under, he said, " he did very cheerfully embrace their motion, and

accepted a Treaty they promised should be with Honour, Freedom, and Safety; which he hoped they did really intend should be perform'd; for that, in the Condition he was in, he was so totally ignorant, and uniform'd of the present State of all his Dominions, that a blind Man was as fit to judge of Colours, as he was to treat concerning the Peace of the Kingdom, except they would first revoke their Votes, and Orders, by which all Men were prohibited, and forbid to come, write, or speak to him. For the place, he could have wish'd, for the expedition that would have resulted from thence, that it might have been in or near *London*, to the end that the Parliament's resolution and determination might have been sooner known upon any emergent occasion that might have grown in the Treaty, than it could be at such a distance: however, since they had resolv'd that it should be in the life of *Wight*, he would not except against it, but named the Town of *Newport* for the place of the Treaty. He said, " though he desired all expedition might be used towards the beginning and ending of the Treaty, yet he should not think himself in any freedom to Treat, except, before the Treaty begun, all such Persons might have liberty to repair to him, whose advice and assistance he should stand in need of in the Treaty. He sent a List of the Names of those his Servants which he desired might be admitted to come to him, and attend upon him; whereof the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hereford*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and *Lincoln*, were the chief; all four Gentlemen of his Bed-Chamber, and of his Privy Council.

He nam'd likewise all the other Servants, whose attendance he desired in their several Offices. He sent a List of the Names of several Bishops, and of such of his Chaplains, as he desired to confer with, and of many Common Lawyers, and some Civilians, whose advice he might have occasion to use, and desired, "that he might be in the same Site of freedom, as he enjoy'd whilst he had been at Hampton Court.

By the time that the Commissioners return'd from the Isle of Wight, and deliver'd this Answer to the Parliament, news was brought of the Defeat of the Scottish Army, and Cromwell had written to his Friends, "what a perpetual Ignominy it would be to the Parliament, that no body abroad or at home would ever give Credit to them, if they should recede from their former Vote, and Declaration of no farther Addresses to the King, and Comjur'd them to continue firm in that Resolution. But they had gone too far now to recede, and since the first Motion and Petition from the Common Council for a Treaty, very many Members, who had espous'd the Vote and Declaration of no more Addresses, and from the time that had pass'd, had toobeen ever to be present in the Parliament, upon the first mention of a Treaty, flock'd again to the House, and advanced that Overture; so that they were much superior in Number to those who endeavour'd first to obstruct and delay, and now hoped absolutely to frustrate all that had been propos'd towards a Treaty. And the great Victory which had been obtain'd against the Scots, and which they concluded must speedily reduce Oubiers, and put a quick period to all other attempts against the Parliament, made them more earnest and solicitous for a Treaty; which was all the hope left to prevent that Confusion they discern'd was the purpose of the Army to bring upon the Kingdom: And so with the more Vigour they press'd that satisfaction might be given to the King, in all that he had propos'd in his Answer, and, notwithstanding all opposition, it was declar'd, "that the Vote for no more Addresses should stand repeal'd: That the Treaty should be a ¹⁶ *Non-sensit*; and that his Majesty should be there in the last freedom in which he was at Hampton Court; that the Instructions to Colonel Hammond, by which the King had been in that manner restrain'd, and all Persons forbid from going to him, should be recalled; that all those Persons who were nam'd by the King, should have free liberty to repair to him, and to remain with him without being question'd, or trouble'd. And having proceeded thus far, they nominated five Lords, and ten Commoners to be the Commissioners who should Treat with the King, and who were

The Vote of no more Addresses; and the Treaty to be as a Non-sensit.

enjoy'd to prepare all things to be in a readines for the Treaty with all possible expedition; but Sr Harry Vane, being one of those Commissioners, us'd all his Arts to obstruct and delay it, in hope that Cromwell would dispatch his Affairs in Scotland time enough to return, and to use more effectual and powerful Arguments against it, than He was furnish'd withal.

All these occurrences were very well known to Cromwell, and were the motives which perswad'd him to believe, that his presence at the Parliament was so necessary to suppress the Presbyterians, who ceased not to vex him at any distance, that he would not be prevail'd with to stay and tarry that only work of difficulty that remain'd to be done, which was the reducing Portsmouth Castle; but left Lambert to make an end of it, and to revenge the death of Ramisborough, who had lost his life by that Garrison, with some circumstances which deserve to be remember'd; as in truth all that Adventure in the taking, and defending that place, should be preserv'd by a very particular relation, for the honour of all the Persons who were engag'd in it.

When the first War had been brought to an end by the Reduction of all Places, and Persons, which had held for the King, and all Men's hopes had been render'd desperate, by the Imprisonment of his Majesty in the Isle of Wight, those Officers and Gentlemen who had serv'd, whilst there was any Service, betook themselves generally to the habitations they had in the several Counties; where they liv'd quietly and privately, under the Insolence of those Neighbours who had liberally, by the intemperance of their Conditions, submitted to them. When the Parliament had nullified the War, they reduced and slighted most of the Inland Garrisons, the Maintenance whereof was very Chargeable: yet by the Interest of some Person who Commanded it, or out of the consideration of the strength and importance of the place, they kept still a Garrison in Portsmouth Castle, a Noble Royalty and Palace belonging to the Crown, and then part of the Queen's Joyneure. The Situation in it self was very strong; no part whereof was Commanded by any other ground: the House very large, with all Offices suitable to a Princely Seat, and though built very near the top of a Hill, so that it had the prospect of a great part of the West Riding of York-shire, and of Lincoln-shire, and of Nottingham-shire, yet it was plentifully supplied with Water. Colonel Carterell, the Governour of this Castle, exercis'd a very severe Jurisdiction over his Neighbours of those parts; which were inhabited by many Gentlemen, and Soldiers, who had serv'd the King throughout the War, and who were known to retain their old Affections, though they liv'd quietly under the present Government. Upon the least

An account of the taking of Portsmouth Castle for the King.

Jealousy or Humour, these Men were frequently sent for, reproached, and sometimes Imprison'd by the Governour in this Garrison; which did not render them the more devoted to him. When there appeared some hopes that the *Sea* would raise an Army for the Relief and Release of the King, *St Marvaduke Langdale*, in his way for *Scotland*, had visited and convers'd with some of his old Friends and Country-men, who now liv'd quietly within some distance of *Penfret*, who inform'd him of that Garrison, the place whereof was well known to him. And he acquainting them with the Assurance he had of the Resolution of the Principal Persons of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and that they had invited him to join with them, in order to which he was then going thither, they agreed, "that, when it should appear that an Army was rais'd in *Scotland* upon that account, which must draw down the Parliament's Army into the other Northern Counties, and that there should be Rifings in other parts of the Kingdom (which the general indisposition and discontent, besides some particular designs, made like to fall out.)" "that then those Gentlemen should endeavour the surpris of that Castle, and after they had made themselves strong in it, and furnish'd it with Provisions to endure some restraint, they should draw as good a Body to them as those Countries would yield. And having thus adjust'd that design, they fetted such a way of Correspondence with *St Marvaduke*, that they frequently gave him an account, and receiv'd his directions for their proceeding. In this disposition they continued quiet, as they had always been; and the Governour of the Castle liv'd towards them with less jealousy, and more Humanity, than he had been accus'd to.

THERE was one Colonel *Morris*, who being a very young Man, had, in the beginning of the War, been an Officer in some Regiments of the King's, and out of the fury and impatience of his Youth, had quitted that Service, and engag'd himself in the Parliament Army with some circumstances not very commendable; and by the clearness of his Courage, and pleasantness of his Humour, made himself not only very acceptable, but was prefer'd to the Command of a Colonel, and perform'd many notable Services for them, being a stout and bold Undertaker in Attempts of the greatest Danger; wherein he had usually Succes. After the new Modelling of the Army, and the introducing of a stricter discipline, his Life of great Licence kept not his Reputation with the new Officers; and being a free Speaker and censurer of their affected behaviour, they left him out in their composing their new Army, but with many professions of kindness and respect to his eminent Courage, which they would find

some occasion to Employ, and Reward. He was a Gentleman of a competent Estate in those parts in *Tork-shire*; and as he had grown Elder, he had heartily excelled himself for having gain'd the King's Service, and had resolv'd to take some feasible opportunity to wipe off that blemish by a Service that would redeem him; and so was not troubled to be set aside by the new General, but betook himself to his Estate; enjoy'd his old Humour, which was cheerful and pleasant; and made himself most acceptable to those who were most trusted by the Parliament; who thought that they had misjudg'd one of the best Officers they had, and were sorry for it.

He now, as a Country Gentleman, frequented the Fairs and Markets, and convers'd with equal freedom with all his Neighbours, of what Party forever they had been, and renew'd the Friendship he had formerly held with some of those Gentlemen who had serv'd the King. But no Friendship was so dear to him, as that of the Governour of *Penfret* Castle, who lov'd him above all Men, and delighted so much in his Company, that he got him to be with him some times a week and more at a time in the Castle, when they always lay together in one Bed. He declar'd to one of those Gentlemen, who were united together to make that Attempt, "that he would surpris that Castle, whenever they should think the Season ripe for it; and that Gentleman, who knew him very well, believ'd him so entirely, that he told his Companions, "that they should not trouble themselves with contriving the means to surpris the place; which, by trusting so many, would be liable to discovery; but that he would take that Charge upon himself, by a way they need not enquire into; which he assur'd them should not fail: And they all very willingly acquiesc'd in his undertaking, to which they knew well he was not inclin'd without good grounds. *Morris* was more frequently with the Governour, who never thought himself well without him; and always told him "that he must have a great care of his Garrison, that he had none but faithful Men in the Castle; for that he was confident there were some Men who liv'd not far off, and who many times came to visit him, had some design upon the place; and would then in confidence name many Persons to him, some whereof were those very Men with whom he communicated, and others were Men of another Temper, and were most devoted to the Parliament, all his particular Friends and Companions;" but that he should not be troubled; for he had a false Brother amongst them, from whom he was sure to have reasonable Advertisement; and promised him, "that he would, within few hours notice, bring him at any time forty or fifty good Men into the Castle to reinforce his Garrison,

“rifon, when there should be occasion; and he would have him the list of such Men, as would be always ready, and would sometimes bring some of those Men with him, and tell the Governour before them, “that those were in the list he “had given him of the honest fellows, who would be ready “him when there should be need; and others would accidentally tell the Governour, “that they had list themselves “with Colonel *Morris* to come to the Castle, whenever he “should call or send to them. And all those Men that list, were fellows very notorious for the bitterness and malice which they had always against the King, not one of which he ever intended to make use of.

He made himself very familiar with all the Soldiers in the Castle, and used to play and drink with them; and when he lay there, would often rise in the Night, and visit the Guards; and by that means would sometimes make the Governour dismiss, and discharge a Soldier whom he did not like, under pretence “that he found him always asleep, or some other fault which was not to be excus’d; and then he would commend some other to him as very fit to be trusted and relied upon; and by this means he had very much power in the Garrison. The Governour receiv’d several Letters from his Friends in the Parliament, and in the Country, “that he “should take care of Colonel *Morris*, who refus’d to betray “him; and inform’d him, “that he had been in such and “such Company of Men, who were generally esteem’d and Mailgnant, and had great Intrigues with them; and which was well known to the Governour; for the other was next in any of that Company, though with all the show of secrecy in the Night, or in places remote from any House, but he always told the Governour of it, and of many particular passages in those Meetings; so that when these Letters came to him, he shew’d them first to the other; and then both of them laugh’d at the Intelligence; after which *Morris* frequently called for his Horse, and went home to his House, telling his Friend “that though he had, he knew, no mistrust “of his Friendship, and knew him too well to think him capable of such baseness, yet he ought not for his own sake to “thought to slight the information; which would make his “Friends the less careful of him: that they had reason to give him warning of those meetings, which, if he had not known himself, had been very worthy of his suspicion; therefore “he would forbear coming to the Castle again, till this jealousy of his Friends should be over; who would know of “this, and be satisfi’d with it: and no power of the Governour could prevail with him, at such times, to stay; but he would be gone, and stay away till he was, after some time, ^{sent}

see for again with great importunity, the Governour desiring his Council and Assistance as much as his Company.

It fell out, as it usually doth in Affairs of that nature, when many Men are engaged, that there is an impatience to execute what is proposed before the time be thoroughly ripen’d. The business of the Fleet, and in *Kent*, and other places, and the daily Alarms from *Scotland*, as if that Army had been entering the Kingdom, made the Gentlemen who were engaged for this Enterprize, imagine that they shou’d find it too long, and that though they had receiv’d no Orders from *Sr* *Hamond* *Langdale*, which they were to expect, yet they had been sent, and miscarried. Hereupon they called upon the Gentleman who had undertaken, and He upon *Morris*, for the Execution of the design. The time agreed upon was such a Night, when the Surpriess were to be ready upon such a part of the Wall, and to have Ladders to mount in two places, where two Soldiers were to be appointed for Sentinels who were privy to the attempt. *Morris* was in the Castle, and in Bed with the Governour, and, according to his custom, just about the hour he thought all would be ready. They without, made the Sign agreed upon, and were Answer’d by one of the Sentinels on the Wall; upon which they run to both places where they were to mount their Ladders. By some Accident, the other Sentinel who was design’d, was not upon the other part of the Wall; but when the Ladder was mounted there, the Sentinel called out; and finding that there were Men under the Wall, run towards the Court of Guard to call for help; which gave an Alarm to the Garrison: so that, for that time, the design was disappointed. He, shortly after, *Morris*, and some of the same Gentlemen surpris’d the Castle, under the disguise of Country-men coming in with Carts of Provision; and presently seized on and misterr’d the main Guard, and made way for their Friends, Horse and Foot, to enter. Then two or three of them went to the Governour’s Chamber, whom they found in his Bed, and told him “the Castle was surpris’d, and himself a Prisoner. He brook himself to his Armes for his defence, but quickly found that his Friend had betray’d it, and the other Gentlemen appearing, of whom he had been before warn’d, his defence was to no purpose, yet he receiv’d some wounds. *Morris* afterwards comforted him with assurance “of good “usage, and that he would procure his Pardon from the King “for his Rebellion.

They put the Garrison in good order, and so many came to them from *Yorkshire*, *Nottingham*, and *Lincoln*, that they could not in a short time be restrain’d, and had leisure to fetch in all sorts of Provisions for their support, and to make
and

and renew such Fortifications as might be necessary for their defence. From Nottingham there came *St John Digby*, *St Hugh Cartwright*, and a Son and Nephew of his, who had been good Officers in the Army, with many Soldiers who had been under their Commands; many other Gentlemen of the three Counties were present, and deserve to have their Names recorded, since it was an Action throughout of great Courage and Conduct.

Cromwell's marching towards the *Seas* with the neglect of these Men after their first appearance, and only appointing some County Troops to inclose them from increasing their strength, gave them great opportunity to grow; so that driving those Troops to a greater distance, they drew Contribution from all the parts about them, and made incursions much farther, and render'd themselves so terrible, that, as was said before, after the *Scotby* defeat, those of *Yorkshire* sent very earnestly to *Cromwell*, "that he would make it the

"business of his Army to reduce *Powffret*. But he, relying upon his *Scotby* Expedition, thought it enough to send *Rainsborough* to perform that Service, with a Regiment of Horse, and one or two of Foot, belonging to the Army; which, with a conjunction of the Country Forces under the same Command, he doubted not would be sufficient to perform a greater work. Altho' as the Castle had been reduced, they who were possess'd of it were very willing to be under the Command of *Merric*; who declared he would not accept the Charge, nor be Governour of the place, knowing well what jealousies he might be liable to, at least upon any change of Fortune, but under the direction of *St John Digby*, who was Colonel General of those parts, and was a Man rather cordial in the Service, than equal to the Command; which made him refer all things still to the Council, and Conduct of those Officers who were under him; by whose activity, as much was done as could be expected from such a knot of resolute Persons.

Part of the Garrison's arms were Rainsborough.

THE total defeat of the *Scotby* Army being now generally known, and that their Friends in all other places were deceas'd, they in the Castle well knew what they were presently to expect, and that they should be shortly shut up from making farther excursions. They heard that *Rainsborough* was upon his march towards them, and had already sent some Troops to be Quarter'd near them, himself yet keeping his Head Quarters at *Donafter*, ten Miles from the Castle. They resolv'd, whilst they yet enjoy'd this liberty, to make a noble attempt. They had been inform'd, that *St Marmadale Langdale* (whom they still called their General) after the overthrow of the *Scotby* Army, had been taken Prisoner, and re-

main'd

main'd in *Nottingham* Castle under a most strict custody, as the Parliament declar'd, "they would make an example of their justice. A Party of about twenty Horse, but choic'd and choice Men, went out of the Castle, in the beginning of the Night, with a Resolution to take *Rainsborough* Prisoner, and thereby to ransom their General. They were all good Guides, and understood the ways, private and publick, very exactly; and went so far, that about the break of day or a little after, in the end of *August*, they put themselves upon the Common Road that led from *York*; by which ways the Guards expected no Enemy; and so lightly asked them "whence they came? who negligently Answer'd; and asked again, "where their General was? saying, "they had a Letter "for him from *Cromwell*. They sent one to show them where the General was; which they knew well enough; and that he lay at the best Inn of the Town. And when the Gate of the Inn was opened to them, three of them only enter'd into the Inn, by other rode to the other end of the Town to the Bridges, over which they were to pass towards *Powffret*; where they expected, and did find a Guard of Horse and Foot, with whom they entertain'd themselves in discourse, saying "that they lay'd for their Officer, who was only in to speak "with the General; and call'd for some drink. The Guards making no question of their being Friends, sent for drink, and talk'd negligently with them of News; and, it being broad day, some of the Horse alighted, and the Foot went to the Court of Guard, conceiving that Morning's work to be over. They who went into the Inn, where no body was awake but the Fellow who opened the Gate, asked in which Chamber the General (for so all the Soldiers call'd *Rainsborough*) lay; and the Fellow shewing them from below the Chamber door, two of them went up, and the other stay'd below, and held the Horses, and talk'd with the Soldier who had walk'd with them from the Guard. The two who went up, open'd the Chamber door, found *Rainsborough* in his Bed, but awak'd the little noise they had made. They told him in short "that he was their Prisoner, and that it was in his power "to chosse whether he would be presently killed (for which work he saw they were very well prepar'd) "or quietly, without making resistance, or delay, to put on his Cloaths and accompany them to *Powffret*. The prisoner, danger awaken'd him out of the amazement he was in, so that he told them he would wait upon them, and made the best that was necessary to put on his Cloaths. One of them took his Sword, and so they led him down stairs. He that held the Horses, had sent the Soldier away to those who were gone before

before, to speak to them to get some drink, and any thing else, that could be made ready in the House, against they came. When *Rainsborough* came into the Street, which he croud'd to find full of Horse, and saw only one Man, who held the others Horse, and presently mounted that he might be bound behind him, he began to struggle, and to cry out. Whereupon, when they saw no hope of carrying him away, they immediately run him through with their Swords, and, leaving him dead upon the ground, they got upon their Horse, and rode towards their Fellowes, before any in the Inn could be ready to follow them. When those at the Bridge saw these Companions coming, which was their sign, being well prepared, and knowing what they were to do, they turn'd upon the Guard, and made them fly in distraction, so that the way was clear and free; and though they mistak carrying home the prize for which they had made so jolly an adventure, they joy'd together, and marched, with the Expedition that was necessary, a shorter way than they had come, to the Garrison; leaving the Town and Soldiers behind in such a consternation, that, not being able to receive any information from their General, whom they found dead upon the ground without any Body in view, they thought the Devil had been there; and could not recollect themselves, which way they were to pursue an Enemy they had not seen. The Gallant Party came safe home without the least damage to Horse or Man, hoping to make some other attempt more successfully, by which they might recover *St Marston* or *Lampstead*. There was not an Officer in the Army whom *Cromwell* would not so willingly have lost as this Man; who was bold and barbarous to his wills, and fit to be entruſt in the most desperate Interest, and was the Man whom that Party always intended to commit the Maritime Affairs to, when it should be time to dismiss the Earl of *Warwick*; he having been bred in that Element, and knowing the duty of it very well, though he had that misfortune spoken of in the beginning of the Summer.

AND now to finish this business of *Penſter* altogether, which lasted near to the end of this year, when *Lambert* came to this Charge (instructed by *Cromwell* to take full Vengeance for the loss of *Rainsborough*), to whose Ghost he design'd an ample Sacrifice; and kept what Body of Men he thought fit for that purpose, he reduced them in a short time within their own Circuit, making good Works round about the Castle, that they might at last yield to Hunger, if nothing else would reclaim them. Nor did they quietly suffer themselves to be cooped up without bold and frequent sallies, in which many of the Besiegers, as well as the others, lost their Lives. They discover'd

discover'd many of the Country who held correspondence with, and gave Intelligence to the Castle, whom they apprehended, whereof there were two Divines, and some Women of Note, Friends and Allies to the besieged. After frequent Mortifications of this kind, and no human hope of Relief, they were content to offer to Treat for the Delivery of the Castle, if they might have honourable Conditions; if not, they said word, that they had Provisions yet for a good time; that they durst die, and would sell their Lives at as dear a price as they could. *Lambert* answer'd, that he knew they were gallant Men, and that he desir'd to preserve as many of them, as was in his power to do, but he must require six of them to be given up to him, whose Lives he would not save; which he was forry for, since they were brave men; but his hands were bound. The six excepted by him were Colonel *Morris*, and five more whose Names he found to have been amongst those who were in the Party that had destroy'd *Rainsborough*; which was an Enterprize no brave Enemy would have leverg'd in that manner: nor did *Lambert* desire it, but *Cromwell* had enjoy'd it him: all the rest he was content to release, that they might return to their Houses, and apply themselves to the Parliament for their Compositions, towards which he would do them all the good Offices he could. They from within acknowledg'd his Civility in that particular, and would be glad to embrace it, but they would never be guilty of so base a thing, as to deliver up any of their Companions; and therefore they desir'd, that they might have six days allow'd them, that those six might do the best they could to deliver themselves; in which it should be lawful for the rest to assist them; to which *Lambert* generously consented, so that the rest would surrender at the end of that time; which was agreed to. Upon the fifth day, the Garrison appear'd twice or thrice, as if they were resolv'd to make a Sally, but retir'd every time without Charging; but the second day they made a very long and brisk Sally upon another place than where they had appear'd the day before, and beat the Enemy from their Post, with the loss of Men on both sides; and though the Party of the Castle was beaten back, two of the six (whereof *Morris* was one) made their escape, the other four being forced to retire with the rest. And 'till was quiet for two whole days; but in the beginning of the Night of the fourth day, they made another attempt so prosperously, that two of the other four likewise escap'd; and the next day they made great shows of Fry, and sent *Lambert* word, that their six Friends were at home (though there were two still remaining,) and therefore they would be ready the next day to Surrender. T H E

THE other two thought it to no purpose to make another attempt, but desired another way to secure themselves, with a less dangerous Assistance from their Friends, who had left some of their own lives in the two former Salles to save theirs. The buildings of the Castle were very large and spacious, and there were great store of wain Stones from some Walls, which were taken down. They found a convenient place, which was like to be least visited, where they wall'd up their two Friends in such a manner that they had Air sufficient them, and Victual enough to feed them a Month, in which time they hoped they might be able to escape. And this being done, at the hour appointed they open'd their Pass, and after *Lambert* had caus'd a strict inquisition to be made for those six, none of which he did believe had in such escap'd, and was satisfied that none of them were amongst those who were come out, he receiv'd the rest very Civilly, and observ'd his promise made to them very punctually, and did not seem sorry that the six Gallant Men (as he call'd them) were escap'd.

AND now they heard, which very much reliev'd their broken Spirits, that *St Marmaduke Langdale* had made an escape out of the Castle of *Nottingham*; who shortly after Transported himself beyond the Seas. *Lambert* presently order'd care to be taken to dismantle the Castle, that there should be no more use of it for a Garrison, leaving the vast ruins still standing, and then drew off all his Troops to new Quarters; so that within ten days after the Surrender, the two who were left wall'd up, threw down their inclosure, and securely provided for themselves. *St John Digby* liv'd many years after the King's Return, and was often with his Majesty. *Poor Morice* was afterwards taken in *Langshires*, and happen'd to be put to death in the same place where he had committed his fault against the King, and where he first perform'd a great Service to the Parliament.

The Condition of the Prince and the Duke of York at his Escape, and the first Blow given since the late Wars.

IN this desperate Condition, that is before described, stood the King's Affairs when the Prince was at the *Hague*, his Fleet already maintaining for Pay, his own Family sickness and in necessity, and that of his Brother the Duke of *York* full of Intrigues, and Designs, between the restless and quiet Spirit of *Barnfield*, and the Ambitious and as unquiet Humour of *St John Berkeley*. The Council, which was not numerous, for the Prince had not Authority to add any to those who were his Father's Counsellors) wanted not Unity in it self, so much as submission and respect from others, which had been lost to those who were in the Fleet, and the prejudice to those still remain'd, and so abated much of the reverence which must Men were willing to pay to the two who came last. And

the great Austerity which *Prince Rupert* had against the Lord *Colchester* infinitely disturb'd the Counsellors, and perplexed the Lord *Cottingham*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had credit enough with the other two. But *Colchester* had some Passions and Infirmities, which no Friends could restrain; and though *Prince Rupert* was very well inclin'd to the Chancellor, and would in many things be advis'd by him, yet his prejudice to *Colchester* was so rooted in him, and that prejudice so industriously cultivated by *Herbert* the Attorney General, who had the absolute Ascendant over that Prince, and who did perfectly hate all the World that would not be govern'd by him, that every meeting in Council was full of bitterness and sharpness between them.

One day the Council met (as it us'd to do when they did attend the Prince of *Wales* at his Lodgings) at the Lord Treasurer's Lodging (He and the Chancellor of the Exchequer being in one House) about giving direction for the sale of some Goods which had been taken at Sea, for the raising of Money toward the payment of the Fleet. In such services Merchants, and other proper Persons, were always necessary to be trusted. *Prince Rupert* propos'd "that one *St Robert Walsh* (a Person too well known to be trust'd) might be employ'd in that Affair: it was to sell a Ship of Sugar. No Man who was present would ever have consented that he should have been employ'd; but the Lord *Colchester* spoke against him with some warmth, so that it might be thought to reflect a little upon *Prince Rupert*, who had propos'd him. Upon which, He asking "what exceptions there were to *St Robert Walsh*, why he might not be fit for it, *Colchester* Answer'd with some quickness, "that he was a known cheat; which, though notoriously true, the Prince seem'd to take very ill; and said, "he was his Friend, and a Gentleman; "and if he should come to hear of what had been said, he "knew not how the Lord *Colchester* could avoid Fighting, "with him. *Colchester*, whose Courage no Man doubt'd; presently replied, "that he would not Fight with *Walsh*, but he would Fight with his Highness; to which the Prince Answer'd very quietly, "that it was well; and the Council rose in great perplexity.

PRINCE *Rupert* went out of the House, and the Chancellor led the Lord *Colchester* into the Garden, hoping that he should so far have prevail'd with him, as to have made him sensible of the excess he had committed, and to have persuaded him presently to repair to the Prince, and to seek his Pardon, that no more notice might be taken of it. But he was yet too warm to conceive he had committed any fault, but seem'd to think only of making good what he had done.

ple; whose Affections had been long dead, and could be reviv'd by nothing but their sharp failings, and their insupportable losses; the obstruction and destruction of their Trade, and the seizing upon their Estates, being, at that time, thought by many the most proper Application to the City of London, and the best Arguments to make them in love with Peace, and to exert it from them in whole power it was to give it. And if the Fleet had applied it self to that, and visited all those Maritime Parts which were in Counties well affected, and where some Places had declared for the King (as *Scarborough* in *Torkshire* did) if it had not been possible to have let the King at liberty in the life of *Wight*, or to have reliev'd *Calcedony*, (both which many Men believ'd, how unskillfully sever'd, is be practicable) it would have spent the time much more advantageously and honourably than it did.

BUT let the ill consequence be never so great, if it had proceeded from any corruption, it would probably have been discover'd by the examination and inquisition that was made; and therefore it may be well concluded that there was none. And the truth is, the Queen was so fully possess'd of the purpose and the power of the *Scotts* to do the King's business, before the Insurrections in the several parts in *England*, and the revolt of the Fleet appear'd, that she did not enough weigh the good use that might have been made of those when they did happen, but kept her mind then so fixed upon *Scotland*, as she took foundation of the King's hopes, that she looked upon the benefit of the Fleet returning to their Allegiance, only as opportunity offer'd by Providence to Transport the Prince with security thither. And her Instructions to those she trusted about the Prince, were so positive, ¹⁰ that they should not give consent to any thing that might divert or delay this Expedition, that, if the *Earl of Leinsters* had been arriv'd when the Prince came to the Fleet, it would have been immediately engag'd to have Transported the Prince into *Scotland*, what other conveniences soever, preferable to this, had offer'd themselves. And the very next day after that Lord's coming to the Prince in the *Desart*, his injunctions and behaviour were so imperious for the Prince's present departure, that nothing but a direct Mutiny among the Sea-men prevented it. His Highness's own Ship was under Sail for *Holland*, that he might from thence have procur'd his other Voyages; nor would he be at that time have taken *Holland* in his way, if there had been any quantity of Provision in the Fleet for such a Peregination. This Expedition for *Scotland* was the most grievous to all Men, because it was evident that the Prince himself was much more inclined to have pursued other occasions which were offer'd, and only resign'd himself implicitly to the pleasure of his Mother.

THE present ill Condition of the Fleet, and the unfeared Humour of the Common Sea-men was the more notorious, and unseasonable, by the *Earl of Warwick's* coming with another Fleet from the Parliament upon the Coast of *Holland*, within few days after the Prince came to the *Hague*, and Anchoring within view of the King's Fleet. And it is probable ¹¹ that he would have made some Hostile Attempt upon it, well knowing that many Officers and Sea-men were on Shore, if the States had not in the very Instant, sent some of their Ships of War to preserve the Peace in their Port. However, according to the Intolerance of his Masters, and of most of those employ'd by them, the *Earl* sent a Summons of a strange Nature to the King's Ships, in which he took notice, ¹² that a Fleet of Ships, which were part of the Navy Royal of the Kingdom of *England*, was then Riding at Anchor off *Helvoet Sluice*, and bearing a Standard: That he did therefore, ¹³ by the Parliament's Authority, by which he was constituted Lord High Admiral of *England*, require the Admiral, or Commander in chief of that Fleet, to take down the Standards, and the Captains, and Masters belonging to the Ships, to render themselves and the Ships to him, as High Admiral of *England*, and for the use of the King and Parliament: And he did, by the like Authority, offer an indemnity to all those who should submit to him.

AFTER which Summons, though receiv'd by the Lord *Widdowes*, who remain'd on Board the Fleet in the Command of Vice-Admiral, with that indignation that was due to it, and though it made no impression upon the Officers, nor visit, ¹⁴ at that time, upon the Common Men, yet, during the time the *Earl* continued in or near a Neighbourhood, he did find means by private Insinuations, and by sending many of his Sea-men on Shore at *Helvoet Sluice* (where they enter'd in Conversation with their old Companions) to go to work upon and corrupt many of the Sea-men, that it afterwards appear'd many were debauch'd; some whereof went on Board his Ships, others stay'd to do more mischief. But that ill Neighbourhood continued not long; for the Season of the Year, and the Winds which usually rage on that Coast in the Month of *September*, removed him from that Station, and carried him back to the *Deuars* to attend new Orders.

ALL these disturbances were attended with a worse, which fell out at the same time, and that was the sickness of the Prince; who, after some days indisposition, appear'd to have the Small Pox; which almost distract'd all who were about him, who knew how much depended upon his precious Life. And therefore the confirmation was very universal which that was thought in danger. But, by the goodness and mercy

of God, he recover'd in few days the peril of that distemper; and, within a Month, was restor'd to perfect Health, that he was able to take an account himself of his Melancholick and perplexed Affairs.

THESE were two points which were chiefly to be consider'd, and provid'd for by the Prince; neither of which should bear delay for the consultation, and resolution; the first, how to make provision to Pay, and Victual the Fleet, and to compose the Murinous Spirits of the Sea-men; who paid no reverence to their Officers, insomuch as, in the short Stay which the Earl of *Warwick* had made before *Hewett* *Isle*, as hath been said, many of the Sea-men had gone over to him, and the *Constant Warwick*, a Frigate of the best Account, had either voluntarily left the Prince's Fleet, or suffer'd it self willingly to be taken, and carried away with the rest into *England*. The other was, what he should do with the Fleet, whom it was both Pay'd and Victual'd.

TOWARDS the first, there were some Ships brought in with the Fleet, laden with several Merchandizes of value, that if they could be sold for the true worth, would amount to a Sum sufficient to pay the Sea-men their Wages, and to put in Provisions enough to serve four Months; and there were many Merchants from *London*, who were desirous to buy their own Goods, which had been taken from them; and others had Commissions from thence to buy the rest. But then they all knew, that they could not be carry'd to any other Market, but must be sold in the place where they were; and therefore they were resolv'd to have very good Penny-worths. And there were many Debts claim'd, which the Prince had promised, whilst he was in the River, should be paid out of the first Money that should be rais'd upon the Sale of such and such Ships; particularly, the Prince believ'd that the Councils of *Carlisle*, who had committed faults enough to the King and Queen, and pawn'd her Necklace of Pearls for fifteen hundred pounds, which she had really disburs'd in supplying Officers, and making other Provisions for the Expedition of the Earl of *Holland* (which Sum of fifteen hundred pounds the Prince had promised the Lord *Piercy* his Brother, who was a very importunate Solicitor) should be paid upon the Sale of a Ship that was laden with Sugar, and was then conceiv'd to be worth above six or seven thousand pounds. Others had the like Engagements upon other Ships: so that when Money was to be rais'd upon the Sale of Merchandize, they who had such Engagements, would be themselves entrusted, or nominate those who should be, to make the bargain with Purchasers, to the end that they might be sure to receive what they claim'd, out of the first Monies that should be

be rais'd. By this means, double the value was deliver'd, to satisfy a debt that was not above the half.

BUT that which was worse than all this, the Prince of *Orange* advertised the Prince, that some Questions had been raised in the States, "what they should do, if the Parliament of *England* (which had now a very dreadful name) should be sent over to them to demand the restitution of those Merchants Goods, which had been unjustly taken in the *Dunsway*, and in the River of *Thames*, and had been brought into their Ports, and were offer'd to Sale there, against the obligation of that Army which had been observ'd between the two Nations, during the late War? What Answer they should be able to make, or how they could refuse to permit the Owners of those Goods to make their Arrests, and to sue in their Admiralty for the same? Which first Proceed would stop the present Sale of whatever others pretended a Title to, till the right should be determin'd. The Prince of *Orange* said, "that such Questions used not to be started there without design; and therefore advis'd the Prince "to lose no time in making compleat Sales of all that was to be sold; "to the end that they who were engaged in the Purchase, might likewise be engaged in the Defence of it. Upon this Ground, as well as the others which have been mention'd, and who would not buy except they were sure to be good Gainers by all the bargains which they made. Nor could this be prevented by the caution or wisdom of any who were upon the place, with no more Authority than they had. Mr *Lewis*, who was Secretary to the Prince, had been possess'd of the Office of receiving and paying all Monies, whilst the Prince was in the Fleet, and so could not well be removed from it when he came into *Holland*: though he was thought to love Money too well, yet no body who lov'd it less, would at that time have submitted to the employment, which expos'd him to the Importunity and insolence of all recalcitrant Persons, when he could satisfy none; yet he liked it well with all its prejudice, and disadvantage.

AS SOON as the Money was rais'd, it was sent to the Fleet to pay the Sea-men; and the Prince made a Journey to the Fleet to see, and keep up the Spirits of the Sea-men, who were very Mutinous, not without the insinuations of some who did not desire they should be too well plac'd with their Officers. The Lord *Willoughby* stay'd on Board partly out of Duty to the King, though he liked neither the place he had, nor the People over whom he was to Command, who had yet more respect for Him than for any Body else. Sir *William Batten* likewise remain'd with them, not knowing well how

to refuse it, though he had too much reason to be weary of his Province, the Sea-men having contracted an implacable jealousy and malice against him, more than they were naturally inclined to. And the truth is, though there was not any evidence that he had any foul practices, he had an impatient desire to make his Peace, and to live in his own Country, as afterwards he did with the leave of the King; against whom he never after took Employment.

THE other point to be resolv'd was yet more difficult, *what should be done with the Fleet, and who should Command it?* and though the Advertisement the Prince of Orange had given his Royal Highness, of the Question started in the States, concern'd only the Merchants Ships, which were made *Prize*, yet it was very easy to discern the Logick of that Question would extend as well, and be applied to those of the Royal Navy, as to Merchants Ships. And it was evident enough, that the United Provinces would not take upon them to determine whether they were in truth the Ships of the King, or of the Parliament. And it was only the differences which were yet kept up in the Houses, which kept them from being United in that demand. So that the Prince knew that nothing was more necessary than that they should be gone out of the Ports of those Provinces, and that the States with'd it exceedingly.

WHILEST *Bansfield* was about the Person of the Duke of York, he had infused into him a marvellous desire to be possid'd of the Government of the Fleet: but the Duke was convinc'd with much ado, that it was neither safe for his Highness, nor for his Father's Service, that he should be embarked in it; and *Bansfield*, by an especial Command from the King, who had discover'd more of his foul practices than could be known to the Prince, was not suffer'd to come any more near the Person of the Duke. So he return'd into *England*; where he was never call'd in question for stealing the Duke away. From this time the Duke, who was not yet above fifteen years of Age, was so far from desiring to be with the Fleet, that, when there was once a Proposition, upon occasion of a fiddain Mutiny amongst the Sea-men, *that* he should go to *Helvoet Sluice*, to appear amongst them, who profess'd great Duty to his Highness, he was so offended at it that he would not hear of it; and he had still some Servant about him who took pains to persuade him, *that* the Countess had inclined the Prince to that defraction, out of ill will to his Highness, and that the Ships might deliver him up to the Parliament. So unpleasant, and uncomfortable a Province had those Persons, who, being of the King's Council, serv'd both with great Fidelity; every Body who was un-

satisfied

satisfied (and no Body was satisfied) aspersing them, or some of them (for their prejudice was not equal to them all) in such a manner as touch'd the honour of the rest, and most reflected upon the King's own Honour, and Service.

FRANCE ROBERT had a long desire to have that Command of the Fleet put into his hands; and that desire, though carried with all secrecy, had been the cause of so many Insinuations, either to inflame the Sea-men, or to cherish their forward inclinations, and encrease the prejudice they had to *himself*. The Attorney mention'd this to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, shortly after his coming to the *Hague*, as a thing, he thought, that Prince might be induc'd to accept out of his Zeal to the King's Service, if he were invited to it; and thereupon was willing to debate, to what Person the Government of the Fleet could be committed, when it should fall from that Post, and whither it should go. The Chancellor made no other Answer to him, than *that* it was like *to* be a charge of much danger, and hazard; that he must not believe that any Body would propose the undertaking it *to* Prince *Robert*, or that the Prince would Command him *to* undertake it; and that he thought it necessary, that it should be first resolv'd, what the Fleet should do, and what it should go, before a Commander should be appointed over it.

WHEN the Marquis of Ormond had waited for many Months at *Paris* for the Performance of those gaudy promises of the *Cardinal* which the Cardinal had made, after he saw in what manner spirit of *Ormond* the Prince of *Wales* himself was treated by him, and that he would not suffer the least assistance to be applied to the Affairs of *England*, in a conjuncture when very little would probably have done the work, upon the Revolt of the Fleet, upon so powerful Insurrections in *England*, and posiding to many places of importance on the King's behalf, and when the whole Kingdom of *Ireland* seem'd to unite for his Majesty's Service, and an Army of thirty thousand Men were fast to be oven ready to march; I say, after he discern'd that the *Cardinal* was so far from giving any countenance, or warmth to his blooming hopes, that he left nothing un-done towards the destroying them, but the Imprisoning the Prince; he concluded that it was in vain for him to expect any relief for *Ireland*. And therefore he resolv'd, though he had neither Men, nor Money, nor Armes, nor Ammunition, all which had been very liberally promised to transport with him, he would transport his own Person, to what evident danger forever he was to expose it. Upon the full assurance the *Cardinal* had given him of very substantial aid, he had assured the Lord *Indisquin*, *that* he would be present with him with

notable

notable supply of Money, Armes, and Ammunition, and good Officers, and some common Men (which were all readied, if the Money had been paid to entertain them) and had likewise sent to many, who had formerly serv'd the King, and liv'd now quietly in the Enemies Quarters, upon the Articles which had been formerly granted the Marquis of Ormond, "that they should expect his speedy arrival.

AND though he had, from time to time, sent Advertisements of the delays and obstructions he met with in the French Court, for that he did almost despair of any Assistance from it, yet the Lord Inchiquin had advanced too far to retire; and the Lord Liffey, who had been sufficiently provoked, and contemned by him, was gone into England with full Intelligence, and such information (which was not hard for him to furnish) with) as would put Cromwell and the Army much fury, that his Friends in the Parliament, who had heretofore sustain'd his Credit, would be very hardly able to support him longer. So that, as he was to expect a storm from thence, so he had a very sharp War to maintain against the Irish, led and commanded by the Pope's Nuncio; which War had been always carried on in Munster with wonderful animosity, and with some circumstances of bloodiness, especially against Priests, and others of the Roman Clergy, that it was very hard to hope that those People would live well together. And indeed the Irish were never rooted out of the Province of Munster, though they were powerful enough, and strong in all the other Provinces. Hereupon the Lord Inchiquin, with all possible earnestness, writ to the Lord of Ormond, "that though without any other Assistance, he would transport in his own Person; by whose Countenance and Authority he presumed the Irish might be divided, and brought to reason; and desired him, "in the mean time, to send to such of the Irish as had dependence upon him, and who, he knew, "their Hearts did not well with to the Nuncio, that they "would secretly correspond with Him, and dispose their Friends and Dependents to concur in what might advance the King's Service; to which they did not know that he was inclin'd, but look'd upon him, as the same malicious and irreconcilable Enemy to them, as he had always appear'd to be to their Religion, more than to their Persons.

FROM the time that the Irish enter'd into that bloody, and foolish Rebellion, they had very different Affections, Inclinations, and Designs, which were every day improv'd in the carrying on the War. That part of them which inhabited the Pale, so called from a circuit of ground contain'd in it, was originally of English Extraction, since the first Plantation by the English many Ages past. And though they were ob-

generated

generated into the manners and barbarous Customs of the Irish, and were as stupidly transported with the highest Superstition of the Romish Religion, yet they had always steadily adher'd to the Crown, and perform'd the duty of good Subjects during all those Rebellions which the whole Reign of Queen Elizabeth was seldom without. And of that temper most of the Province of Munster was: Munster was the most placid with English of all the Provinces of Ireland, and though there were many Noble Men of that Province who were of the oldest Irish Extractions; and of those Families which had been Kings of Munster, yet many of them had intermarried with the best English Families, and so were better bred, and more civilized than the rest of the old Irish, and liv'd regularly in Obedience to the Government, and by connivance enjoy'd the exercise of their Religion, in which they were very zealous, with freedom and liberty enough.

THE Seat of the old Irish, who retain'd the Rites, Customs, Manners, and Ignorance of their Ancitors, without any kind of reformation in either, was the Province of Ulster; not the better cultivated by the Neighbourhood of the Scots, who were planted upon them in great Numbers, with circumstances of great Rigour. Here the Rebellion was first conceiv'd, cherish'd, and enter'd upon with that horrid Barbarity, by the O'Neill, the Magoyres, and the Macdonoughs; and though it quickly spread it self, and was enter'd in the other Provinces (many Persons of Honour and Quality engaging themselves by degrees in it for their own security, as they pretended, to preserve themselves from the unjust punishing severity of the Lords Justices, who denounc'd the War against all Irish equally, if not against all Roman Catholics; which kind of mixture and confusion was carefully declin'd in all the orders and directions sent to them out of England, but so unskilfully pursued by the Justices, and Council there, that as they found themselves without any employment or trust, to which they had cheastfully offer'd their Service, they concluded, that the English Irish were as much in the jealousy of the State as the other, and so resolv'd to prevent the danger by an unwarrantable Course as the rest had done) yet, I say, they were no sooner enter'd into the War, which was so generally embrac'd, but there appear'd a very great difference in the temper and purposes of those who procur'd it. They of the more moderate Party, and whose main end was to obtain liberty for the exercise of their Religion, without any thought of declining their subjection to the King, or of invading his Prerogative, put themselves under the Command of General Preffes: the other, of the fiercer and more savage Party, and who never meant to return so their

As a consequence of the Affections of the Irish about this time.

their Obedience to the Crown of England, and looked upon all the Estates which had ever been in the possession of any of their Ancestors, though forfeited by their Treason and Rebellion, as justly due to them, and ravish'd from them by the Tyranny of the Crown, march'd under the Conduct of *Oswald Roe O'Neill*; both Generals of the *Irish* Nation; and of *Owen O'Connell* of *English* Extraction through many defects; the other partly *Irish*, and of the Family of *Tyrone*; both bred in the Wars of *Flanders*, and both Eminent Commanders there, and of perpetual jealousy of each other: the one of the more frank and open Nature; the other darker, less polite, and the wiser Man; but both of them then in the head of more numerous Armies apart, than all the King's power could bring into the Field against either of them.

It is a disparity in the Temper and Humour of those People, first dispos'd those of the most moderate to desire a Peace shortly after the Rebellion was begun, and produced the Cessation that was first enter'd into, and the Peace, which did not soon enough ensue upon it; and which, upon the matter, did provide only for the exercise of the Roman Catholic Religion; but did that in it to immoerate and extravagant a manner, as made it obnoxious to all the Protestants of the King's Dominions.

Oswald Roe O'Neill refused to submit to the Conditions, and Articles of that Peace, though transacted and confirm'd by their Catholic Council at *Kilkenny*, which was the Representative of the *Irish* Nation had chosen for the Conduct of all the Councils for Peace and War, and to which they all swore, and had hitherto paid an entire Obedience. The Pope's Nuntio, who about that time came from *Rome*, and Transported himself into that Kingdom, applied himself to *Oswald Roe O'Neill*, and took that Party into his Protection; and so wrought upon their Clergy, generally, that he broke that Peace, and professed those who had made it, with those circumstances which have been before remember'd, and which necessitated the Lord Lieutenant to quit the Kingdom, and to leave the City of *Dublin* in the hands of the Parliament; and the Lord *Inchiquin* having likewise refus'd to consent, and submit to that Peace, and continu'd to make the War sharply and successfully against the *Irish* in the Province of *Monaghan*; whereof he was President. But the Nuntio was no sooner invest'd in the supreme Command of that Nation both by Sea and Land, as over a People subject to the Pope, and of a Dominion belonging to Him, than, being a Man of a fantastical Humour, and of an imperious and proud Nature, he behaved himself so insolently towards all (and having brought no Assistance to them but the Pope's Bulls, endeavour'd by

The Characters of *Oswald Roe O'Neill* chief General.

The Pope's Nuntio came into the *Irish*.

new exertions to enrich himself) that even the Men of *Ulster* were weary of him; and they who had been the Instruments of the former Peace, were not wanting to foment those jealousies, and discontents, which had produced that application to the Queen and Prince at *St Germain*, and the Resolution of sending the Marquis of *Ormond* thither again, both which have been related before. And the Marquis now having given the Lord *Monkery* (who had married his Sister, and was the most powerful Person, and of the greatest Interest in *Monaster* of all the *Irish*) and other of his Friends notice that the Lord *Inchiquin* would serve the King, and therefore required them to hold secret correspondence with him, and to concur with him in what he should desire for the advancement of his Service, they found means to hold such intercourse with him, that, before the Marquis of *Ormond* arriv'd there, against all the opposition the Nuntio could make, a Cessation of Arms was concluded between the Confederate Catholics and the Lord *Inchiquin*; and the Nuntio was driven into *Waterford*; and, upon the matter, Besieged there by the Catholic *Irish*; and the Marquis arriving at the same time at *King'sale*, and the Marquis being receiv'd by the Lord *Inchiquin* with all imaginable respect as the King's Lieutenant, the *Irish* and concerned *English* Nuntio found it necessary to Transport himself into *Italy*, *Kinsale*, leaving the Kingdom of *Ireland* under an Excommunication, *Interdict*, and an Apostate Nation; and all the Province *Ulster* of *Monaster* (in which there are many excellent Ports) became immediately and entirely under the King's Obedience. All which being well known to the Prince, and the Council, it was easily concluded, "that it was the best, if not the only place the Fleet could repair too; though the danger in Concluding it thither was willful enough; and therefore they were glad that Prince *Rupert* had made that advance towards the Command of it, and well furnish'd with the wariness of the Answer the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave to the *Attorney* *Hobbes*."

THESE were in truth no Body in view to whom the Charge of the Fleet could be committed but Prince *Rupert*: for it was well known that the Lord *Willsborough*, besides his being without much Experience of the Sea, was weary of it, and would by no means continue there; and the Sea-men were too much loath to lose from all kind of Order, to be reduced by a Commander of an Ordinary Rank. It was as true, that Prince *Rupert*, at that time, was generally very ungracious in England, having the misfortune not to be much believ'd by the King's Party, and hated by the Parliament. This was an exception that was sufficient: there was no other choice of a place to which the Fleet must be carried, but *Monaster*; and the place

frage thither could not be full of danger, in respect that the Parliament was without question Master of the Sea; (though the Island of *Silly* being then under the King's Authority, and *St John Greenwell* being the Governour thereof, made that passage something the more secure) therefore this passage was to be concealed as the last secret; there being great danger that the Sea-men would rather carry all the Ships back again to the Parliament, than into *Ireland*; against which People they had made a War at Sea with circumstances very barbarous, for they had seldom given any Quarter, but the *Irish*, as well Merchants and Passengers, as Mariners, which fell into their Hands, as hath been said before, were bound back to back and thrown into the Sea; so that they could have no inclination to go into a Country whose People had been handled so cruelly by them.

HERE again appear'd another objection against the Person of *Prince Rupert*, who would never endure to be subject to the Command of the Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom; and yet it seem'd most reasonable that the Ships, whilst they first there, might be employ'd towards the reducing of the other parts, which were in Rebellion: Besides that there was cause to fear, that the Prince would not live with that Army towards the Marquis of *Ormond*, as was necessary for the Public Service. Notwithstanding all this, when the little Squadron having *Prince Rupert* desired to take the Command of the Fleet upon him did not succeed, *Prince Rupert* himself made the Proposition to the Prince to take the Command of it upon him, and to carry it whether his Royal Highness would be pleas'd to direct. And then, the whole matter being debated, necessary made that to be Counsellable, against which very many reasonable objections might be made. It was resolv'd that *Prince Rupert* should be Admiral of the Fleet, and that it should Sail for *Ireland*. And the Charge and Expedition appear'd to be the more hopeful by the presence of good Officers, who had long Commanded in the Royal Navy: *St Thomas Kettleby*, whom the Prince made Captain of his own Ship the *Antelope*; *St John Monson*, who had the Command of the *Swallow*, a Ship of which he had been Captain many years before; and Colonel *Richard Fielding*, who was made Captain of the *Constant Reformation*; all worthy and faithful Men to the King's Service, of long Experience in the Service at Sea, and well known and lov'd by the Sea-men. With these Officers, and some other Gentlemen, who were willing to spend their time in that Service, *Prince Rupert* went to *Helvoet Sluice*, where the Ships lay, and seem'd to be receiv'd by the Fleet with great joy. They all bestir'd themselves in their several places to get the Ship

ready for Sea, and all those Provisions which were necessary, in making whereof there had not diligence enough been used.

WHEN they took a strict Survey of the Ships, the Carpenters were all of opinion, "that the *Cowesvart*, a Ship of the second Rank, that carried seventy Gun, was too old, and decay'd to be now set out in a Winter Voyage, and in so rough Seas, and that when a great deal of Money should be laid out to mend her, she would not be serviceable or safe. And it did appear, that when the Officers of the Navy had fix'd her out at the beginning of the Summer, they had secur'd, "that, when she came in again, she would not be fit for more use, but must be lay'd upon the Stocks. Whereupon the Ship was brought into *Helvoet Sluice*, upon the next spring Tyde, and examined by the best *Dutch* Carpenters and Surveyors; and all being of the same mind, information was sent by *Prince Rupert* to the Prince of the whole, who thereupon gave direction for the Sale of the Ordnance, and whatsoever else would yield Money: all which was apply'd to the Victualling, and setting out the rest, without which no means could have been found to have done it; so much ill husbandry had been us'd, and so much direct cheating in the managing all the Money that had been rais'd upon the *Prizes*.

PRINCE Rupert remain'd all the time at *Helvoet Sluice*, till all was ready to set Sail, and had, with notable Vigour and Success, suppress'd two or three Mutinies, in one of which he had been compell'd to throw two or three Sea-men over-board by the strength of his own Armies. All fit Officers were appointed, Commissioners for the Sale of all *Prize* Goods, and Ships that should be taken, *Treasurers* and *Pay-masters* for issuing and paying and receiving all Money, and an establishment for the whole so regular and strict to be observ'd; and though all Persons employ'd were well known, and approv'd by *Prince Rupert*, and most of them nominated by himself, yet he thought it fit after to change that Constitution, and by degrees brought the whole receipts, and issues under his own Management, and sole Government. When all was ready he came to the *Hague*, to take leave of the Prince, and return'd, and about the beginning of *December* set Sail for *Ireland*, met with good *Prizes* in the way, and *Ireland* in which he had been compell'd to throw two or three Sea-men over-board by the strength of his own Armies. All fit Officers were appointed, Commissioners for the Sale of all Prize Goods, and Ships that should be taken, Treasurers and Pay-masters for issuing and paying and receiving all Money, and an establishment for the whole so regular and strict to be observ'd; and though all Persons employ'd were well known, and approv'd by Prince Rupert, and most of them nominated by himself, yet he thought it fit after to change that Constitution, and by degrees brought the whole receipts, and issues under his own Management, and sole Government. When all was ready he came to the Hague, to take leave of the Prince, and return'd, and about the beginning of December set Sail for Ireland, met with good Prizes in the way, and Ireland in which he had been compell'd to throw two or three Sea-men over-board by the strength of his own Armies. Evidence how unserviceable a long absence would have been there, by some Parliament Ships coming into that Road, and sending their Men on Shore, who at noon day burnt the Cowesvart within the very Town of *Helvoet Sluice*, nor did the States make any expostulation, or do any justice for the Admirer offer'd to themselves, and their Government.

In this calamitous State of Affairs there seem'd to be no hope left, but that by Treaty the King might yet be restored to such a condition, that there might be those Issues left to the Crown, from whence its former Power, and Preeminence might sprout out hereafter, and flourish. The Commissioners for the Treaty arriv'd in the Isle of Wight upon the fifteenth day of September, whilst Cromwell yet remain'd in his Northern Progress, and his Army divided into several parts, for the pillaging his Conquest; which was the reason that all they who wish'd ill to the Treaty, and that it might prove ineffectual, had us'd and interpos'd all the delays they could, that he might return before it began, as they who wish'd it might succeed well, were as solicitous, that it might be concluded before that time; which made them the less to insist upon many particulars both in the Propositions, and the Instructions, which they hop'd might be more capable of remedying the Treaty than before it.

They stay'd three days in the Island before the Treaty began, which was time little enough to prepare the House for the King's reception at Newport, and adjusting many circumstances of the Treaty. In that time they waited several time on the King, with great shows of outward duty and respect; and though none of them durst adventure to see the King in private, they Communicated freely with some of those Lords and others, who, with the Parliament's leave, were come to attend the King during the time of the Treaty. And so they found means to advertise his Majesty of many particulars, which they thought necessary for him to know; which made different impressions upon him, as the information proceeded from Persons better or worse affected to him. And many of those who had liberty to attend, were competent Considerers of the truth of what they said.

The truth is there were amongst the Commissioners many who had been carried with the violence of the stream, and would be glad of those concessions which the King would vouch charitably have granted; an Act of Indemnity and Oblivion being what they were principally concern'd in. And of all the rest, who were more passionate for the Militia, and against the Church, there was no Man, except *St. Harry Kim*, who did not desire that a Peace might be established by this Treaty. For as all the other Lords desired, in their own Nature and Affections, no more than that their Transgressions might never more be call'd to remembrance; so the Lord *St. Harry* himself (who was as proud of his Quality, and of being distinguished from other Men by his Title, as any Man alive) well foresaw what would become of his Peerage, if the Treaty prov'd ineffectual, and the Army should make their own

model of the Government they would submit to (as undoubtedly they resolv'd shortly too) and therefore he did all he could to work upon the King to yield to what was propos'd to him, and, afterwards, upon the Parliament, to be content with what his Majesty had yielded. But the advice they all gave, of what inclinations or affections forever they were, was the same, "that his Majesty should, forthwith, and without delaying it to the expiration of the Term assign'd by the Parliament for the Treaty (which was forty days)" yield to the full demands which were made in the Propositions. Their only Argument was, "that, if he did not, or not do it quickly, the Army would proceed their own way, and had enough declared, that they would depose the King, change the Government, and settle a Republick by their own Rules and Invention. And this Advertisement was as well believ'd by those of the King's own Party, as by the Commissioners themselves.

BEFORE the Treaty began, the Commissioners made it known to the King, "that they could not admit that any Person should be present in the Room where the Treaty should be in Debate: that they were Commissioners sent from the Parliament to treat with his Majesty, and with Him alone; and that they might not permit any particular and private Persons to oppose, or confer with them upon the demands of the Parliament. So that albeit the Parliament had given leave to the several Bishops, and other Divines, and to many Lawyers of eminency to wait on his Majesty, upon his desire, that they might intrude and inform him in all difficult cases which related to Religion or the Law of the Land, they were like to be of little use to him now they were come; if they might not be present at the Debate, and offer such advice to his Majesty, as upon emergent occasions he should stand in need of, or require from them. At last they were consented, and his Majesty was oblig'd to be contented too, that they might stand behind a Curtain, and hear all that was said, and when any such difficulty occur'd as would require consultation, his Majesty might retire to his Chamber, and call those to him, with whom he would advise, to attend him, and might then return again into the Room for the Treaty, and declare his own Resolution. This was the unequal and unreasonable preliminary and condition, to which the King was compell'd to submit before the Treaty could begin.

THEY who had not seen the King in a Year time (for it was little less from the time that he had left *Hampshire Court*) found his Countenance extremely alter'd. From the time that his own Servants had been taken from him, he would

never suffer his hair to cut, nor cared to have any new Cloaths; so that his speech and appearance was very different from what it had used to be: otherwise, his health was good, and he was much more cheerful in his discourses towards all Men than could have been imagined, after such mortification of all kinds. He was not at all despond in his Spirits, but carried himself with the same Majesty he had used to do. His hair was all gray, which, making all others very sad, made it thought that he had sorrow in his countenance, which appear'd only by that shadow.

Upon *Monday* the 18th of *September*, the Treaty began, and the Commissioners presented their Commission to his Majesty, to treat with him personally, upon the Proposition presented formerly at *Hampden* Court, concerning the Kingdom of *England* and *Ireland* only, and upon such Propositions as should be offer'd either by his Majesty, or the two Houses of Parliament, according to their Instructions &c. Though the King knew very well, that *Cromwell* had for totally subdued *Scotland*, that he had not left any Man there in the least Authority or Power, who did so much as pretend to will well to him, and that, in truth, *Cromwell* had as much the Command there as *Archiebald* himself had, who was both his Creature, yet either to recover their broken Spirits, or to manifest his own Royal Compassion for them, he told the Commissioners, that, when the Propositions had been deliver'd to him at *Hampden* Court, the *Scottish* Interest was to involve in them, that it could be hardly separable from that of *England*; that it concern'd him, as King of both Kingdoms, to be just and equal between both; and that though they had no Authority to treat for any thing but what related to *England*, yet He, who was to provide for the publick Peace which could hardly be provided for, except the *Scotts* were comprehended in this Treaty did desire, that they would send to the two Houses of Parliament, to give a Pass for one of his Servants to go into *Scotland*, to invite the Council there to send some body authorized by that Kingdom, who might treat with the Commissioners of Parliament; and to that purpose his Majesty deliver'd them a Paper in writing to be sent by them to the Parliament, telling them at the same time, that it was never his desire or meaning, that they should meddle in the Government of *England*, but only should treat concerning the Peace, to the end that it might be durable. But the Commissioners alledged, that it was not in their Power to receive and transmit that, or any other Paper, to the Parliament, that refer'd to that Kingdom; and they besought him to give them leave, if an evidence of their Duty, to inform him of what ill consequence

consequence the transmission of that Paper at that time might be to the Treaty it self. Whereupon he declined sending it by a Messenger of his own for the present (which he intended to have done) being unwilling to give any occasion of dispute or jealousy so early, and believing that after he should have gotten a good understanding with the two Houses, in what was of immediate concernment to *England*, he should more effectually transmit that, or any other Paper, for the more easy composing the affairs of *Scotland*.

Then they presented their first Proposition to his Majesty; that he would revoke all Declarations, and Commissions granted heretofore by him against the Parliament. Whereupon his Majesty desired, that he might see all the Propositions, they had to make to him, together; that he might the better consider what satisfaction he could give to them upon the whole: which they would not yield to without much importunity, and at last deliver'd them with reluctance, as a thing they were not sure they ought to do. And though their Commission refer'd to Instructions; and his Majesty desired that he might have a view of those, they temporarily refused to let him have a sight of them; and only told him, that they were directed by their Instructions; first to treat upon the Proposition they had already presented to him, concerning the revocation of the Declarations &c. and in the next place, of the Church, then of the Militia, and fourthly of *Ireland*, and afterwards of the rest of the Propositions in order; and they declared likewise, that, by their Instructions, they were not to enter upon any new Propositions, before they should have receiv'd his Majesty's final Answer to what was first propos'd.

Whereupon the King demanded of them, whether they had power and authority to recede from any particulars contained in their Propositions, or to consent to any alterations, if his Majesty should give them good reason to do so? To which they Answer'd very Magisterially, that they were ready to Debate, to shew how reasonable their desires were, and that there could be no reason why they should sit or recede from them; but if his Majesty did satisfy them, they should do therein as they were warrant'd by their Instructions. Their limitations and restrictions in a matter of that importance, which contain'd a new frame of Government, and an alteration of all Civil and Ecclesiastical Constitutions, almost damp'd and stifled all the hope his Majesty had entertain'd of good from this Treaty. However, he resolv'd to try if consenting to the substantial part of any Proposition would give them satisfaction; and so, without taking notice of the Preamble of that Proposition, which they had deliver'd to him,

he declared in writing, which he deliver'd to them, ^{the Majesty of} that he ^{of the} was willing to grant the Body of their Proposition, that was ^{to} to recal all Declarations &c. But they immediately return'd another Paper to him, in which they said, ^{to} that his Majesty had ^{to} left unanswer'd the most essential part of their Proposition, ^{to} repeating the words in the Preamble, which recited, ^{to} that the two Houses of Parliament had been necessitated to enter ^{to} into a War in their just and lawful defence; and that the ^{to} Kingdom of England had enter'd into a solemn League and ^{to} Covenant to prosecute the same; and so justifying all that had been done &c. To all which they very vehemently ^{to} press'd ^{to} his Majesty's approbation and consent, as the most ^{to} necessary foundation of a lasting Peace, and the indispens- ^{to} able expectation of the two Houses and of the whole King- ^{to} dom; and that the two Houses, and the Kingdom, could ^{to} not decline this particular demand, without which they ^{to} could not believe themselves to be in any security; since ^{to} by the Letter of the Law, they who had adhered to the Par- ^{to} liament, might seem Guilty of raising War against the ^{to} King, and so to be guilty of High Treason by the Statute ^{to} of the 5th year of King Edward the third: whereas by the ^{to} construction and Equity thereof they were justified; and ^{to} therefore that the consenting to this Preamble was so essen- ^{to} tial, that without it the Parliament would be thought gail- ^{to} ty; which they hoped his Majesty did not desire it should. ^{to} And that this might make the deeper impression upon him, ^{to} the Lord says, in the Debate, it, twice repeated, with more ^{to} passion than was natural to his Constitution, ^{to} that he did ^{to} tremble to think how sad the consequence would be, if what ^{to} they now press'd should be denied. And others said, that ^{to} it was no more than his Majesty had heretofore granted in ^{to} the Act of Indemnity that he had pass'd in Scotland; and if ^{to} he should now refuse to do it in England, there would be a ^{to} speedy end put to the Treaty, without entering upon any ^{to} of the other Propositions. The King was so much per- ^{to} plexed, and offend'd with this haughty way of reasoning, that ^{to} he told those with whom he consulted, and writ the same to ^{to} the Prince his Son, ^{to} that the long restraint he had endur'd ^{to} in the Castle of Carlisle, was not a greater evidence of ^{to} the Captivity of his Person, nor was he more sensible of it, ^{to} than that was of the Captivity of his Mind, by his being ^{to} forc'd to decline these Answers and Arguments which ^{to} were proper to the support of his Cause, and which must ^{to} have brought blushes over the Faces of the Commissioners, ^{to} and to frame others more reasonable and fit to be offer'd to ^{to} Men in that condition from him who was to receive, and ^{to} not give conditions.

HOWEVER,

However, this Proposition was of so horrid and monstrous a Nature, so contrary to the known truth, and so destruc- tive to Justice and Government, that it seem'd to natura- lize Rebellion, and to make it current in the Kingdom to all posterity, that his Majesty could not forbear to tell them, ^{to} that no Act of Parliament could make that to be true which ^{to} was notoriously known to be false; that this Treaty must ^{to} be the foundation of the future Peace and Security, and ^{to} what was herein provided for both could never be call'd in ^{to} question; that he was most willing, that it should be made ^{to} very penal to every Man to reproach another for any thing ^{to} he had done during the late Troubles, upon what Provo- ^{to} cation soever. He put them in mind, ^{to} that it was well known ^{to} to some of them, that the Act of Indemnity in Scotland was ^{to} pass'd when his Majesty was not there, nor any Commis- ^{to} sioners appointed by him; that it was prepar'd, and drawn ^{to} by his Attorney General of that Kingdom, who was then ^{to} of the Party that was against his Majesty; and therefore it ^{to} was no wonder that he call'd those of his own side, Loyal ^{to} Subjects, and good Christians, in the Preamble of that Act; ^{to} which was never seen by his Majesty, though it was con- ^{to} firm'd indeed, with the other Acts which had pass'd in that ^{to} disorderly time, by his Majesty upon the conclusion of the ^{to} Peace, and their return to their Obedience; and that, when ^{to} that should be the case here, he would give them all the ^{to} appellations they should desire, and as unquestionable secu- ^{to} rity as they could wish. To all which they made no other ^{to} reply, and that unanimously, ^{to} but that they could not be- ^{to} lieve themselves secure, if that Preamble was not entirely ^{to} consented to.

THAT refractory obstinate adherence of the Commissioners to their own Will, without any shadow of reason, prevailed nothing upon the King; inasmuch as he was inclin'd to run the hazard of the present dissolution of the Treaty, and to undergo all the inconveniences and mischiefs which probably might attend it, rather than to sacrifice his Honour, and the Justice of his Cause, to their insolent demand, until he had enter'd into a serious deliberation with those Persons who were about him, of whose affections to him he had all assurance, and of the great abilities, and understanding of most of them he had a very just esteem. They all represent'd to him, from the Conference they had with such of the Com- missioners, who, they were confident, spoke to them as they thought and believ'd, ^{to} that if there were no expedient found ^{to} out to give more satisfaction upon this first Proposition, ^{to} than his Majesty had yet offer'd, altho' as the Commis- ^{to} sioners should give account of it to the two Houses, they ^{to} would

“would be privately recalld; and the Treaty be at an end: And then it would be universally declared and believ’d, how untrue soever the assertion was, that the King refused to secure the Parliament, and all who had adher’d to them, from a Prosecution by Law; upon which they thought it to no purpose to proceed farther in the Treaty; whereas if his Majesty had condescended to them in that particular, which concern’d the Lives and Fortunes of their whole Party in the Kingdom, they would have given him such satisfaction in all other particulars, as a full and happy Peace mult have ensu’d.

THEN the Lawyers inform’d him, “that his giving way to a recital in a new Law, which was not a Declaratory Law of what the Law was formerly in being, concerning the business in question, and only in a Preamble to a Law for recalling Declarations &c. did not make their Actus lawful, if they were not to before; nor did it take away from those who had adher’d to him, any defence or benefit the former Laws had given to them; nor would his Party be in a worse condition than they had always been: for his Majesty had always offic’d, in all his Declarations, that they who follow’d him, and who were by them called Delinquents, should, at all times, submit to a Trial by the Law of the Land, and if they thought to be found guilty of any Crime, they should not be protected by him. And it was evident, by their not prosecuting any one, since they were fallen into their hands, in any legal way, that they do not think their Transgressions can be punish’d by Law.

UPON these reasons, and the joynt advice and importunity of all about him, as well the Divines as the Lawyers, the King first deliver’d a Paper in writing to the Commissioners, in which he declar’d, “that nothing that should be put in writing concerning any Proposition, or part of any Proposition, should be binding, prejudicial, or made use of, if the Treaty should break off without effect: And the Commissioners presented another Paper in writing, in which they fully consented to that Declaration, in the very terms of the said Declaration. Thereupon the King consented to pass the first Proposition, with the Preamble to it, albeit, he said, that he well foresaw the assertions it would expose him to; yet he hoped his good Subjects would confide that it was but a part of the price he had paid for their benefit, and the Peace of his Dominions.

THE first Proposition being thus consented to as they could wish, they deliver’d their second concerning Religion and the Church; which comprehens’d, “the utter abolishing of Episcopacy, and all jurisdiction exercised by Arch-Bishops, Bishops,

The King
consents
to it.

The second
Proposition
concerning
Religion and
the Church.

“Bishops, Deans and Chapters, and alienating their Lands, which should be sold to the use and benefit of the Commonwealth; the Covenant; which was presented to his Majesty to take himself, and to impose upon all others: The Common-Prayer, and publick Liturgy of the Church to be abolish’d, and taken away; and that the Reformation of Religion, according to the Covenant, in such manner as both Houses had, or should agree, after consultation with the Divines, should be settled by Act of Parliament: which, the King told them, “exceeded the Implicit Faith of the Church of Rome; which rather obliges her Profelytes to what she Does hold, than to what she Shall. It required “the establishing the Presbyterian Government, the Directory, the Articles of Christian Religion (a Body whereof they presented) “the suppressing Innovations in Churches; for the better advancement of Preaching, the observation of the Lord’s day; a Bill against Pluralities and Non-residency; several Acts against Papists; and the taking and imposing the Covenant.

THIS pregnant Proposition, containing in many moostious particulars, sufficiently warn’d his Majesty, how impossible it would be to give them satisfaction in all; and therefore having, by consenting to the entire first Proposition, put it out of their power to break off the Treaty, and to tell the People “that the King, at the entrance into it, had denied to give them any security for their Lives and Fortunes, he thought it now fit to offer to the Commissioners a Proposition of his own, that both the Parliament, and the People, might clearly discern how much of his own Right and Dignity he would sacrifice for their Peace; and which, he thought, might prevent the designs of those who might endeavour, upon one single Proposition, or part of a Proposition, to break the Treaty.

HIS own Proposition contained, in very few words, but three particulars: 1. That he might enjoy his Liberty: 2. That his Revenue might be restor’d to him: 3. That an Act of Oblivion might pass: Which, he very well knew, would be most grateful to those who seem’d to value it least, as it would exempt his own Friends from all illegal, and unjust vexations.

THE Commissioners absolutely refus’d to send it to the Houses, though they had no Authority to Answer it themselves. They said, “it rather contain’d an Answer to all their Propositions, than was a single Proposition of his own; and that the sole end of making it, was to cajole the People; which, the King told them, “better became Him to do than any Body else. But when they peremptorily refus’d to trans-

*The King
sent to the
Bishops
of his own
Part as to
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Parliament.*

*Their Men-
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sition
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the Bishops.*

mit it to the Houses, the King sent an Express of his own to deliver it; which being done, after some days deliberation, the Houses return no other Answer to the King, "than that his Propriety was not satisfactory. In the mean time the Commissioners pres'd for his Answer to the first part of their Proposition, for the abolishing of Bishops. It would be very tedious and unnecessary to set down at large the Dispute, and Arguments which were us'd on both sides upon this Subject. The Commissioners, who would not suffer any of the King's Servants to be so much as present when any thing of the Treaty was agitated, thought fit now to let loose their own Clergy upon the King; who was much better verid in the Argument than they were.

THAT which they urged most, was the common Allegation "that Bishop and Presbyter in the Scripture Language signified one and the same thing: That, if the Apostles ex-cris'd a larger Jurisdiction, it had been granted to them as Apostles, and concern'd not their Successors, to whom no such Authority had been granted, nor any Superiority over other Presbyters, who were of the same Function with them. Then they inveigh'd vehemently against "Lords Bishops; "their Præ, and Lustre; and they all behaved themselves with that rudeness, as if they meant to be no longer subject to a King, no more than to a Bishop. And two of them very plainly and fiercely told the King, "that if he did not consent to the utter abolishing of Episcopacy, he would be damn'd; with which his Majesty was not mov'd. The Men, *Jurists* and *Speakers*, liv'd after the return of King Charles the Second, and, according to the modesty of that race of People, came to kiss his Majesty's hand, and continued the same Zeal in all Sectious Attempts.

THAT King pres'd them with those Texts of Scripture which have been constantly urged by those who maintain the *Jus Divinum* of Bishops, the Authority of the Fathers, and the Government of all Christian Churches for fifteen hundred years, and particularly of the Church of England, before and since the Reformation, by constant and uniform practise and usage; which could not but be by themselves acknowledged to have been by Bishops. The Commissioners reliev'd their ill manner'd Clergy, and urged, "that whatsoever was not of Divine Institution might very lawfully be alter'd; for if it had its Original from Men, it might by Men be changed, or reversed: That Episcopacy as it was establish'd in the Church by the Laws of England, was not that Episcopacy that was mention'd or prescrib'd in Scripture; and therefore the Laws, which supported it, might be justly taken away; "which, they said, was the reason that had induc'd many

"Men

"Men who were not Enemies to Episcopacy, to take the Co-
"munist; which obliged them to take the present Hierarchy
"away.

It is a word they urged, "the practice of other Reform'd
"Churches, and that his Majesty insisting upon the preserva-
"tion of Episcopacy, as essentially necessary, was to reproach
"and condemn Them. To which he Answer'd, "that both
"Calow and Brew, and most Learned Men of the Reform'd
"Churches, had approv'd, and commended the Episcopal Go-
"vernment in England; and many of them had bewailed
"themselves, that they were not permitted to retain that Go-
"vernment.

BESIDES all their Arguments in publick, which his Ma-
"jesty with wonderful acuteness fully Answer'd, and deliver'd his
"Answers in writing to them (which none of them ever after
"undertook to reply unto) they found means in private to ad-
"vocate the King, that is, such of them who were known to
"will well to him, "that they were of his Majesty's judgement
"with reference to the Government, which they hoped might
"yet be preserv'd, but not by the method his Majesty pur-
"sued: that all the reasonable hope of preserving the Crown,
"was in dividing the Parliament from the Army; which
"could be only done by his giving satisfaction in what was
"demand'd with reference to the Church; which would
"unto the Parliament in it self, some few Persons excepted,
"and the City to the Parliament; where the Presbyterians
"were most powerful; and this being done, the Parliament
"would immediately have power to reform their Army; and
"to disband those who would not be reform'd: That then
"the King would be remov'd to London, to perfect that by
"his own presence in Parliament, which should be prepar'd
"by this Treaty; and then the wording those Bills, and the
"singularity of passing them, would give opportunity for ma-
"ny alterations; which, being now attempted, would de-
"stroy all, and reconcile the Parliament to the Army; which
"would destroy the King: But then, what the King urg'd, as
"matter of Conscience in himself would ind respect, reve-
"rence, and concurrence. No doubt they who did make
"these Insinuations, did in truth believe themselves; and did
"think, as well as wish, that the sequel would be such as they
"forec'd. But that which had more Authority with the King,
"and which no body about him could put him in mind of, be-
"cause none of them had been privy to it, was the remem-
"brance of what he had promised concerning the Church to
"the Scots, in the Engagement at the life of *Wright*; which he
"could not but conclude was well known to many of the Pre-
"sbyterians in England: and he thought, that whatever he had
"promised

promised to do then, upon the bare hope and probability of raising an Army, he might reasonably now offer when that Army was destroy'd, and no hope left of raising another. And thereupon he did, with much reluctance, offer the sum he had then promised to do; which was, "to suspend Legation for three years, and then upon consultation with Divines, amongst which he would nominate twenty to be present, and to consult with them, such a Government of the Church as should be agreed upon might be established: That he would not force any Man to take the Covenant, and would have the Privilege of his own Chapel to use the Common-Prayer; and observe the same Worship he had used to do; and that all Persons, who desired it, might have liberty to take the Covenant, and to use the Directory; and finally, he consented to all that he had offer'd in that Engagement with reference to the Government of the Church; and likewise, "that Money should be raised upon the sale of the Church Lands, and only the old Rent should be reserved to the just owners and their Successors. These, with some other Concessions of less importance, which related to other Branches of the same Proposition, *magna intercessoria, he delivered to the Commissioners as his final Answer; which the Major part of them, did then believe would have preferred his Majesty from further importunity and vexation in that particular.*

The third Proposition concerning the Militia

THE next Proposition was concerning the Militia; which was their Darling; and distinguished the Scots from the English Presbyterians; the former never desiring to invade that unquestionable Prerogative of the Crown; the latter being so much so fond of it (and as refractory without it) as of Liberty itself; and in that particular occurred even with Cromwell, and made little doubt of subduing him by it in a short time. In this demand they exercised their usual modesty, and to abridge the substance of it in few words, they required a power to keep up the present Army, and to raise what other Armies they pleased for the future; which gave them Authority over the Persons of all Subjects, of what degree or quality soever. Secondly, a power to raise Money by the sale and maintenance of those Forces, in such a manner, and by such ways and means, as they should think fit. And hereby they had had the disposal of the Estates and Fortunes of all Men without restraint, or limitation. Thirdly, "all Forces by Land and Sea to be managed, and disposed as they should think fit, and not otherwise. All this moderate Power and Authority must be granted to the Lords and Commons for twenty years. And, as if this had not been enough, they required farther, "that in all Cases, when the

Lords and Commons shall declare the Safety of the Kingdom to be concern'd, unless the King give his Royal Assent to such a Bill as shall be tender'd to him for raising Money, the Bill shall have the force of an Act of Parliament, as if he had given his Royal Assent.

THAT were other particulars included, of power to the City of London over the Militia, and for the Tower of London, of no importance to the King, if he once dispos'd, and granted the other as was required, nor need he take care to whom the rest belonged. Here the King was to consider whether he would wholly grant it, or wholly deny it, or whether he might reasonably hope so to limit it, that they might have Authority enough to please them, and He reserve some to himself for his own security. The King had thought with himself, upon revolving all Expedients, which he had too long warning to ruminate upon, to propose "that the Inhabitants of every County should be the standing Militia of the Kingdom, to be drawn out of the Counties upon any occasions which should occur; which would prevent all excessive Taxes and Impositions, when they were to be paid by themselves. But he quickly observ'd that such a Proposition would be presently called a Conspiracy against the Army, and so put an end to all other Expedients. Then he thought of limiting the extravagant Power in such a manner, that it might not appear too monstrous to all intents and purposes whatsoever; and therefore propos'd, "that none should be com-

pell'd to serve in the War against their Wills, but in case of an Invasion by Foreign Enemies: That the Power concerning the Land Forces should be exercis'd to no other purpose, than for the suppressing of Forces which might at any time be raised without the Authority and Consent of the Lords and Commons, and for the keeping up, and maintaining the Forts and Garrisons, and the present Army, so long as it should be thought fit by both Houses of Parliament: That what Money should at any time be thought necessary to be rais'd, should be rais'd by general and equal Taxes, and Impositions; and lastly, that all Patents and Commissions to the purposes aforesaid might be made in the King's Name, by Warrant signified by the Lords and Commons, or such other signification as they should direct, and authorize.

THESE Limitations were sent to the Parliament, who, according to the method they had assumed, soon Voted "that the Message was unsatisfactory. Hereupon, that he might be pleas'd to leave some Monument and Record of his care and tenderness of his People (for after his extorted Concessions to the so great prejudice of the Church, he never consider'd what

The King
answers to
as with
Preamble.

might be dangerous to his own Person) he deliver'd his consent to the Proposition it self to the Commissioners, with a Preamble to this purpose; "that whereas their Proposition concerning the Militia, required a far larger power over the Persons and Estates of his Subjects, than had been ever hitherto warranted by the Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom, yet in regard the present distractions might require more, and that no farther use of the power therein mention'd, after the present distempers should be settled, than should be agreeable to the legal Exercise thereof in times past, and for the purposes particularly mention'd in their Proposition, and to give satisfaction to his two Houses of Parliament that he intends a full security to them, and to express his real desire to settle the Peace of the Kingdom, his Majesty doth consent to the Proposition concerning the Militia as it is desired. This the Commissioners did by no means like nor would acquiesce in, and alleged, "that as the Consent must be the Subject of an Act of Parliament, for the Preamble must be a part of it, and would administer occasion of difference and dispute upon the interpretation of it, which being so clearly foreseen, ought not to be admitted in any Act of Parliament, much less in such a one as is to be the principal Foundation of a lasting Peace of the Kingdom. After much exaction of this kind, and importunity of Friends, as well as of Enemies, and being almost as weary of denying as of granting, he suffer'd the Preamble to be set out, and his consent to be deliver'd without it.

It may be well wonder'd at, that after having so far complied with these three Propositions, there should be any pause or hesitation in the debate of the rest. For in that concerning the Church, and the other concerning the Militia, both the Church and the Militia of Ireland follow'd the Face of England, and were in effect comprehended in the same Propositions; so that there remain'd nothing more will respect to that Kingdom, "but declaring the Peace that was made there with the Irish, to be void; which they press'd with the same passion, as if they had obtain'd nothing; although his Majesty refer'd the carrying on the War to them, and told them, "that he knew nothing of the Peace, which had been made during his Imprisonment, when he could receive no Advertisement of what was doing, or done; and therefore he was content that it should be broken, and the War be carried on in such a manner as should please Them, which was all one to their ends and purposes, as what they desired. But this did by no means please them. If the Peace were not declared to be actually void, they could not so easily

The fourth
Proposition
concerning
Ireland.

It may be well wonder'd at, that after having so far complied with these three Propositions, there should be any pause or hesitation in the debate of the rest.

take that vengeance of the Marquis of Ormond as they resolv'd to do. Yet after all these general concessions, which so much concern'd Himself, and the Publick, and when the necessity that had oblig'd him to that unwilling compliance, might well have excus'd him for satisfying them in all the rest of their demands, when they press'd his consent to what only concern'd private and particular Persons, as the revoking all Honours and Grants of Offices which he had confer'd upon those who had serv'd him faithfully, and to except many of them from Pardon, and leave them to the unmerciful censure of the two Houses, both for their Lives and Fortunes; to exempt others to pay, for their Delinquency in obeying and saving him, a full treasury of all they were worth; to deprive others of their practice in their several Professions, and Functions (which expos'd all the Lawyers and Divines, who had been faithful to him, to utter ruin) it cannot be express'd with what grief, and trouble of mind he receiv'd those importunate desires; and without doubt, he would at that time with much more willingness have died, than submitted to it; but the Argument "that he had done so much, was now press'd upon him (by his Friends, and those who were to receive as much prejudice as any by his doing it) "that he should do more; and since he had consented to many things which gave him self no satisfaction, he would give to full satisfaction to the Parliament, that He might receive that benefit, and the Kingdom that Peace and Security he desired.

Many Advertisements came from his Friends in London, and from other places, "that it was high time that the Treaty were at an end, and that the Parliament had all his Majesty's Answers before them, to determine what they would do upon them, before the Army drew nearer London, which, undoubtly, it would shortly do, "as soon as those in the North had finish'd their work. It was now near the end of October, and the appointed time for the conclusion of the Treaty was the fourth of November; and so after all importunities, as well of those who were to suffer, as of those who were to triumph in this suffering, his Majesty's consent was procur'd to most that was demanded in the rest of the Propositions; the King, as last, and all Men, conceiving the Treaty to be at an end.

The King had, about the middle of October, again deliver'd his own Proposition for his Liberty, his Revenue, and an Act of Oblivion, to the Commissioners; which they receiv'd. And though, at the beginning of the Treaty, they had refus'd to transmit it to the Houses, yet now, after so many concessions, they thought fit to send it; and did so almost as they receiv'd it. But no answer was return'd. Hereupon, when the Treaty was within two days of expiring, his Majesty

Some other
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The Com-
missioners
had the
King's own
Proposition as
before.
Majesty

Majesty demanded of them, ⁴⁴ whether they had receiv'd any
⁴⁵ Instructions to treat upon, or to give an Answer to his
⁴⁶ Majesty's Proposition, which he had deliver'd to them so long since
⁴⁷ "or whether they had receiv'd any Order to prolong the
⁴⁸ "Treaty? To which they Answer'd, "they had not as a
⁴⁹ "cisher. And when he asked them the same Question, the
⁵⁰ very last hour of the limited time, they made the same An-
⁵¹ "swer. So that the whole forty days assign'd for the Treaty
⁵² were expired, before they vouchsafed to return any Answer
⁵³ to the single Proposition the King had made to them. How-
⁵⁴ ever they told him, "they had receiv'd new Commands
⁵⁵ "to make fresh instance to his Majesty, that he would forbear
⁵⁶ "to publish a Declaration against the Marquis of Ormond; who
⁵⁷ "had very lately declared, that he had Authority to make
⁵⁸ "Peace with the Irish Rebels; and was then treating with
⁵⁹ "them to that purpose. To which his Majesty Answer'd
⁶⁰ "that it was not reasonable to press him to publish any Decla-
⁶¹ "ration against the Marquis; since that if the Treaty should
⁶² "end happily, the desires of the two Houses were satisfi'd
⁶³ "the Concessions he had already made; and so adhered to
⁶⁴ "his full Answer. And concerning the Treaty to be clos'd
⁶⁵ "he desired the Commissioners, "that since He had depar-
⁶⁶ "d from such of his own Right to give his two Houses a
⁶⁷ "satisfaction, They would be a means that he might be press'd
⁶⁸ "no farther; since the few things he had not satisfi'd them
⁶⁹ "in, had no near relation to his Conscience, that, with the
⁷⁰ "Peace of that, he could not yield farther; and desired them
⁷¹ "to use the same eloquence, and abilities, by which they
⁷² "prevail'd with Him, in representing to the two Houses the
⁷³ "sad condition of the Kingdom, if it were not preserv'd by
⁷⁴ "this Treaty. And so concluded with many gracious ex-
⁷⁵ "pressions for their Personal civilities, and other kind Expres-
⁷⁶ "sions; which made impression upon all of them who had any
⁷⁷ "Bovels.

ALL this being past, and the King believing and expect-
 ing that the Commissioners would take their leave of him the
 next Morning, they came the same Night to inform him,
 "that they had then receiv'd new Orders and Instructions for
 "the continuing and enlarging the Treaty for fourteen days
 "longer; for which his Majesty was nothing glad; nor did
 "they in the Houses who wish'd well to him, desire that Pro-
 "longation. For it was easily discern'd, that it was mov'd and
 "proposed only by them who did not intend that the Treaty
 "itself should have any good effect; which they were not
 "very ready and prepared enough to prevent, the Army not
 "having yet finish'd what they were to do in all places; and
 "was contented to unskillfully, by those who thought the con-
 "tinuance

tinuance of the Treaty was the best sign that both sides de-
 sired Peace; and it quickly appear'd, by the new instances
 they made, that delay was their only business. The Commis-
 sioners, with new importunity, and bitterness, begun upon
 their new Instructions "that the King would immediately
 "publish the Declaration against the Marquis of Ormond, with-
 "out any other reasons than those which he had Answer'd be-
 "fore. His Majesty Answer'd, "there was no other difference His Majesty's
 "between them but in point of time, whether presently, or
 "at the conclusion of the Peace; upon the Peace, they had
 "the subsistence of their desire already granted; and if there
 "were no Peace, they had reason to believe that no Declara-
 "tion he should make would be believed or obeyed; and so
 "adhered to what he had Answer'd formerly.

THEM they declared, "that the Parliament was not satis-
 "fied with his Concessions with reference to the Church; that
 "the Presbyterian Government could be exercised with lit-
 "tle profit, or comfort, if it should appear to be so short-liv'd
 "as to continue but for three years; and that they must there-
 "fore press the utter extirpating the Function of Bishops.
 Then, the perfect and entire alienation of their Lands was
 insisted on, whereas by the King's Concessions, the old
 Rent was still reserv'd to them. They said, "the Parliament
 "did not intend to force, but only to rectify his Conscience;
 "and, to that end, they add'd more reasons to convince him
 "in several points. They repeated their old distinction be-
 "tween the Scripture-Bishop, and the Bishop by Law. For the
 "absolute alienation of their Lands, they urg'd many Prece-
 "dents of what had been done in former times upon conveni-
 "ence, or necessity, not so visible and manifest as appear'd at
 "present; and concluded with their usual threat, "that the con-
 "sequence of his denial would be the continuance of the pub-
 "lick disturbances.

To all which his Majesty Answer'd, "that, for the Pres-
 "byterian Government, they might remember that their own
 "first Order for the settling it, was only for three years;
 "which they then thought a competent time for a Probato-
 "ry Law, that contain'd such an alteration in the State; and
 "therefore they ought to think the same now; and that it
 "might be longer lived than three years, if it would in that
 "time bear the test, and examination of it; and that nothing
 "could be a greater honour to that discipline, than its being
 "able to bear that test and examination. He said, "he was
 "well pleas'd with their Expression, that they did not intend
 "to force his Conscience; yet the manner of pressing him
 "look'd very like it, after he had so solemnly declared that it
 "was against his Conscience; that he did concur with them
 "in

They require
 a Declara-
 tion of the
 King against
 the Marquis
 of Ormond.
 His Maje-
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The Parlia-
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 Treaty 14
 days longer.

“in their diffidence of Bishops, and if they would preferre
 “the Scripture-Bishop, he would take away the Bishopry
 “Law. He confided, “that Necessity might justify, or ex-
 “cuse many things, but it could never warrant him to deprive
 “the Church of God of an Order instituted for continual use,
 “and for establishing a Succession of Lawful Ministers in the
 “Church. For the points of sacrilege, he said, “the conveni-
 “rent opinion of all Divines was a much better information
 “to his Conscience, what is Sacrilege, than any Precedent
 “or Law of the Land could be. Upon the whole matter, he
 “adhered to his former Answer in all the particulars, and con-
 “cluded, “that he could with more comfore cast himself upon
 “God’s goodness to support him in, and defend him from all
 “Afflictions, how greatsoever, that might befall him, than
 “deprive himself of the inward tranquillity of his mind, for
 “any Politick consideration that might seem to be a means
 “to restore him.

It must not be forgotten, that the last day, when the Treaty was to end, they deliver’d to the King the Votes which the two Houses had pass’d concerning and upon his own Message (which had lain to long in their hands unanswer’d) which were in effect, 1. “That from and after such time as the
 “Parliament shall be assembled, all his Offices, Mannors, and Lands, with the growing Rents and Profits thereof, and all other Legal Revenue of the Crown should be restored to him, liable to the maintenance of those Ancient Forts, and Castles, and his other Legal Charges as they were formerly charged withal, or liable to. 2. That he should be then likewise restor’d in a condition of Honour, Freedom, and Safety, agreeable to the Laws of the Land. 3. That an Act of Indemnity should be then pass’d with such exceptions and limitations as should be agreed upon, with this addition, that it should be declared by Act of Parliament, that nothing contain’d in his Majesty’s Propositions should be understood or made use of in this Treaty, or any Law, Grant, or Commission agreed upon by his Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament, in pursuance thereof; in all which his Majesty assented.

This time limited for the Prolongation of the Treaty was to end upon the one and twentieth of November, and the Commissioners believ’d it so absolutely concluded, that they took their leave of the King, and early the next Morning went to *Down* Harbour to Embark themselves. But the Treaty being to serve to Transport them out of the Island, that Night a Messenger arriv’d with Direction to them to continue the

Treaty till the five and twentieth; which was four days more. So, the three and twentieth, they return’d and acquainted his Majesty with it.

At the same time, the thundering Declaration of the Army was published; which declared the full resolution “to change the whole frame of the Government, and that they would be contented with no less an alteration; which, as it was an Argument to the King to endeavour all he could to unite the two Houses, that they might be able to bear that shock, it was expected that it would have been no less an Argument to have prevailed with them to adhere to the King, since their Interest was no less threaten’d than His.

These fresh instances the Commissioners made, were upon several Votes which had pass’d the two Houses against Delinquents; and a new Proposition concerning those who had charged themselves against the Parliament since the last *Parliament*, and particularly against the Marquis of *Ormond*, *Peer Jan. 27. 1647.* They propos’d, “that there should be seven Persons, the *names of* Lord *New-Castle*, and six others (who were nam’d) “who should be excepted from pardon, and their Estates forfeited: that the Delinquents, in the several Classes mention’d in their Proposition, should pay for their Composition, some a Moiety, others a third part of their Estates, and other Rates, as they were set down; and that all who had been engaged in the Land or Sea-Service since *January 1647*, should pay a full years value of their whole Estates more than the other Delinquents; and that none who had been against the Parliament should presume to come within either of the Courts belonging to the King, Queen, or Prince, or of serving in Parli-
 “ment, for the space of three years; and that all Clergy Men who had been against the Parliament, should be deprived of all their Preferments, Places, and Promotions; which should be all void as if they were naturally dead. To these *the King’s* *Answer.* was nam’d from Pardon, and the forfeitures of their Estates, his Answer was, that, if they were proceeded against according to the ancient established Laws, and could not justify and defend themselves, he would not interpose on their behalf; but he could not, in justice or honour, justify himself in any Act for taking away the Life or Estate of any that had adhered to him. For the Rates which were to be paid for Composition, he refer’d it to the two Houses of Parliament, and to the Persons themselves, who would be concerned to pay it; and he did hope and desire, that they might be moderately dealt with. And for the Clergy Men, whose Preferments he well knew were already dispos’d of, Vol. III. Part 2. Q. *and*

The Parli-
 ment’s Votes
 upon the
 King’s Mes-
 sage Propo-
 sitions.

Another
 Proposition
 of the Treaty
 the 20th Nov. 1647.

The Decla-
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 Army.

The Commis-
 sioners new
 Propositions
 against De-
 linquents.

The King’s
 Answer.

The King’s
 Answer.

and in the hands of another kind of Clergy, who had deserv'd well of the Parliament, that it would not be in his power to dispasse them, his Majesty desired, "that they might be allowed a third part of what was taken from them, all such time that they, or the present Incumbents, should be better provided for. As to the Marquis of Ormond, against whom they prest that they had before done with extraordinary Animosity, the King Answer'd, "that first what he had said before (and which would bring all to pass that they desired) "did not give them satisfaction, he had written a Letter (which he deliver'd to them, to be sent, and read in them) "in which he directed him to desist; and said, if he refused to submit to his Command, he would then publish such a Declaration against his power and his proceedings, as they desired.

Another Proposition of the Treaty for a 2^d, whereas the present was Propos'd thus

One concern'd Scotland.

To that the King's answer.

A ND now the second limitation of time for the Treaty was at an end. But that Night came another Vote; which continued for a day longer, with a Command to the Commissioners to return on *Thursday* Morning; which was the eight and twentieth of *November*: and thereupon they presented two Propositions to his Majesty, which were to be dispatched that day.

THE two Propositions they sent for one days work, were, the first, concerning *Scotland*; the other, concerning the Church; which they did not think they had yet destroyed enough. For *Scotland*, they demanded "the King's consent, "to confirm by Act of Parliament such Agreements as should be made by both Houses with that Kingdom, in the security of such thereof who had assisted or adhered to those of the Parliament of *England*, and for the settling and preserving a happy and durable Peace between the two Nations, and for the mutual defence of each other. The King put them in mind, "that at the beginning of the Treaty they had inform'd him, that their Commission was only to treat concerning *England*, and *Ireland*; and that they had no Authority to meddle in any thing that related to *Scotland*; and that they had thereupon refused to receive a Paper from him, which was to preserve the Interest of that Kingdom; and demand'd of them, whether their Commission was enlarg'd; which they confess'd "was not; and that they had presented that Paper only in obedience to the Order they had receiv'd. So that the King easily understood that the end was only that they might have occasion to publish, "that the King had rejected whatsoever was tender'd to him on the behalf of the Kingdom of *Scotland*. To prevent which, he Answer'd, "that as he would join in any Agreement, to be confirm'd by Act of Parliament, for the settling and preserving a happy

and durable Peace between the two Nations, and for their mutual defence of each other under him as King of both; "so he would secure all who had been formerly engaged with them; but for any new Engagement, or Confederacy, which they would make hereafter, he would first know what it was, and be advis'd with in the making it, before he would promise to confirm it. The other business with reference to the Church gave him much more trouble. The Commissioners prest him "to consider the Exigence of time, and that there was not a whole day left to determine the Fate of the Kingdom; and that nothing could unite the Councils of those who wish'd and desired Peace, and to live happily under his Subjection and obedience, against the bold attempts of the Army, which had enough declared and manifested what their intention was, but satisfying the Houses fully in what they demand'd in that particular. His own Council, and the Divines, besought him "to consider the safety of his own Person, even for the Church's and his People's sakes, who had some hope still left whilst He should be preserv'd, which could not but be attended with many Blessings; whereas, if He were destroyed, there was scarce a possibility to preserve them: that the moral and unavoidable necessity that lay upon him, oblig'd him to do any thing that was not Sin; and that, upon the most prudent thoughts which occur'd to them, the Order which He, with so much Piety and Zeal, endeavour'd to preserve, was much more like to be destroyed by his not complying, than by his suspending it till his Majesty and his two Houses should agree upon a future Government; which, they said, much differ'd from an abolition of it.

HEREUPON he gave them his final Answer, "that after the King's such condescensions, and weigh'd resolutions in the business of the Church, he had expected not to be farther prest therein; it being his Judgement, and his conscience. He said, he could not, as he was then inform'd, abolish Episcopacy out of the Church; yet, because he apprehended how fatal new distractions might be to the Kingdom, and that he believ'd his two Houses would yield to truth, if it were made manifest to them, as he had always declared that he would comply with their Demands, if he were convinc'd in his Conscience, he did therefore again desire a Consultation with Divines, in the manner he had before propos'd, and would in the mean time suspend the Episcopal power, as well in point of Ordination of Ministers, as of Jurisdiction, till He and the two Houses should agree what Government should be establish'd for the future. For Bishop's Lands, he could not consent to the absolute alienation of them from the Church,

“ Church, but would consent that Leaves for Lives, or Years, not exceeding ninety nine, should be made for the satisfaction of Purchasers or Contractors; little differing from the Answer he had formerly given to this last particular; and in all the rest he adhered to his former Answers. And the Commissioners, having receiv'd this his final Answer, took their leaves, and the next Morning begun their Journey towards London.

THE King had begun a Letter to the Prince his Son before the first forty days were expired, and continued it, as the Treaty was lengthen'd, even to the hour it was concluded, and finished it the nine and twentieth of *November* after the Commissioners were departed, and with it sent a very exact Copy of all the Papers which had pass'd in the Treaty, in the order in which they were pass'd, fairly engross'd by one of the Clerks who attended. But the Letter it self was all in his own hand, and contain'd above six Sheets of Paper; in which he made a very particular relation of all the reasons and reasons which had prevailed with him, or over him, to make those Concessions; out of which most of this relation is extracted. And it is almost evident, that the Major part of both Houses of Parliament was, at that time, so far from desiring the execution of all those Concessions, that, if they had been able to have resisted the wild fury of the Army, they would have been themselves Sutors to have declined the greatest part of them. That which seem'd to afflict him most, next what refer'd to the Church and Religion, and which, he said, “ had a large share in his conscientious considerations, was the hard measure his Friends were subjected to; for whole Interest he did verily believe he should better provide in the execution of the Treaty, than he had been able to do in the Preliminaries. For, he said, “ he could not but think, “ that all who were willing that he should continue their “ King, and to live under his Government, would be fit “ upon his Party, of which they would all desire to be accounted for the time to come. However, he hoped that “ all his Friends would consider, nor what he had submitted “ to, but how much he had endeavour'd to relieve them from; and conjur'd the Prince his Son, “ that the less he had been “ able himself to do for them, the more, if God blessed him, “ he should acknowledge and supply. He said, “ he would “ willingly forget in how high degree some Subjects had been “ disloyal, but never had Prince a Testimony in others of “ more Loyalty than He had had; and however that God, “ for their, and his punishment, had not blessed some of their “ Endeavours, yet, he said, more misguided Persons were at “ last

The Son of the King's Letter to his Son concerning the Treaty.

“ last reduced to their Loyalty, than could in any form be “ exempl'd; and that, by that, Subjects might learn how “ dangerous the neglect of reasonable duty is; and that Men “ cannot easily fix when they please what they have unsuccessfully blaken. The conclusion of the Letter, as it was dated, “ the five and twentieth of *November* (what was added to it after, till the nine and twentieth, was but the additional passages upon the enlargement of time) deserves to be preserv'd in Letters of Gold, and gives the best Character of that excellent Prince; and was in these words.

“ By what hath been said, you see how long We have laboured in the search of Peace: do not You be dishearten'd to read in the same steps: Use all worthy ways to restore your self to your Rights; but prefer the way of Peace: these are the greatness of your mind, if God bless you (and let Us comfort you with that which is our own Comfort, that though Affliction may make us pass under the censures of Men, yet we look upon it so, as if it procure not, by God's Mercy, to Us a Deliverance, it will to You a blessing) rather to conquer your Enemies by pardoning, than punishing. If You saw how unmanly and unchristian the impudible disposition is in our ill-Willers, you would avoid that Spirit: Censure Us not for having parted with so much of our own Right; the price was great, but the commodity was security to Us, Peace to our People: and we were content, another Parliament would remember how useful a King's power is to a People's liberty; of how much thereof We devoted Our self, that We and They might meet once again in a due Parliamentary way, to agree the boards of Prince and People. And in this give belief to our Expectance, never to afflict more Greatness or Prerogative, than that which is really and intrinsically for the Good of Subjects, nor the satisfaction of Favourites. If you thus sit, you will never want means to be a Father to all, and a bountiful Prince to any you would be extraordinary gracious to. You may perceive all Men entrust their Treasure where it returns them Interest; and if Princes, like the Sea, receive, and repay all the fresh streams the River entrails with them, they will not grudge, but pride themselves to make them up an Ocean. These considerations may make You a great a Prince, as your Father is now a low one; and Your State may be so much the more establish'd, as Mine hath been shaken. For our Subjects have learn'd (we dare say) that Victories over their Princes are but Triumphs over themselves; and so will be more unwilling to hearken to changes hereafter. The *Engish* Nation are a sober People, however at present infatuated.

The Conclusion of that Letter in the King's own words.

"We know not but this may be the last time We may speak to you, or the World, publicly: We are forc'd into what hands We are fallen; and yet, We bless God, We have those inward refreshments the Malice of our Enemies cannot perturb. We have learn'd to busy Our self by retiring into Our self; and therefore can the better digest what befalls Us; not doubting but God's Providence will restrain Our Enemies power, and turn their Persecutions to his Praise.

"To conclude, if God gives you Success, use it humbly and far from Revenge. If He restore you to your Right upon hard Conditions, whatever you promise, keep. These Men, who have forced Laws, which they were bound to preserve, will find their Triumphs full of Troubles. Do not think any thing in this World worth the obtaining by foul and unjust means.

"You are the Son of our Love, and as We direct you to weigh what We here recommend to you, so We assure you, We do not more affectionately pray for you (to whom We are a Natural Parent) than We do, that ancient Glory and Renewal of this Nation be not buried in Irrigation and Phanatick Humour, and that all our Subjects (to whom We are a Politick Parent) may have such sober thoughts, as to seek their Peace in the Orthodox profession of the Christian Religion, as was established since the Reformation in this Kingdom, and not in new Revelations; and that the ancient Laws, with the interpretation according to the known practice, may once again be a hedge about Them; that You may in due time govern, and They be govern'd, as in the fear of God; which is the prayer of

"Your very loving Father C. R.

November 25th Nov. 1648.

WHILE the Treaty lasted, it was believ'd that his Majesty might have made his escape; which most Men who wish'd him well, thought in all respects ought to have been attempt'd; and before the Treaty, he himself was inclin'd to it, thinking any Liberty preferable to the restraint he had endured. But he did receive some discouragement from putting that purpose, which both diverted him from it, and gave him great trouble of mind. It cannot be imagin'd how wondrously fearful some Persons in *Prussia* were that he should have made his Escape, and the dread they had of his coming thither; which, without doubt, was not from want of tenderness to his safety, but from the apprehension they had, that the little respect they would have shew'd him there, would have been a greater mortification to him than all that he could

suffer

suffer by the closest imprisonment. And here there was, at that time, no Court in *Cheritenden* so honourably, or generally consulted; that it would have been glad to have seen him; and it might be some reason that they who wish'd him very well, did not wish his Escape, because they believ'd Imprisonment was the worst his worst Enemies intended towards him; since they might that way more reasonably found, and settle their Republican Government; which Men could not so prudently propose to bring to pass by a Murder; which, in the instant, gave the just Title to another who was at liberty to claim his Right, and to dispute it: I say, before the Treaty, and after the Votes and Declarations of no more Addresses, when his Treatment was so barbarous, his Majesty had propos'd to himself to make an Escape, and was very near the perfecting it. He had none about him but such Persons who were plac'd by those who wish'd worst to his Safety, and therefore chose such Instruments as they thought to be of their own Principles. Amongst those there was a young Man, one *Osborne*, by extraction a Gentleman; who was recommended by the Lord *Wharton* (one who deserv'd not to be suspected by *Crosswell* himself) to Colonel *Hammond*, to be plac'd in some near attendance about the King; and he, from the recommendation, never doubting the fitness of the Man, immediately appointed him to wait as Gentleman Usher; which gave him opportunity to be almost always in the presence of the King. This young Man, after some Months attendance, was wrought upon by the dignity of the King's Carriage, and the great Affability he us'd towards those who were always about him, to have a tenderness and loyal Sense of his Sufferings; and did really desire to do him any Service that might be acceptable. By his Office of Gentleman Usher he usually held the King's Gloves when he was at Meat, and first took that opportunity to put a little Billet, in which he express'd his Devotion, into one of the fingers of his Glove. The King was not forward to be credulous of the Professions of a Person he knew so little, and who, he knew, would not be suffer'd to be about him, if he were thought to have those Inclinations. However, after longer observation, and sometimes speaking to him whilst he was walking amongst others in the Garden allow'd for that purpose, his Majesty began to believe that there was sincerity in him; and so frequently put some Memorial into fingers of his Glove, and by the same expedient receiv'd advertisement from him.

THERE was in the Garrison one *Rolph*, a Captain of a Foot Company, whom *Cromwell* plac'd there as a prime Confident, a Fellow of a low Extraction, and very ordinary parts; who,

Q.

who, from a Common Soldier, had been trusted in all the intrigues of the Army, and was one of the Agitators inspired by Cromwell to put any thing into the Soldiers minds, upon whom he had a wonderful Influence, and could not contain himself from speaking maliciously and wickedly against the King, when diffimulation was at the highest amongst the great Officers. This Misch grew into great familiarity with Osborne, and knowing from what Person he came recommended to that Trust, could not doubt but that he was well inclined to any thing that might advance him; and so, according to his custom of reviling the King, he withed ⁴⁴ he were out of the World; for they should never make any Settlement whilst he was alive. He said, he was sure the Army withed him dead, and that Hammond had receiv'd many Letters from the Army to take Him away by Poyle, or any other way; but he said it would never be done in that place; and therefore, if he would joyn with him, they would get Him from thence; and then the work would easily be done. Osborne asked him, "how it could be possible to remove Him from thence, without Hammond's, or the King's own consent? Rolph Answer'd, "that the King might be decey'd from thence, as he was from Hampton Court, by some Letters from his Friends, of some danger that threaten'd him, upon which he would be willing to make an Escape; and then he might easily be dispatched. Osborne shortly found an opportunity to inform the King of all this.

As Arriv'd
to the
King's
Chamber

The King bid him "continue his familiarity with Rolph, and to promise to joyn with him in contriving how his Majesty should make an Escape; and he hoped thereby to make Rolph's Villany the means of getting away. He recommended one of the Common Soldiers to Osborne, "who, he said, he thought, might be trusted; and withed him "to trust one Doucet; whom the King had known before, and who was then plac'd to wait upon him at his back stairs, and was indeed an honest Man; for it was impossible for him to make an Escape, without the privacy of such Persons, who might provide for him, when he was got out of the Castle, as well as help him from thence. Osborne told Rolph, "he was confident he should in the end persuade the King to attempt an Escape, though he yet seem'd jealous and apprehensive of being discover'd, and taken again. Doucet concurr'd very willingly in it, and the Soldier who was chosen by the King, prov'd likewise very honest, and wrought upon one or two of his Companions who us'd to stand Sentinels at the place where the King intended to get out. All things were provided; and the King had a File, and Saw; with which he had

with wonderful trouble, saw'd an Iron Bar in the Window, by which he could be able to get out; and being in this readiness, the Night was appointed, and Osborne at the place where he was to receive the King. But one of the Soldiers inform'd Rolph of more particulars than Osborne had done, by which he concluded that he was false, and directed the Soldier to proceed, and stand Sentinel in the same place to which he had been assign'd; and he, and some others trusted by him, were Arm'd, and stood very near with their Pistols. At midnight the King came to the Window, resolving to go out; but as he was putting himself out, he discern'd more Persons to stand thereabout than us'd to do, and thereupon suspected that there was some discovery made; and so shut the Window, and retired to his Bed. And this was all the ground of a discourse, which then flew abroad, as if the King had got half out at the Window, and could neither draw his Body after, nor get his Head back, and so was compell'd to call out for help; which was a meer fiction.

Rolph acquainted Hammond with what the King had design'd; who presently went into his Chamber, and found the King in his Bed, but the Bar of the Window cut in two, and taken out; by which he concluded his information to be true; and presently seild upon Doucet, but could not apprehend Osborne; who was either fled out of the House, or conceal'd in it that he could not be found. Rolph could not forbear to insult upon Doucet in Prison, and scornfully asked him, "why his King came not forth when he was at the Window? and said, "he was ready with a good Pistol charg'd to have receiv'd him. When Osborne had got into a place of present safety, he writ a Letter to his Patron the Lord Wharton, informing him of the whole matter; and desired him, "to acquaint the House of Peers of the design upon the King's Life, and that he would be ready to appear and justify the Conspiracy. That Lord, after he had kept the Letter some time, sent it to Hammond, as the fittest Person to examine the truth of the Relation. Osborne was not discourag'd with all this; but sent two Letters to the Speakers of both Houses, and inclosed the Letter he had formerly writ to the Lord Wharton. In the House of Commons the information was lighted, and laid aside; but it made more impression upon the House of Peers; who sent, with more than ordinary earnestness, to the Commons, "that Rolph might be sent for, and a Safe-guard for forty days to Osborne to appear, and prosecute.

Rolph brought with him a large Testimonial from Hammond of "his Integrity, and of the many good Services he had done to the State. Osborne appear'd likewise at the Lords

Lords Bar^{ts}, and made good upon Oath all that is before set down, and undertook to produce other Evidence. The House of Commons had no mind to have it examin'd farther, but the clamour of the People was so great, that, after many delays, they Voted^d "that it should be try'd at the General Assizes at Winchester. And thither they sent their well try'd Serpent *Wills*, to be the sole Judge of that Circuit: before whom the Major part of the same Jury that had found Captain *Berley* guilty, was impannell'd for the Tryal of *Ralph Osborne*, and *Doucer*, who upon Bail had liberty to be there, appear'd to make good the Indictment; and, upon their Oath, declared all that *Ralph* had said to them, as is set down before.

The Prisoner, if he may be call'd a Prisoner who was under no restraint, had two Lawyers assign'd to be of Council with him, contrary to the Law and Custom in those Cases; but he needed not to have had any Council but the Judge himself; who told the Jury, "that it was a business of great importance that was before them; and therefore that they should take heed what they did in it: that there was a time indeed when Intentions and Words were Treason, but God forbid it should be so now: how did any body know "but that those two Men, *Osborne* and *Doucer*, would have made away the King, and that *Ralph* charg'd his Pistol to preserve him? or, perhaps they would have carried him away to have engaged them in a second War. He told them, "they were mistaken who did believe the King in Prison; the Parliament did only keep him safe to the shedding of more Blood. Upon these good directions, the Grand Jury found an *Ignoramus* upon the Bill; and this was some little time before the Treaty.

The Commons. WHEN the Commissioners who had treated with the King at the Isle of *Wight*, were return'd to the Parliament, the Report they made took up many days in the House of Commons, what the Resolution was first to be taken; which commonly was final, the Lords rarely presuming to contradict what the others thought fit to determine. The Question upon the whole was

whether the Answer that the King had made to their Propositions, was satisfactory? which was debated with all the Virulence, and Acrimony towards each other, that can fall from Men so possessed as both sides were.

Young St Harry gave had begun the Debate with the highest Insolence, and Provocation; telling them, "that they should that day know and discover, who were their Friends, and who were their Foes; or, that he might speak more plainly, who were the King's Party in the House, and who were for the People; and so proceeded with his usual bitterness against the Person of the King, and the Govern-

John report
of the Treaty
to the
House.

At long
and
short

St Harry
gave
speech
concerning
it.

ment that had been too long Settled; put them in mind, "that they had been diverted from their old settled Resolution and Declaration, that they would make no more Addresses to the King; after which the Kingdom had been govern'd in great Peace, and begun to taste the sweet of that Republican Government which they intended and begun to establish, when, by a Combination between the City of *London* and an ill affected Party in *Scotland*, with some small contemptible Insurrections in *England*, all which were fomented by the City, the Houses had, by clamour and noise, been induced and compell'd to reverse their former Votes and Resolutions, and enter into a Personal Treaty with the King; with whom they had not been able to prevail, notwithstanding the low Condition he was in, to give them any security; but he had still reserv'd a power in himself, or at least to his Posterity, to exercise as Tyrannical a Government as he had done: that all the Insurrections, which had so terrified them, where now totally abolished; and the principal Authors and Abettors of them in their Custody, and ready to be brought to Justice, if they pleas'd to direct, and appoint it: that their Enemies in *Scotland* were reduced, and that Kingdom entirely devoted to a firm and good correspondence with their Brethren, the Parliament of *England*; so that there was nothing wanting, but their own Consent and Resolution, to make themselves the happiest Nation and People in the World; and to that purpose desired, that they might, without any more loss of time, return to their former Resolution of making no more Addresses to the King; but proceed to the settling the Government without him, and to the severe punishment of those who had disturbed their peace and quiet, in such an exemplary manner, as might terrify all other Men for the future from making the like bold attempts; which, he told them, they might see would be most grateful to their Army, which had merited so much from them by the Remonstrance they had so lately publish'd.

This discourse appear'd to be exceedingly disliked, by that kind of Murmur which usually rises how the House stands inclin'd, and by which Men make their judgements there, of the success that is like to be. And his Preface, and Entrance into the Debate, were taken notice of with equal sharpness; and, "his presumption in taking upon himself to divide the House, and to censure their Addresses to the King, as if their sense and judgement should agree, or disagree with his own. One said, "that since he had, without Example, taken so much upon him, he was not to take it ill, if the contrary was assum'd by other Men; and that it was as law-

ful for another Man, who did he was no gainer by the Troubles, to make another Division of the House, and to say, that they should find in the Debate of that day that there were some who were desirous of Peace; and that they were all losers, or, at least, no gainers by the War; and that others were against Peace; and that they by the War had gained large Revenues, and great Sums of Money, and much Wealth; and therefore his Motion was, that the Gainers might contribute to the Losers, if they would not consent that the one might enjoy what was left, and the other possess what they had got, by a Peace that might be happy for both.

The Impression
of the Army
brought to
the House by
the Officers.

WHILE this was debating in the House, which continued several days, six Officers, from the head Quarters of the Army, whether the Army had been brought before, or at the time when the Treaty ended at the Isle of Wight, brought their large Remonstrance to the House; in which they desired, that there might be no farther proceedings upon the Treaty; but that they would return to their former determination of no farther Addresses, and make what hit they could in settling the Government: that the bargaining Proposition on the behalf of Delinquents, which was only upon a Contract with the King, and not in any Judicial way, might be laid aside, and that publick Justice might be done upon the principal Actors in the late Troubles, and that others, upon a true submission, might find Mercy: that a peremptory day might be set, when the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of York, should be required to appear; which if they should not do, they should stand collect as Traitors; and if they should appear, yet they should be bound to make some satisfaction: that an end might be put to this Parliament, and a new Representative chosen of the People, for the governing and preserving the whole Body of the Nation. That no King might be hereafter admitted but upon Election of the People, and as upon trust for the People, who should be likewise limited and restrain'd by the Representatives, with many other impracticable Particulars, which troubled the Parliament the less for their incoherence, and impossibility to be reduced into practice.

The King
take from
Charles
branke
Ca.
He and
had to
C. 10.

BUT that which troubled most, and indeed which awaked them to the most dismal apprehensions, was, that they were advertised, that the King was taken away from *Carisbrooke Castle* by an Officer of the Army, and carried to *Harff Castle*, not far from the other, but Situated on the main Land, and in to vile and unwelcome an Air, that the Common Guards there used to be frequently changed for the preservation of their health. Colonel *Hammond* had, before the expiration of

the Treaty, writ many Letters to the Parliament, to be discharged from that Government, and from the care of the King's Person; and the Officers of the Army seem'd wondrously offended with him for making the demand; and he got himself looked upon as under a Cloud. But the Treaty was no sooner ended (and before the Commissioners began their Report to the House,) but he was discharged of the Trust of the Person of the King, and another Colonel sent to take the Person of the King, and to carry him to *Harff Castle*.

THIS News being brought when they were in the heat of the Debate upon the King's Answer, they gave over that contest, and immediately Voted, that the seizing upon the King's Person, and carrying him Prisoner to *Harff Castle*, was without their advice and consent: which Vote had little contradiction, because no Man would own the Advice. Then they caus'd a Letter to be written to the General, that the Orders and Instructions to Colonel *Essex* (the Officer who had seized the King) were contrary to their Resolutions, and Instructions to Colonel *Hammond*; and therefore, that it was the pleasure of the House, that he should recall those Orders; and that Colonel *Hammond* should again resume the care of the King's Person. But the General, without taking any notice of their Complaint, or of their Command, demanded the payment of the Arrears due to the Army; and told them, that unless there were present Money sent to that purpose, he should be forced to remove the Army, and to draw them nearer to *London*. And at the same time a new Declaration was sent to the House from the Army, in pursuance of their late Remonstrance; which the House refused to take into consideration; and some sturdy Members moved, that the Army might be declared Traitors, if they refused to march nearer *London* than they were at present; and that an impeachment of High Treason might be drawn up against the principal Officers of it. Hereupon the General marches directly for *London*, and Quarters at *White-Hall*; the other Officers, with their Troop, in *Dorset House*, the *Abbot*, *Covent Garden*, *Windsor*, and *St James's*; and for the present necessary, that no inconvenience might fall out, they sent to the City without delay to supply forty thousand pounds, to be immediately issued out to satisfy the Army. Notwithstanding all which monstrous proceedings, the House of Commons retained it's Courage, and were resolute to assert the Treaty; and that the King's Answers were unsatisfactory; or if they were not fully satisfactory, that the House might, and ought to accept thereof, and proceed to the settlement of Peace in Church and State, rather

Vote of the
House of
Commons
thereupon.

Advice
Declaration
of the Army
sent to the
House.

The General
marches for
London.

“than to reject them as unsatisfactory, and thereby continue
“the Kingdom in War and Distraction.

THEY who vehemently pressed this Conclusion, and would
be thought to be for the King, to make themselves popular,
took upon them to make all the Invectives both against the
King, and all the time of his Government, that his bitterest
Enemies could do, only that they might show how much the
concessions he had now granted, had provided Remedies for
all those Evils, and made all the foundation of their former
hope of happiness and peace, to be in the no-power they had
left him in: so that if he should have a mind to continue the
Distractions to morrow, he would find no Body ready ever
to join with him, having at this time sacrificed all his Friends
to the Mercy of their mortal Enemies. In conclusion, and
when they had prosecuted the Debate most part of the Night,
till almost five of the Clock in the Morning, on Monday
Night, they had first put the Question, “whether the Que-
“stion should be put? and carried it by a hundred and fifty
“Voices against one hundred and four: the main Question,
“That the Answer of the King to the Propositions of both
“Houses was a ground for the Houses to proceed upon for the
“settlement of the Peace of the Kingdom, was so clearly
“Voted, that the House was not divided; and that there might
“be no after-days, they appointed a Committee “to confer
“with the General, for the better procuring a good Intelli-
“gence and Correspondence between the Army and the Par-
“liament; and then they Adjourn’d the House to Wednesday
“Morning, it being then near the Morning of Tuesday.

THE Committee that was appointed to confer with the
General, waited, that Afternoon upon him in his Lodging at
White-Hall, that they might be able to give some Account
to the House the next Morning. But they were forced to at-
tend full three hours, before they could be admitted to his
presence; and then he told them fully and superciliously,
“that the way to correspond with the Army, was to com-
“ply with their Remonstrance: and, the next Morning there
“was a Guard of Musketeers placed at the entry into, and door
“of the House, and the Officers thereof having a List in their
“hands of the Names of those who should be restrain’d from
“going into the House, all Those were stopped, one by one, if
“Members so they came, and sent into the Court of Wards, where they
“were kept together for many hours, under a Guard, so that
“the number of near one hundred. Notwithstanding which there
“were so many of the same opinion got into the House, through
“the inadvertency of the Guard, or because they meant only
“to seequer the most notorious and refractory Persons, that
“the Debate, upon returning the same Question, continued very

“*See King's*
“*Answer*
“*ground for*
“*Peace.*

“*Many of the*
“*Members so*
“*they came,*
“*and sent into*
“*the Court of*
“*Wards, where*
“*they were*
“*kept together*
“*for many*
“*hours, under*
“*a Guard, so*
“*that the*
“*number of*
“*near one*
“*hundred.*
“*Notwith-
“*standing*
“*which there*
“*were so*
“*many of the*
“*same*
“*opinion got*
“*into the*
“*House,*
“*through*
“*the*
“*inadvertency*
“*of the*
“*Guard,*
“*or*
“*because*
“*they*
“*meant*
“*only*
“*to seequer*
“*the most*
“*notorious*
“*and*
“*refractory*
“*Persons,*
“*that*
“*the*
“*Debate,*
“*upon*
“*returning*
“*the same*
“*Question,*
“*continued*
“*very*
“*long.**

long; several Members who observ'd the force at the entrance
of the House, and saw their Companions not suffer'd to come
in, complain'd loudly of the Violence and Breach of Privi-
lege, and demanded remedy; but, in vain; the House would
take no notice of it. In the conclusion, after a very long De-
bate, the Major part of those who were present in the House,
Voted the Negative to what had been fetted in the former
Debate, and “that the Answer the King had given to their
“Propositions was not satisfactory.

THOSE Gentlemen who for some hours had been re-
train'd in the Court of Wards, were afterwards led in Tri-
umph through Westminster-Hall (except some few, who were
suffer'd for affliction, or by negligence, to go away) by a
strong Guard, to that place under the Eschequer which is com-
monly call'd *Holl*; where they might eat and drink, at their
own charge, what they pleas'd. And here they were kept in
one Room, till after twelve of the Clock in the Night: after
which hour, in respect of the extreme cold Weather, and the
Age of many of the Members, they were carried to fev-
eral Inns; where they were suffer'd to lodge as Prisoners,
and remain'd under that confinement for two or three days,
in which time, they publish'd a Protestation in Print against
the Proceedings of the House of Commons, declaring “the
“force and violence that had been us'd against them: and
“then the House, with the remaining Members, having deter-
“min'd what they thought fit, most of the other were at liberty
“to do what they pleas'd. No body own'd this Act of Violence
“in the Execution of so many Members; there was no
“Order made for it by the House. Fairface the General knew
nothing of it, and the Guards themselves being ask'd “what
“Authority they had, gave no other Answer “but that they
“had Orders. But afterwards there was a full and clear Order
“of the House, without taking notice of any exclusion, “that
“none of them who had not been present that day when the
“Negative Voice prevail'd, should sit any more in the House,
“before they had first subscribed the same Vote, as agree-
“able to their judgements; which if they subscribed, they
“were as well qualified Members as before. Many of these
“excluded Members, out of Conscience or Indignation, forbore
“coming any more to the House for many years; some, not be-
“cause of the Revolution; others, sooner or later, return'd to
“their old Seats, that they might not be idle when so much business
“was to be done.

THEN the House renew'd their old Votes of no Ad-
dress, and annull'd and made void all those which introduced
the Treaty; and that they might find no more such contra-
diction hereafter, they committed to several Prisons Major
General.

“*The remain-
“ing Members*
“*stay'd in the*
“*Court of*
“*Wards.*

“*That*
“*they were*
“*to be*
“*excluded*
“*if they*
“*did not*
“*subscribe*
“*the*
“*Vote.*

“*That*
“*of*
“*no*
“*Address,*
“*and*
“*annul'd*
“*and*
“*made*
“*void*
“*all*
“*those*
“*which*
“*introduced*
“*the*
“*Treaty;*
“*and*
“*that*
“*they*
“*might*
“*find*
“*no*
“*more*
“*such*
“*contra-*
“*dic-*
“*tion*
“*hereafter,*
“*they*
“*committed*
“*to*
“*several*
“*Prisons*
“*Major*
“*General.*

General Brown (though he was then Sheriff of London) St John clostrary, Sir William Holles, Major General Adolph, and Cominilitary General Copley, who were the most active Members in the Houſe of the Presbyterian Party, and who had all as maliciously advanced the Service of the Parliament in their several Stations againſt the King as any Men of their Rank in the Kingdom, and much more than any Officer of the present Army had then credit to do: of these, Major made his escape, and Transported himself into Holland, and there, according to the natural Modesty of that Sect, presented himself to the Prince, with as much confidence (and as a Sufferer for the King his Father) as if he had defended Colchester.

The Prohibition of the printed Statutes.

THE Prohibition that the secluded Members had published and caused to be Printed, with the Narrative of the violence that had been exercised upon them, and their declaring all Acts to be void which from that time had been done in the Houſe of Commons, made a great noise over the Kingdom, and no less incensed those who remain'd and sat in the Houſe, than it did the Officers of the Army; and therefore, to lessen the credit of it, the Houſe likewise made a Declaration against that Prohibition; and declared it, "as being False, Scandalous, and Seditious, and tending to the destruction of the visible and Fundamental Government of the Kingdom; and to this wonderful Declaration they obtained the concurrence of the small Houſe of Peers, and jointly ordain'd "that that Prohibition should be suppressed, and "that no Man should presume to sell, or buy, or to read the same.

Violent against both Houses.

WHEN they had in this manner master'd all contradiction and opposition, they began more directly to consult what they were to do, as well as what they were Not to do, and to establish some Affirmative conclusions, as they had done Negatives. They were told, "that it was high time to settle some form of Government, under which the Nation was to live; there had been much Treason and Blood spent to recover the liberty of the People, which would be to no purpose if there were not provision made for their secure enjoyment; and there would be always the same attempts made, which had been of late, to disturb and to destroy the publick Peace, if there were not such exemplary penalties inflicted, as might terrify all Men, of what condition soever, from entering upon such desperate Undertakings. They resolv'd to gratify the Army, by taking a view of a Paper formerly digested by them as a model for a new Government, which was call'd *The Agreement of the People*, and for contriving and publishing whereof, one of the Agitators had

had been, by Cromwell's directions, the year before, shot to death, when he found the Parliament was so much offended with it. They declared now, as the most popular thing they could do to please both the People and the Army, "that they would put an end to the Parliament on the last day of April next; and that there should be a Representative of the Nation, consisting of three hundred Persons chosen by the People; of which, for the Term of seven years, no Person who had adher'd to the King, or who should oppose this Agreement, or not subscribe therunto, should be capable of being chosen to be one, or to have a voice in the Election; and that, before that time, and before the Dissolution of the present Parliament, it would be necessary to bring those signal Delinquents, who had lately disturbed the Quiet and Peace of the Kingdom, and put it to so great an expence of Blood and Treasure, to exemplary punishment. And it was with great impudence very vehemently urg'd, "that they ought to begin with Him who had been the cause of all the miseries, and mischiefs, which had befallen the Kingdom, and whom they had already deſtroy'd of all Power and Authority to govern them for the future; and they had had near two years experience, that the Nation might be very happily govern'd without any recourse to him: that they had already declared, and the Houſe of Peers had concurr'd with them, that the King had been the cause of all the Blood which had been spill'd; and therefore, that it was fit that such a Man of Blood should be brought to Justice, "that he might undergo the penalty that was due to his Treason and Murders: that the People expected this at their hands; and that having the principal Malefactor in their power, he might not escape the punishment that was due to him.

HOW near and monstrous sooner this language and discourse was to all English Ears, they found a Major part still to concur with them: so that they appointed a Committee for the present "to prepare a charge of High Treason against the King, which should contain the several Crimes, and Misdemeanours of his Reign; which being made, they would consider of the best way and manner of Proceeding, that might be brought to Justice.

IT is a manner of proceeding in England was so unheard of, that it was very hard for any Body to propose any way to oppose it that might carry with it any hope of success. However, the pain the Prince was in, would not suffer him to retreat without making some effort. He knew too well how far the States of Holland were from willing that success, and honour to the Crown of England, as it had deriv'd from them, and

how much they had always favour'd the Rebellion; that his own presence was in no degree acceptable or grateful to them; and that they were devising all ways how they might be rid of him: yet he believ'd the way they were now upon in *England*, would be to universally odious to all Christians, that no Body of Men would appear to favour it. His Highness therefore sent to the States General, to desire them "to give him "an Audience the next day; and that he would come to the place where they sat; which he did, being met by the whole Body at the bottom of the Stairs, and conducted into the Room where they sat.

THE Prince was attended by four or five of his Council; and when he had said a little to the States of Compline, he deliver'd them to a paper which *Dr. Williams* deliver'd, the King's Resentment there, was to deliver to them. The paper described the ill condition the King his Father was in; and the threats and menaces which his Enemies us'd to proceed against him in such a manner as must be abominated by all Christians, and which would bring the greatest reproach and obliquy upon the Protestant Religion, that ever Christianity had undergone: And therefore desired them, "that they would interpose their credit, and authority, in such a manner as "they thought fit, with the two Houses at *Westminster*, that "instead of such an unlawful and wicked prosecution, they "would enter into Terms of accommodation with his Royal "Father; for the observation whereof his Royal Highness "would become bound.

THE States affirm'd his Highness, "that they were very much afflicted at the condition of the Kings, and would be "had any interposition of theirs might be able to relieve "him; that they would seriously consider in what manner "they might serve him. And, that day, they resolv'd to send an extraordinary Embassadour into *England*, who should repair to the Prince of *Wales*, and receive his Instructions to what Friends of the King's he should resort, and consult with; who, being upon the place, might best inform him to whom to apply himself. And they made choice of *Pearce*, the Postmaster of *Holland*, for their Embassadour; who immediately attended the Prince with the Offer of his Service, and many professions of his desire that his Journey might produce some good Effect.

THE Council that was about the Prince, had looked upon *Pearce* as a Man that had always favour'd the Rebellion in *England*, and as much obstructed all Civilities from the States towards the King, as was possible for him to do; and therefore they were very sorry that He was made choice of for Embassadour in such a fatal conjuncture. But the Prince of *Orange* assur'd

assur'd the Prince, "that he had us'd all his credit to compass that Election; that he was the Wife's Man of their Body; and that neither He, nor any of the rest, who had "deserv'd the *English* Rebellion more than he, ever deserv'd "it should prosper to that degree it had done, as to endanger "the changing the Government; and therefore willed "that "might not appear any distrust of him, but that the Prince "would treat him with confidence, and some of the Council "would confer with him with freedom, upon any particulars "which would be necessary for him to be instructed in. But the wisdom of Angels was not sufficient to give any effectual advice for such a Negotiation, since the States could not be brought so much to interest themselves, as to sit in Menaces to the Parliament as if they would embark themselves in the quarrel. So that the Council could only wish, "that the Embassadour would confer with such of the King's Friends "who were then at *London*, and whose relation had been "most eminent towards his Majesty; and receive advice from "them, how he might most hopefully prevail over particular "Men, and thereby with the Parliament. And to the Embassadour departed for *England*, within less than a week after he was nominated for the Employment.

AT the same time, the Queen of *England*, being struck to the heart with amazement and confusion upon the report of what the Parliament intended, sent a Paper to the Agent who was employed there by the Cardinal to keep a good correspondence; which she oblig'd him to deliver to the Parliament. The Paper contain'd a very passionate lamentation of the sad condition the King her Husband was in; desiring "that they would grant her a Pass to come over to him, offering to use all the credit he had with him, that he might give them satisfaction. However, if they would not give her leave to perform any of those Offices towards the Husband, "lick that they might be permitted to perform the Duty she owed Him, and to be near him in the utmost Extremity. Neither of these Address'd did more than express the Zeal of those who procur'd them to be made: the Embassadour *Pearce* could neither get leave to see the King (which he was endeavour to do, that he might from himself be instructed best what to do) nor be admitted to an Audience by the Parliament, till after the Tragedy was acted: and the Queen's Paper was deliver'd, and never consider'd in order to return any Answer to it.

WHEN the Committee had prepar'd such a Charge, which they call'd "an Impachment of High Treason against *Charles* against the *King* of *England*, digested into several Articles, "which contain'd all those Calumnies they had formerly heap'd

The Prince of Wales States in an Audience with the two Houses.

Their Answer.

His Majesty's Council
1688

heaped up in that Declaration of no more Addresses to be made to him, with some Additional Reproaches, it was read in the House; and, after it was approv'd there, they sent it to the House of Peers for Their concurrence. That House had very little to do from the time that *Cromwell* return'd from *Scotland*, and were few in Number, and us'd to Adjourn for two, or three days together for want of business; so that it was believ'd, that they who had done so many extravagant things, rather than they would dissent from the House of Commons, would likewise concur with them in This, rather than sever from them when they were to triumph. But, contrary to this expectation, when this Impachment was brought up to the Peers, it was so ill receiv'd, that there was not one Person who concurr'd with them; which, considering the Men and what mozt of them had done, might seem very strange.

Rejoic'd by the Lords, who adv. jure's. for a week.

And when they had, with some warmth reject'd it, they Adjourn'd for a week; presuming they should thereby at least give some intimation to that Caese, which the House of Commons was upon, and, in that time, some expedient might be found to reconcile the Proceedings in both Houses. But they were as much deceiv'd in this; the House of Commons was very well pleas'd with it, and thought they had given them ease, which they could not so well have contriv'd for themselves. So they proceeded in their own Method, and when the day came to which the Lords had Adjourn'd their House, they found their doors all lock'd, and fasten'd with Padlocks, that there should then be no access or Entrance for them; nor did any of them ever after sit in that House as Peers above twice or thrice at most, till *Cromwell*, long after, endeavour'd in vain to have erected a House of Peers of his own Creation; in which some of them then very willingly took their places.

The Door of their House lock'd up, so that they could not go in.

THE Charge and Accusation, upon which they resolv'd to proceed against the King, being thus settled and agreed upon, they began to consider in what manner and form to proceed; that there might be some appearance of Justice. Nothing could be found in the Common or Statute-Law, which could direct or warrant them; nor could the Precedent of deposing *Richard* the second (the sole Precedent of that kind) be apply'd to their purpose; for, how foul soever the circumstances precedent had been, he had made a Renunciation of his Royalty before the Lords in Parliament; so that his Deposition proceeded from Himself, and with his own Consent, and would not agree in any particular with the case in question. They were therefore to make a new form or warrant their Proceedings; and a new form they did erect, never before heard of. They consulted and erected a Court that should be call'd *the High Court of Justice*, to consist of

The Commons assemble a High Court of Justice.

“so many Judges, who should have Authority to try the King, “whether he were guilty of what he was accus'd of, or no; “and, in order therunto, to examine such Witnesses as “should be produced: The Number of the Judges named was about an hundred and fifty, whereof the Major part might proceed.

THEY could not have found such a Number yet amongst themselves, after so many barbaries and impieties, upon whom they might depend in this last Tragical Act. And therefore they laid this for a ground; that if they should make only their own Members to be Judges in this case, they might appear in the Eyes of the People to be too much parties, as having from the beginning maintain'd a War, though defensive, as they pretended, against the King, and so not to fit to be the only Judges who were in the fault: On the other hand, if they should name none of themselves, it might be interpret'd that they look'd upon it as too dangerous a Province to engage themselves in, and therefore they had put it off to others; which would discourage others from undertaking it. Wherefore they resolv'd, that the Judges should be nominated promiscuously, as well of Members of the House, as of such other of their Good and Godly Men in the Kingdom. Whosoever would not be one himself when named, as there were yet many amongst them, who, out of Confidence, or of Fear, utterly possted against it, should take upon him to name another Man; which sure he could not but think was equally unlawful: So that few took upon them to nominate others, who would reject the Province themselves.

ALL the Chief Officers of the Army were named, and divers accepted the Office; and such Aldermen and Citizens of *London*, as had been most violent against Peace, and some few Country Gentlemen, whose Zeal had been taken notice of for the Cause, and who were like to take such a Preference as a testimony of the Parliament's Confidence in them, and would thereupon embrace it. When such a Number of Men were nominated as were thought in all respects to be equal to the work, they were to make choice of a Speaker, or Prolocutor, who should be call'd *Lord President* of that High Court, who must manage and govern all the proceedings there, ask the Witnesses all proper Questions, and answer what the Prisoner should propose. And to that Office one *Bradshaw* was chosen, a Lawyer of *Gray's Inn*, not much known in *Westminster* Hall, though of good practice in his Chamber, and much employ'd by the *Faction*. He was a Gentleman of an ancient Family in *Cheshire* and *Lancashire*, but of a Fortune of his own making. He was not without Parts, and of great Intolerance and Ambition. When he was

made Lord President.

first nominated, he seem'd much surpris'd, and very resolute to refuse it; which he did in such a manner, and so much enlarging upon his own want of Abilities to undergo so important a Charge, that it was very evident he had expected to be put to that Apology. And when he was press'd with more importunity than could have been used by chance, he requir'd "time to consider of it; and said, "he would then give his final Answer; which he did, the next day; and with great Humility accepted the Office, which he administer'd with all the Pride, Impudence, and Supercliousness imaginable. He was presently invest'd in great State, and many Officers, and a Guard assign'd for the security of his ^{own office} Person, and the Dean's Houſe at *Windsor* given to him for ever for his residence and habitation, and a good Sum of Money, about five thousand pounds, was appointed to be presently paid to him, to put himself in such an Equipage and way of Living, as the dignity of the Office which he held would require. And now, the Lord President of the High Court of Justice, seem'd to be the greatest Magistrate in *England*. And though it was not thought reasonable to make any such Declaration, yet some of those whose opinions grew quickly into Ordinances, upon several occasions, declar'd, that they believ'd that Office was not to be look'd upon as "necessary *pro hac vice* only, but for continuance; and that "he who executed it, deserv'd to have an ample and a liberal "Estate conferr'd upon him for ever: which fuddain mention and exaltation of Fortune, could not but make a great impression upon a vulgar Spirit, accus'd to no Excess, and acquainted only with a very moderate Fortune. All this being done, they made choice of some Lawyers (till that time very obscure, and Men scarce known or head of in their Profession) to perform the Offices of Attorney General, and Solicitor General for the State, to prosecute the Prisoner at his Trial, and to manage the Evidence against him. Other Officers, of all kinds, were appointed to attend, and perform the several Offices of their new Court; which was order'd to be erected in *Windsor* Hall.

The King was now sent for from *Hereford* Castle, and was receiv'd by Colonel *Harrison* with a strong Party of Horse; ^{to Harrison} *Hereford* Castle by whom he was to be conducted to *Windsor* Castle. *Harrison* was the Son of a Butcher near *Newmarket* in *Cheshire*, and had been bred up in the place of a Clerk under a Lawyer of good Account in those parts; which kind of Education introduces Men into the language and practice of Business, and, if it be not rectified by the great ingenuity of the Person, inclines young Men to more Pride than any other kind of breeding; and disposes them to be Pragmatical and Insolent, though they

they have the Skill to conceal it from their Masters, except they find them (as they are too often) inclin'd to cherish it. When the Rebellion first began, this Man quitted his Master (who had relation to the King's Service, and discharged his Duty faithfully) and put himself into the Parliament Army, where, having first obtain'd the Office of a Cornet, he got up, by diligence and bribery, to the State of a Captain, without any signal notice taken of him till the new model of the Army; when *Cromwell*, who, possibly, had knowledge of him before, found him of a spirit and disposition fit for his Service, much given to Prayer and to Preaching, and, otherwise, of an understanding capable to be trusted in any business; to which his Clerksip contributed very much: And then he was preferr'd very fast; so that, by the time the King was brought to the Army, he had been a Colonel of Horse, and look'd upon as inferior to few, after *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, in the Council of Officers, and in the Government of the Agitators; and there were few Men with whom *Cromwell* more communicated, or upon whom he more depended for the Conduct of any thing committed to him. He receiv'd the King with outward respect, kept himself bare; but attended him with great strictness; and was not to be approached by any Address; answering questions in short and few words, and when importuned, with rudeness. He manifested an apprehension that the King had some thought of making an Escape, and did all things in order to prevent it. Being to lodge at *Windsor*, and so to pass by *Baginbun*, the King express'd a desire to see his little Park at *Baginbun*, and so to dine at the Lodge there, a place where he had used to take much pleasure; and did not dissemble the knowing that the Lord *Newburgh*, who had lately married the Lady *Stoborough*, liv'd there; and said, "he would send a Servant to let that Lady know that he would dine "with her, that the might provide a dinner for him. *Harrison* well knew the Affection of that Lord and Lady, and was very unwilling he should make any stay there; but finding the King so fixt upon it, that he would not be otherwise removed from it than by absolutely refusing him to go thither, he chose to consent, and that his Majesty should send a Servant; which he did the Night before he intended to dine there.

Born Lord and Lady were of known Duty and Affection to the King; the Lady, after her Husband the Lord *Stoborough* had been kill'd at *Edge-hill*, having so far incens'd the Parliament, that she had endured a long Imprisonment, under a suspicion that she had been privy to the design which had been discover'd by *Mr. Waller*, upon which *Tomkins* and *Chadbourne* had been put to death, and had likewise herself been

put to death, if he had not made her Escape to *Oxford*. After the War was ended, he had, with the King's approbation, Married the Lord *Newburgh*, who had the same Afflictions. They had, from the time of the King's being at *Hampton Court*, concerted with his Majesty upon such means, that, in the strictest restraint he was under, they found a way to write to, and to hear from him. And most of the Letters which passed between the King and the Queen, passed through their hands; who had likewise a Cipher with the King, by which they gave him notice of any thing they judged of Importance for him to know. They had given him notice that he would be sent for from *Hart* Castle, and advised him ⁴⁴ to find some way, that he might dine at the Lodge at *Bagshot*; and that ⁴⁴ he should take occasion, if he could, to lame the Horse he ⁴⁴ rode upon, or to find such fault with his going, that he might take another Horse out of the Lord *Newburgh's* Stables to continue the rest of his Journey upon. That Lord much delighted in Horses, and had, at that time, in his Stables one of the bestest that was in *England*; and the purpose was, to mount the King upon that Horse, that, when he found a fit opportunity, he might, upon the suddain, set Spurs to him; and if he could get out of the Company that encompassed him, he might, passibly, by the swiftness of his Horse, and his own skill in the most obscure ways of that Forest, convey himself to another place in their view; and so, three or four good Horses were laid in several places. And this was the reason that the King had so carelessly insisted upon dining at *Bagshot*; which being in his way, and his custom being always to dine, they could not reasonably deny him that liberty.

BEFORE the King came thither, *Harrison* had sent some Horse with an Officer to search the House, and all about the Park, that he might be sure that no Company lurked, which might make some attempt. And the King, all the Morning, found fault with the going of his Horse; and said, ⁴⁴ he would change it, and procure a better. When his Majesty came to the Lodge, he found his dinner ready, but was quickly informed, ⁴⁴ that the Horse so much depended upon, was, the day before, by the blow of another Horse, so lamed, that he could not be of use to the purpose: he was design'd for. And though that Lord had other good Horses, which in such an exigent might be made use of, yet the King had observ'd so great difficulty to be in the attempt all his Journey, when he was encompassed always in the middle of a hundred Horse, the Officers all exceedingly well Horfed, and every Man, Officer, and Soldier, having a Pistol ready spann'd in one hand, that he resolv'd not to pursue that design. And *Harrison*

The King dined at the Lodge at Bagshot, before he was arriv'd at the Key's House, but in haste.

Harrison had already told him, ⁴⁴ that he had provided a better Horse for him; and it was believ'd he would never have permitted him to have made use of one of the Lord *Newburgh's*. So that after having spent three or four hours there, with very much satisfaction to himself, though he was not fill'd to be in any Room without the Company of six or seven Soldiers, who suffer'd little to be spoken, except it was so loud that They could hear it too, he took a sad farewell of them, appearing to have little hope ever to see them again. The Lord *Newburgh* rode some miles into the Forest to wait upon the King, till he was required by *Harrison* to return. His Majesty lodged that night at his Castle of *Windsor*, and was soon after carried to *St James's*. In this Journey, *Harrison* the King observing that the King had always an apprehension that there was a purpose to Murder him, and had once let fall some words of ⁴⁴ the odiousness and wickedness of such an Assassination and Murder, which could never be false to the Person who undertook it, he told him plainly, ⁴⁴ that he need not to entertain any such imagination or apprehension; ⁴⁴ that the Parliament had too much Honour and Justice to cherish so foul an intention; and assured Him, ⁴⁴ that whatever the Parliament resolv'd to do, would be very Publick, and in a way of Justice; to which the World should be Witnesses: and never would endure a thought of secret Violence: which his Majesty could not persuade himself to believe; nor did imagine that they durst ever produce him in the sight of the People, under any form whatsoever of a publick Trial.

It hath been acknowledg'd since by some Officers, and ^{the} several others who were present at the Consultations, that from the ^{the} *consultation* time of the King's being at *Hampton Court*, and after that time, ^{the} *Army* had matter'd both the Parliament and the City, and were weary of having the King with them, and knew not well how to be rid of him, there were many secret Consultations, what to do with him. And it was generally concluded, ^{what to do} that they should never be able to settle their new form of Government, whilst He liv'd; and after he was become a Prisoner in the Isle of *Wight*, they were more solicitous for Resolution and Determination in that particular: and after the Vote of no more Addresses, the most violent Party thought they could do nothing in order to their own ends, till He should be first dead; and therefore, one way or other, that was to be compass'd in the first place. Some were for ^{an} *actual* Deposing him; which could not but be easily brought to pass, since the Parliament would Vote any thing they should be directed: Others were for the taking away his Life by *Poyson*; which would make least noise; or, ⁴⁴ if that could

“ could not be so easily contriv’d, by Affiliation; for which
 “ there were hands enough ready to be employ’d. There was
 “ a Third sort, as violent as either of the others, who press’d
 “ to have him brought to a publick Trial as a Malefactor;
 “ which, they said, “ would be most for the Honour of the
 “ Parliament, and would teachall Kings to know, that they
 “ were accountable, and punishable for the wickedness of their
 “ Lives.

MANY of the Officers were of the first opinion, “ as a
 “ thing they had Precedents for; and that he being once De-
 “ pos’d, they could better settle the Government than if he
 “ were dead; for his Son could pretend no Right whilst he
 “ was alive; whereas, if the Father were dead, he would
 “ presently call himself King, and others would call him so
 “ too; and, it may be, other Kings and Princes would own
 “ him for such. If he were kept alive in a close Prison, he
 “ might afterwards be made use of, or remov’d upon any ap-
 “ pearance of a Revolution.

THERE were as many Officers of the second Judgement,
 “ that he should be presently dispatched. They said, “ it ap-
 “ pear’d by the experience they had, that whilst He was alive
 “ (for a more strict Imprisonment than he had undergone, he
 “ could never be confin’d to) there would be always Plots
 “ and Designs to set him at Liberty; and he would have Paris
 “ throughout the Kingdom; and, in a short time, a Faction
 “ in their most secret Councils, and it may be in the Army it
 “ self; and, where his Liberty would yield so great a Prize, it
 “ would be too great a Trust to repose in any Man, that he
 “ would long resist the Temptation. Whereas, if he were
 “ confessedly dead, all those fears would be over; especially
 “ if they proceeded with that circumspection and severity to-
 “ wards all his Party, as in prudence they ought to do. This
 “ Party might probably have carried it, if *Hennessy* could have
 “ been wrought upon to have concurr’d; but he had yet too
 “ much Conscience to expose himself to that Infamy; and with-
 “ out His privacy or connivance it could not be done.

THE third Party, which were all the Levellers and Agita-
 “ tors of the Army, in the head of which *Ireton* and *Harrold*
 “ were, would not endure either of the other ways; and said,
 “ they could as easily bring him to Justice in the sight of the
 “ Sun, as Depose him; since the Authority of the Parliament
 “ could do one as well as the other. That their Precedent
 “ of Deposing, had no reputation with the People; but was
 “ looked upon as the effect of some potent Faction, which
 “ always oppress’d the People more after, than they had been
 “ before. Besides, those Deposings had always been attended
 “ with Assassinations and Murders, which were the more
 “ odious

“ odious, and detested, because no body own’d and avow’d
 “ the bloody Actions they had done. But if he were brought
 “ to a publick Trial, for the notorious ill things he had done,
 “ and for his Misgovernment, upon the complaint and profes-
 “ sion of the People, the Superiority of the People would
 “ be hereby vindicated and made manifest; and They should
 “ receive the benefit, and be for ever free from those oppres-
 “ sions which he had impos’d upon them, and for which he
 “ ought to pay so dear; and such an exemplary Proceeding
 “ and Execution should be
 “ clear and notorious, would be the best foundation and se-
 “ curity of the Government they intended to establish; and
 “ so Men would be Ambitious to succeed Him, and be a King
 “ in his place, when he saw in what manner he must be ac-
 “ countable to the People. This Argumentation, or the
 “ strength and obliquity of that Party, carried it: and here-
 “ upon, all that formality of proceeding, which afterwards was publicly
 “ exercised, was resolv’d upon and consented to.

WHETHER the incredibility, or monstrousness of such a
 “ kind of proceeding, wrought upon the minds of Men, or whe-
 “ ther the principal Actors took pains, by their Insinuations, to
 “ have it so believ’d, it fell out however that they among
 “ them who wish’d the King best, and stood nearest to the Stage
 “ where these parts were Acted, did not believe that there were
 “ those Horrid Intentions that shortly after appear’d. The
 “ Preachers, who had founded the Trampers loosest to, and
 “ throughout the War, Preached now as furiously against all
 “ wicked Attempts and Violence against the Person of the King,
 “ and foolishly urg’d the obligation of the Covenant (by which
 “ they had involv’d him in all the danger he was in) for the fe-
 “ licity of his Person.

AS SOON as the Prince heard of the King’s being carried
 “ by *Harrold* to *Windsor*, and from thence to *St James’s*, though
 “ he had lately sent a Servant on purpose to see his Majesty,
 “ and to bring him an Account of the State he was in, which
 “ Servant was not permitted to see him, he sent now another with
 “ a Letter to *Fairfax* and the Council of War (for he knew the *Prince*
 “ Parliament had no Authority) in which he told them, “ that
 “ he had no other means to be inform’d of the health and
 “ condition of the King his Royal Father, but by the Com-
 “ mand of the *Prince*, and general Intelligences that arriv’d in those
 “ Parts: He had reason by those to believe, that af- ter the ex-
 “ piration of the Treaty in the life of *Wight* (where he hoped
 “ the foundation for a happy Peace had been laid) his Majesty
 “ had been carried to *Harrold* Castle; and since, by some Officers
 “ of the Army, to *Windsor*, not without purpose of a more
 “ violent prolocution; the rumour whereof, though of “ mon-

included in
 here too
 is not
 equal.

monstrous and incredible a Nature, had called upon his Piety to make this Address to them; who had at this time the power to choose, whether they would raise lasting Arguments to themselves of Loyalty and Piety, by retorning their Sovereign to his just Rights, and their Country to Peace and Happiness, a Glory which had been seldom absolutely vouchsafed to so small a number of Men, or to make themselves the Authors of endless Misery to the Kingdom, by contributing or consenting to an Act which all Christians, into how different opinions forever divided, must abhor as the most inconsistent with the Elements of any Religion, and destructive to the Security and being of any kind of Government: He did therefore earnestly desired conjure them, faithfully to consider the vast and prodigious disproportion in that Election; and then, he said, he could not doubt but that they would choose to do that which is most just, serene, and Honourable for them to do; make themselves the best Instruments to Preserve, Defend, and Restore their King; to whom only their Allegiance was due; by which every one of them might justly promise themselves peace of Conscience, the singular good Will and Favour of his Majesty, the ample thanks and acknowledgement of all good Men, and the particular and unalterable Affection of the Prince himself. This Letter was, with much advantage, deliver'd into the hands of Fairfax himself; but the Messenger could never be admitted to speak with him; nor was there more known, than that it was read in the Council of War, and laid aside.

Which was read in the Council of War, and laid aside.

FROM the time of the King's being come to St James's, when he was deliver'd into the hands and custody of Colonel Trowling, a Colonel of Foot, though the Officer seem'd to be a Man of a better breeding, and of a Nature more Civil than *Harrold*, and pretend'd to pay much Respect and Duty to the King in his outward Demourour, yet his Majesty, after a short time, was treated with more Rudeness and Barbarity than he had ever been before. They were so jealous of their own Guards, lest they should be wrought upon by the influence of this innocent Prince, or by the remors of their own Conscience upon the excesses of so much Barbarity, that they caus'd the Guards to be still changed; and the same Men were never suffer'd twice to perform the same monstrous Duty.

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Which was read in the Council of War, and laid aside.

WHEN He was first brought to Westminster Hall, which was upon the twentieth of *January*, before their High Court of Justice, he looked upon them, and fire down, without any manifestation of trouble, never stirring his Hat; all the important Judges sitting cover'd, and fixing their Eyes upon him

without the least shew of respect. The odious Label, which they call'd a Charge and Impeachment, was then read by the Clerk; which, in effect, contain'd, that he had been admitted King of *England*, and trusted with a limited Power to Govern according to Law; and, by his Oath and Office, was oblig'd to use the Power committed to him for the good and benefit of the People; but that he had, out of a wicked design to erect to himself an illimitated and Tyrannical Power, and to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of the People, Trajterously levied War against the present Parliament, and the People therein represented. And then it mention'd his first appearance at *Toré* with a Guard, then his being at *Beverly*, then his setting up his Standard at *Nottingham*, the day of the Month and the Year in which the Battle had been at *Edge-hill*, and all the other several Battles which had been fought in his Presence; in which, it said, he had caus'd and procur'd many thousands of the Free-born People of the Nation to be slain; that after all his Forces had been defeated, and Himself become a Prisoner, he had, in that very year, caus'd many Injurerections to be made in *England*, and given a Commission to the Prince his Son to raise a new War against the Parliament; whereby many who were in their service, and trusted by them, had revolted, broken their Trust, and betook themselves to the Service of the Prince against the Parliament and the People: that he had been the Author and Contriver of the unnatural, cruel, and bloody Wars; and was therein guilty of all the Treasons, Murders, Rapines, Burnings, and Spoils, Desolations, Damage, and Mischief to the Nation, which had been committed in the said War, or been occasion'd thereby; and that he was therefore impeach'd for the said Treasons and Crimes, on the behalf of the People of *England*, as a Tyrant, Traytor, and Murderer, and a publick implacable Enemy to the Common-wealth of *England*. And it was pray'd, that he might be put to Answer to all the particulars, to the end that such an Examination, Trial, and judgement, might be had thereupon, as should be agreeable to Justice.

WHICH being read, their President *Bradshaw*, after he had insolently reprehended the King for not having shew'd more respect to that High Tribunal, told him, that the Parliament of *England* had appointed that Court to try him for the several Treasons and Misdemeanours, which he had committed against the Kingdom during the civil Administration of his Government; and that, upon the Examination thereof, Justice might be done. And, after a great flourish and impudence of talk, he asked the King, what Answer he had to make to that Impeachment.

The Son of his Charge.

What said the first day of his Trial.

Thus

THE King, without any alteration in his Countenance by all that insolent provocation, told them, "he would first know
 "of them, by what Authority they presumed by force to
 "bring him before them, and who gave them power to judge
 "of his Actions, for which he was accountable to none but
 "God; though they had been always such as he need not be
 "answerable to own them before all the world. He told them,
 "that He was their King, They his Subjects; who owed
 "him Duty and Obedience; that no Parliament had Autho-
 "rity to call him before them; but that They were not the
 "Parliament, nor had any Authority from the Parliament to
 "sit in that manner: That of all the Persons who sat there,
 "and took upon them to judge him, except those Persons
 "who being Officers of the Army he could not but know
 "whill he was forced to be amongst them, there were only
 "two Faces which he had ever seen before, or whose names
 "were known to him. And, after urging "their Duty, that
 "was due to him, and his Superiority over them, by such-like
 "Reasons, and Arguments, as were not capable of any
 "Answer, he concluded, "that he would not so much bend
 "himself, and his Royal Dignity, as to Answer anything they
 "objected against him, which were to acknowledge their
 "Authority, though he believ'd that every one of Them-
 "selves, as well as the Spectators, did, in their own Consci-
 "ences, ascribe him from all the Material things which were
 "objected against him.

BENJAMIN DISHAW advised him, in a very arrogant manner, "not
 "to receive himself with an opinion that any thing he had
 "said would do him any good: that the Parliament knew
 "their own Authority, and would not suffer it to be called in
 "question or debated: therefore required him, "to think be-
 "fore of it, against he should be next brought thither, and that
 "he would Answer directly to his Charge; otherwise he
 "could not be so ignorant, as not to know what Judgement
 "the Law pronounced against those who stood Mute, and ob-
 "stinately refused to plead. So the Guard carried his Majesty
 "back to St James's, where they treated him as before.

THIS was an accident happen'd that first day, which
 "may be fit to be remember'd. When all those who were
 "Commissioners had taken their places, and the King was
 "brought in, the first ceremony was, to read their Commis-
 "sion; which was the Ordinance of Parliament for the Trial
 "and then the Judges were all called, every Man answering to
 "his name as he was called, and the President being first called
 "and making Answer, the next who was called being the Gen-
 "eral, Lord Fairfax, and no Answer being made, the Officer
 "called him the second time, when there was a voice heard

*Dishaw
 to the Court
 to the Lady
 Fairfax the
 General's
 wife.*

that said, "he had more Wit than to be there; which put the
 "Court into some disorder, and some body asking, who it was,
 "there was no other Answer but a little murmuring. But,
 "presently, when the Impeachment was read, and that expression
 "us'd, of "All the good People of England, the same voice
 "in a louder tone, Answer'd, "No, nor the hundredth part
 "of them: upon which, one of the Officers bid the Soldiers
 "give fire into that Box whences those presumptuous words were
 "us'd. But it was quickly discern'd that it was the General's
 "Wife, the Lady Fairfax, who had utter'd both those blasphemous
 "sayings; who was presently perswaded or forced to leave the
 "place, to prevent any new disorder. She was of a very noble
 "family, one of the Daughters and Heirs of *Thomas Lord
 North Tillybury*; who, having been bred in *Holland*, had not
 "that reverence for the Church of England, as she ought to
 "have had, and so had unhappily concurr'd in her Husband's
 "course into Rebellion, never imagining what misery it would
 "bring upon the Kingdom; and now abhor'd the work in hand
 "as much as any Body could do, and did all she could to hinder
 "her Husband from acting any part in it. Nor did he ever
 "sit in that bloody Court, though he was throughout over-
 "saw'd by *Cromwell*, and made a property to bring that to pass
 "which could very hardly have been otherwise effected.

As there was in many Persons present at that woeful Spec-
 "tacle a real Duty and Compassion for the King, so there was
 "in others far barbarous and brutal a behaviour towards him,
 "that they call'd him Tyrant, and Murderer; and one spit in
 "his Face; which his Majesty, without expelling any trouble,
 "wiped off with his Handkerchief.

THIS two Men who were only known to the King before *St James's*
 "the Troubles, were *St Harry Aldmay*, Master of the King's *Play and Dr-*
 "essel House, who had been bred up in the Court, being *John Dru-*
 "youngster Brother of a good Family in *Essex*, and who had been *the son*
 "professed with to great Favours and Bounties by King *James*, the King
 "and by his Majesty, that he was rais'd by them to a great *some before*
 "Estate, and prefer'd to that Office in his House, which is the
 "best under those which entitle the Officers to be of the privy
 "Council. No Man more obsequious to the Court than He,
 "whill it flourish'd; a great flatterer of all Persons in Autho-
 "rity, and a Spy in all places for them. From the beginning
 "of the Parliaments, he concurr'd with those who were most
 "violent against the Court, and most like to prevail against it;
 "and being thereupon branded with ingratitude, as that brand
 "commonly makes Men most impudent, he continued his de-
 "fective pace with them, till he became one of the Murderers
 "of his Master. The other was *St John Danvers*, the younger
 "Brother and Heir of the Earl of *Danby*, who was a Gentleman
 "of

of the Privy Chamber to the King, and being neglected by his Brother, and having, by a vain Expence in his way of living, contracted a vast debt, which he knew not how to pay, and being a proud formal weak Man, between being seduced and a Scourge, became so far involv'd in their Castles that he usur'd himself to be applied to their worst Offices, taking it to be a high honour to sit upon the same Bench with *Cromwell*, who employ'd and contemn'd him at once; nor did that Party of Micreans, look upon any two Men in the Kingdom with that scorn and detestation as they did upon *Dunovers* and *Atkinsay*.

A Summary
going over
the rest of the
King's Tri-
al.

THIS several unheard of insensibilities which this excellent Prince was forced to submit to, at the other times he was brought before that odious Judicatory, his Majestick behaviour, and refore infusing upon his own dignity, and defending it by manick Authorities in the Law, as well as by the clearest deductions from Reason, the pronouncing that horrible sentence upon the most innocent Person in the world, the Execution of that Sentence by the most execrable Murder that was ever committed since that of our Blestid Saviour; and the circumstances thereof; the Application and Interposition that was used by some noble Persons to prevent that woful Murder, and the hypocrisy with which that interposition was eluded, the Saint-like behaviour of that Blestid Martyr, and his Christian courage and patience at his death, are all particulars so well known, and have been so much enlarged upon in a Treatise peculiarly writ to that purpose, that the farther mentioning it in this place would but sildit and grieve the Reader, and make the Relation it self odious as well as needless; and therefore no more shall be said here of that deplorable Tragedy, so much to the dishonour of the Nation, and the Religion professed by it, though undesirably.

His Character.

BUT it will not be unnecessary to add a short Character of his Person, that Posterity may know the inestimable loss which the Nation then underwent, in being depriv'd of a Prince whose example would have had a greater influence upon the manners, and piety of the Nation, than the most strict Laws can have. To speak first of his private Qualifications as a Man, before the mention of his Princely and Royal Virtues; He was, if ever any, the most worthy of the title of an Honest Man; so great a lover of Justice, that no temptation could dispose him to a wrongful Action, except it were so disguised to him that he believ'd it to be just. He had a tenderness and compassion of Nature, which restrain'd him from ever doing a hard-hearted thing; and therefore he was so apt to grant pardon to Malefactors, that the Judges of the Law, represented to him the damage and insecurity to the Publick,

that flow'd from such his Indulgence. And then he restrain'd himself from pardoning either Murders, or High way Robberies, and quickly discern'd the fruits of his severity by a wonderful Reformation of those Enormities. He was very punctual and regular in his Devotions; he was never known to enter upon his Recreations or Sports, though never so early in the Morning, before he had been at Publick Prayers; so that on Hunting days his Chaplains were bound to a very early Attendance. He was likewise very strict in observing the hours of his private Cabinet Devotion; and was to be seen an exdior of gravity and reverence in all mention of Religion, that he could never endure any light or profane word, with what sharpness of Wit soever it was cover'd; and though he was well pleas'd, and delighted with reading Verses made upon any occasion, no Man durst bring before him any thing that was profane or unclean. That kind of Wit had never any Countenance then. He was so great an Example of Conjugal Affection, that they who did not imitate him in that particular, durst not brag of their Liberty; and he did not only permit, but direct his Bishops, to prosecute those scandalous Vices, in the Ecclesiastick Courts, against Persons of eminence, and near Relation to his Service.

His Devot-
ion.

His Conju-
gal Affec-
tion.

HIS Kingly Virtues had some mixture and alloy, that hindred them from shining in full Lustre, and from producing those Fruits they should have been attend'd with. He was not in his Nature very bountiful, though he gave very much. This appear'd more after the Duke of *Buckingham's* death, so full, that which those shewes tell very rarely; and he pass'd too long in giving, which made those to whom he gave, less sensible of the benefit. He kept state to the full, which made his Court very orderly; no Man presuming to be seen in his place where he had no pretence to be. He was, and observ'd Men long, before he receiv'd them about his Person; and did not love Strangers, nor very confident Men. He was a patient hearer of Causes; which he frequently accusom'd himself to receive at the Council Board; and judg'd very well, and was dextrous in the mediating part; so that he often put an end to Causes by perswasion, which the stubbornness of Men's humours made dilatory in Courts of Justice.

HE was very fearless in his Person; but, in his riper years, not very Encouraging. He had an excellent understanding, but was not consistent enough of it; which made him often times change his own opinion for a worse, and follow the advice of Men that did not judge so well as himself. This made him more irresolute than the conjuncture of his Affairs would admit: if he had been of a rougher and more impetuous Nature, he would have found more respect and Dury. And

his not applying some severe cures to approaching Evil, proceeded from the Lenity of his Nature, and the tenderness of his Conscience, which, in all cases of Blood, made him choose the softer way, and not hearken to severe Councils, how reasonably foever urg'd. This only restrain'd him from pursuing his advantage in the first Scotch Expedition, which, humbly speaking, he might have reduced that Nation to the most entire obedience that could have been wish'd. But no Man can say he had then many who advis'd him to it, but the contrary, by a wonderful indisposition all his Council had to the War, or any other Fatigue. He was always a great Lover of the Scotch Nation, having not only been born there, but educated by that People, and beseged by them always, having few English about him till he was King; and the major number of his Servants being still of that Nation, who he thought could never fail him. And among these, no Man had such an Accession over him, by the humblest insinuations, as Duke Hamilton had.

As he excelled in all other Virtues, so in Temperance he was so strict, that he abhor'd all Debauchery to that degree, that, at a great Festival Solemnity, where he once was, when very many of the Nobility of the English and Scots were entertain'd, being told by one who withdrew from thence, what vast draughts of Wine they drank, and that there was one Earl, who had drank most of the rest down, and was not himself mov'd or alter'd, the King said, "that he desir'd to be hang'd; and that he durst come shortly aske into the Room where his Majesty was, in some gayety, to show how unbut he was from that Battle, the King sent one to bid him withdraw from his Majesty's Presence; nor did he in some days after appear before him.

So many miraculous Circumstances contributed to his Ruine, that Men might well think that Heaven and Earth conspired it. Though he was, from the first Declension of his Power, so much betrayed by his own Servants, that there were very few who remain'd faithful to him, yet that Treachery proceeded not always from any Treasonable purpose to do him any harm, but from particular, and personal Antimonies against other Men. And afterwards, the terror all Men were under of the Parliament, and the guilt they were conscious of themselves, made them watch all opportunities to make themselves gracious to those who could do them good; and so they became spies upon their Master, and from one piece of knavery were harden'd and confirm'd to undertake another; till at last they had no hope of preservation but by the Destruction of their Master. And after all this, when a Man might reasonably believe that less than a universal Defection

of three Nations, could not have reduced a great King to so ugly a fate, it is most certain, that, in that very hour when he was thus wickedly Murder'd in the sight of the Sun, he had as great a share in the Hearts and Afflictions of his Subjects in general, as was much below'd, esteem'd, and longed for by the People in general of the three Nations, as any of his Predecessors had ever been. To conclude, He was the worthiest Gentleman, the best Master, the best Friend, the best Husband, the best Father, and the best Christian, that the Age in which he liv'd produced. And if he were not the greatest King, if he were without some Parts and Qualities which have made some Kings great and happy, no other Prince was ever unhappy who was possess'd of half his Virtues and Endowments, and so much without any kind of Vice.

THIS unparalleled Murder and Parricide was committed upon the thirteenth of January, in the Year, according to the Account used in England, 1648, in the forty and sixth year of his Age, and when he had such excellent health, and so great Vigour of Body, that when his Murderers caus'd him to be open'd (which they did; and were some of them present at it with great curiosity) they confest, and declared, that no Man had ever all his vital parts so perfect and unhar't: and that he seem'd to be of so admirable a composition and constitution, that he would probably have liv'd as long as nature could subsist. His Body was immediately carried into a Room at White-Hall; where he was exposted for many days to the publick view, that all Men might know that he was not alive. And he was then imbalmd, and put into a Coffin, and so carried to St James's; where he likewise remain'd several days. They who were qualis'd to order his Funeral, declared, that he should be buried at Windsor in a decent manner, provided that the whole Expence should not exceed five hundred pounds. The Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earls of Southampton and Lindsey, who had been of his Bed-Chamber, and always very faithful to him, desir'd those that govern'd, that they might have leave to perform the last duty to their dead Master, and so wait upon him to his Grave; which, after some pauses, they were permitted to do, with this, that they should not attend the Corps out of the Town; since they resolv'd it should be privately carried to Windsor without Pomp or noise, and then they should have timely notice, that if they pleas'd, they might be at its interment. And accordingly it was committed to four of those Servants, who had been by them appointed to wait upon him during his Imprisonment, that they should convey the Body to Windsor; which they did. And it was, that Night, placed in that Chamber which had

usually been his Bed Chamber; the next Morning, it was carried into the great Hall, where it remain'd till the Lords came; who arriv'd there in the Afternoon, and immediately went to Colonel *Widdriss*, the Governour of the Castle, and view'd the Order they had from the Parliament to be present at the Burial; which he admittid; but when they desired that his Majesty might be Buried according to the Form of the Common-Prayer Book, the Bishop of *London* being present with them to Oppose, he positively and roughly refused to consent to it; and said, "it was not Lawful; that the Common-Prayer Book was put down, and he would not suffer it to be used in that Garrison where He Commanded; nor could all the Reasons, Persuasions, and Entreaties, prevail with him to suffer it. Then they went into the Church, to make choice of a place for Burial. But when they enter'd into it, which they had been so well acquainted with, they found it to alter'd and transform'd, all Inscriptions, and those Land-Marks pulled down, by which all Men knew every particular place in That Church, and such a dismal mutation over the whole, that they knew not where they were: nor was there one Old Officer that had belonged to it, or knew where our Princes had us'd to be inter'd. At last there was a Fellow of the Town who undertook to tell them the place, where, he said, "there was a Vault, in which King *Henry* the Eighth, and Queen *Jane Seymour* were inter'd. As near that place as could conveniently be, they cauld the Grave to be made: There the King's Body was laid without any words, or other Ceremonies than the tears and sighs of the few beholders: Upon the Coffin was a plate of Silver set with these words only, King *Charles* 1648. When the Coffin was put in, the black Velvet Pall that had cover'd it was thrown over it, and then the Earth thrown in; in which the Governour stay'd to see perfectly done, and then took the Keys of the Church.

I HAVE been the longer, and the more particular in this relation, that I may from thence take occasion to mention what fell out long after, and which admittid a Subject of much discourse; in which, according to the several humours and fancies of Men, they who were in nearest Credit and Trust about the King, underwent many very severe Censures and Reproaches, not without reflection upon the King himself. Upon the Return of King *Charles* the Second with so much Congratulation, and universal Joy of the People, above ten Years after the Murder of his Father, it was generally expected that the Body should be remov'd from that obscure Burial, and, with such Ceremony as should be thought fit, should be solemnly deposited with his Royal Ancestors in King *Henry* the Seventh's Chapel in the Collegiate Church of

Westminster. And the King himself intended nothing more, and spoke often of it, as if it were only deferr'd till some Circumstances and Ceremonies in the doing it might be adjust'd. But, by degrees, the discourse of it was diminish'd, as if it were totally laid aside upon some reasons of State, and ground whereof several Men quess'd at according to their fancies, and thereupon call those Reproaches upon the States-men as they thought reasonable, when the reasons which were suggest'd by their own imaginations, did not satisfy their understanding. For the satisfaction and information of all Men, I chosse in this place to explain that matter; which, it may be, is not known to many; and at that time was not, for many reasons, thought fit to be published. The Duke of *Richmond* died in a short time after, and was seldom out of his Lodging, after his Majesty came to *White-Hall*: the Earl of *Southampton* and the Earl of *Lindsay* went to *Windsor*, and took with them such of their own Servants as had attend'd them in that Service, and as many others as they remember'd had been then present, and were still alive; who all amounted to a small Number; there being, at the time of the late great disturbances us'd in admitting any to be present whose Names were not included in the Order which the Lords had brought. In a word, the confusion they had at that time observ'd to be in that Church, and the small alterations which were begun to be made towards Decency, so totally perplexed their Memories, that they could not satisfy themselves in what place, or part of the Church the Royal Body was to be inter'd: Yes, were any concurr'd upon this, or that place, they caus'd the ground to be open'd at a good distance, and, upon such Enquiries, found no Cause to believe that they were near the place: And, upon their giving this Account to the King, the thought of that remove was laid aside; and the reason communicated to very few, for the better discouraging farther inquiry.

THOUGH this wicked and abominable Action had to a degree satisfi'd their Malice, it had not enough provid'd for their Ambition or Security. They had no longer freed themselves from one, than another King was grown up in his place. And besides the old Royal Party, which continued still vigorous, notwithstanding their loss of so much Blood, and (which weakens almost as much) of so great Estates, they did apprehend that there were in the vast number of the gentry (who quietly look'd upon the removal of the old, whom they had so grievously offended) who would yet be very willing to submit, and be obedient to the new King; who was us'd to find more Friends abroad, as well as at home, than his

his Father had done. And therefore they made haft to prevent this threatening evil, by publishing a Proclamation, <sup>Proclama-
tion against
the Cardinal</sup> that no Person whatsoever should presume to declare *Charles* <sup>son of Wales,
or any other Person, to be King, or Chief Ma-
gistrate of England, or Ireland, or of any Dominions be-
longing thereto, by colour of Inheritance, Succession,
Election, or any other Claim whatsoever; and that who-
ever, contrary to this Act, presume to proclaim &c.
should be deemed and adjudged a Traitor, and suffer ac-
cordingly.</sup>

In the next place, that their Infant Republic might be Nurtur'd, Cherish'd, and brought up by those only who had gotten and brought it forth, they resolv'd to take away and abolish the House of Peers, and Voted, <sup>The Com-
mons abolish
the House
of Peers.</sup> that they would make no farther Addresses to the House of Lords, nor receive any more from them: That the House of Peers in Parliament, was useless and dangerous; and that an Act should be brought in for abolishing it: That the Privilege of <sup>Peers of being freed from Arrests, should be declared null
& void; and all which was done within few days. However, they declared, that the Peers should have the Privilege to
be elected Knights, or Burgesses; of which gracious Con-
cession some of them took the benefit soon after, and sat
upon their Election into vacant places, in the House of
Commons.</sup>

THESE remain'd yet another provision to be made against their own Ambition; for it was well known, that there were yet amongst them many who were not equally fond of a Common-wealth; and therefore they declared, <sup>that it had
been found by experience, that the Office of a King in this
Nation, or to have the Power thereof in any single Person,
was unnecessary, burthensome, and dangerous to the Liberty
and Safety, and Publick Interest of the Nation; and there-
fore that it should be utterly abolished; and to that purpose
an Act should be forthwith prepared: which was likewise
done, and pass'd. And by this Triple Cord they believ'd
their Republick would be strongly compacted, and sufficiently
provided for.</sup>

THEIR new Great Seal was by this time ready; wherein was Engraven, on one side, the Armes of England and Ireland, with this Inscription, *The Great Seal of England; and on the other side the Portraiture of the House of Commons Sitting, circumscrib'd, In the fifth Year of Freedom by Gods blessing refer'd, 1648.* The Custody of this Great Seal was committed to three Lawyers, whereof one had fate among the King's Judges, and the others had contributed too much to
their

their Service. All things being now in this good Order, they sent for their Judges, to agree upon the formality and circumstances of Proceedings. For it was declared by the Parliament, that they were fully resolv'd to maintain, and uphold the Fundamental Laws of the Nation, in order to the preservation of the Lives, Property, and Liberty of the People, notwithstanding all the alterations made in the Government for the good of the People: And the Writs were no more to run in the King's Name, as they had always done, but the Name, Style, and Title, to be *Cassides Libertatis Anglie, Autoritate Parliamenti.* If it were not a thing to mortally known, it could not be believ'd, that of twelve Judges, whereof ten were of their own making, and the other two had quietly submitted, from the beginning of the War, to the Authority that govern'd, six laid down their places, and could not give themselves leave to accept Commission from the new Establish'd Power. So again and fantastical a thing is the Conscience of Men who have once departed from the Rule of Conscience, in hope to be permitted to adhere to it again upon a less pressing occasion.

It will be requisite, at least it may not be unfit, to retell and make a pause in this place, to take a view, with what Countenance the Kings and Princes of *Christendome* had their Eyes fix'd upon this sad and bloody Spectacle; how they looked upon that issue of Blood, at which their own seem'd to be prodigally pour'd out; with what conclamation their Hearts labour'd to see the Impious Hans of the lowell and basest Subjects scorching in the Bowells, and recking Blood of their Sovereign; a Brother King, the Anointed of the Lord, dismember'd as a Malefactor; what Combination, and Union was enter'd into, to take vengeance upon those Monarchs, and to vindicate the Royal Blood thus wickedly spill'd. Alas! there was scarce a murmur amongst any of them at it; but, as if they had been all called upon in the Language of the Prophet *Isaiab, Go, ye Jews Messengers, to a Nation scattered, and perdid, to a People terrible from the beginning of the world, to a Nation mist out, and tradid down, whose Land the Rivers have fill'd,* they made haile, and sent over, that they might get shares in the Spoils of a Murdered Monarch.

CARDINAL *Manarin*, who, in the Infancy of the French King, managed that Secret, had long adored the Countess of *Comwall*, and sought his Friendship by a lower and vile application than was suitable to the Purple of a Cardinal, sent now to be admitted as a Merchant to traffick in the purchase of the rich Goods and Jewels of the rifed Crown, of which he purchas'd the rich Beds, Hangings, and Carpets, which he furnish'd his Palace at *Paris.* The King of *Spain* had, from
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the beginning of the Rebellion, kept *Don Alonso de Cardenas*, who had been his Embassador to the King, residing still at *London*; and He had, upon several occasions, many Audiences from the Parliament, and several Treaties on foot; and soon as this dismal Murder was over, that Embassador, who had always a great malignity towards the King, bought as many Pictures, and other precious Goods appertaining to the Crown, as, being lent in Ships to the *Couronne in Spain*, were carried from thence to *Madrid* upon eighteen Mules. *Christina* Queen of *Sweden* purchased the choice of all the Metals, and Jewels, and some Pictures of a great price, and receiv'd the Parliament's Agent with great Joy, and Pomp, and made an Alliance with them. The Arch Duke *Leopold*, who was Governour of *Flanders*, disburs'd a great Sum of Money for many of the best Pictures, which adorn'd the several Palaces of the King; which were all brought to him to *Brussels*, and from thence carried by him into *Germany*. In this manner did the Neighbour Princes joyn to assist *Cromwell* with very great Sums of Money, whereby he was enabled to prosecute, and finally his wicked Victory over what yet remain'd unconquer'd, and to extinguish Monarchy in this renown'd Kingdom; whilst they enrich'd and adorn'd themselves with the Ruins and Spoils of the surviving Heir, without applying any part thereof to his Relief, in the greatest necessities which ever King was subject to. And that which is stranger than all this (since most Men, by recovering their Fortunes, use to recover most of what they were before robb'd of, many who joyn'd in the Robbery pretending that they took care to preserve it for the true Owner) not one of all these Princes ever restor'd any of their unlawful purchases to the King, after his blessed Restoration.

WHILEST these perfidious wretches had their hands fill'd with the precious Blood of their Sovereign, they were put upon a new piece of Butchery, as necessary to the Establishment of their new Tyranny. The King was no sooner dead, but they declared, as hath been said, "that from this time *England* should be govern'd as a Common-wealth by the Parliament; that is, by that handful of Men, who by their Willdom and Power had wrought this wonderful alteration. And because the number of those appear'd very small, and the number of those they had excluded was visible, they made an Orier and Declaration, "that as many of the Members who had been excluded, as would under their hands approve all that had been done during the time they were excluded, should return to their Seats in the House without any prejudice for the future. Hereupon divers went again into the House, satisfying themselves that they were not guilty

guilty of the Innocent Royal Blood that had been spilt; and to their number increased. They had made a new Great Seal, as hath been said, and call'd the Commissioners, who were entrusted with the keeping thereof, *The Keepers of the Liberties of England*. And the Court of King's Bench they call'd the *Upper Bench*, and appointed certain Persons to consider of such alterations as were necessary to be made in the Laws of *England*, in regard of so important a mutation. That they might have some obligation of Obedience from their Subjects for the future, who had broken all the former Oaths which they had taken, a new Oath was prepared and established, which they call'd an *Engagement*; the form whereof was, that every Man should swear, "that he would be true and faithful to the Government established without King, or House of Peers: and whosoever refused to take that Engagement should be incapable of holding any Place, or Office in Church or State. The necessity of taking which Oath did not only exclude all of the Royal Party, but freed them from very many who had Offices in Church and State, who, being of the Presbyterian Party, durst not sacrifice their beloved Covenant to this new Engagement. And so they fill'd many considerable Places both in the one, and the other, with Men thoughtly prepared for their Service. But before they could model and finish all this, and whilst it was preparing, they had, in several parts of the Kingdom, terrify'd the People with Blood Spectacles, in the executing many of the Persons who had been taken. And that all hopes and pretences might be taken away from their Subjects, the Peers of *England*, that they should hereafter have any thing to do in declaring what the fundamental-Laws of the Land were, a new High Court of Justice was appointed to sit for the Trial of Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, the Earl of *Norwich*, the Lord *Cuppes*, and another Gentleman, one *St. John Owen* (who, having been heretofore a Colonel in the King's Army, had, in a late Insurrection in *Wales*, killed the High Sheriff) that they should see there should hereafter be no more distinction of Quality in Trials for Life, but that the greatest Lord and the Commonest should undergo the same Judiciary, and form of Trial. Nor could it be thought unreasonable, that all the Comotions of the Crown should be determin'd by that jurisdiction to which the Crown itself had been subjected.

DUKE *Hamilton* could not well be thought other than a Prisoner of *War*, and so not liable to a Trial for his Life. He had attempted to make an Escape; in which he had so well succeeded, that he was out of his Enemies hands full three days; but, being impatient to be at a greater distance from them, he was apprehended as he was taking Horse in

Southwark;

Southwark; and carried Prisoner into the Tower; from whence he was brought, with the others, before that High Court of Justice. He insisted upon, "the Right and Privilege of the Kingdom of Scotland; that it had not the least Dependence upon the Kingdom of England, but was entirely Govern'd by its own Laws: that He, being a Subject of that Kingdom, was bound to obey the Commands thereof; and the Parliament of that Kingdom having thought it necessary to raise an Army for the relief of their King, and constituted Him General of that Army, it was not lawful for him to refuse the Command thereof; and whatever misfortune he had undergone with it, he could not be understood to be liable to any punishment but what a Prisoner of War was bound to undergo. He was told, "that the Rights and Laws of the Kingdom of Scotland were not called in Question, nor could be violated by Their proceedings against Him, who was a Subject of England; against which he was charged with Rebellion and Treason: that they did not proceed against him as Duke Hamilton of Scotland, but as Earl of Cambridge in England, and they would judge him as such. The Earl of Holland was not at that time in good disposition of Health, and so Answer'd little, as a Man that would rather receive his life by their favour, than from the strength of his defence. The Earl of Newcastle behaved himself with great submission to the Court, and with all those Addresses as were most like to reconcile his Judges to him, and to prevail upon their Affections: spoke of "his being bred up in the Court; from his Cradle, in the time of Queen Elizabeth; of his having been a Servant to King James all his Reign; and of his dependence upon Prince Henry, afterwards, upon the late King; of the obligations he has to the Crown, and of his Endeavours to serve it; and concluded as a Man that would be beholding to them if they would give him leave to live.

The Lord Capel.

The Lord Capel appear'd undaunted, and utterly refused to submit to their jurisdiction; "that in the condition and capacity of a Soldier and a Prisoner of War, he said, the Lawyers and Gown-men had nothing to do with him, and therefore he would not Answer to any thing which they had said against him (Steel having treated him with great rudeness and insolence) but insisted upon "the Law of Nations, which exempted all Prisoners, though submitting to Mercy, from death, if it was not inflicted within forty days; which were long since expired. He urg'd "the Declaration which Fairfax the General had made to Him, and the rest of the Prisoners, after the death of *St Charles Luers* and *St George Lisle*, that no other of their Lives should be

in danger, which he had Witness'd ready to prove, if they might be admitted; and concluded, "that, if he had committed any Offence worthy of death, he might be tried by his Peers; which was his Right by the Laws of the Land; and late as one of his Judges, denied "that the General had made any such promise; and if he had, that the Parliament's Authority could not be restrain'd thereby; and put him in mind of his Carriage at that time, and how much he neglected then the General's civility. The other indicted him on the promise; and urg'd "that the General might be sent for, and examin'd; which they knew not how to deny, but, in regard of his indisposition of Health, they said "they would send to him, whillt they proceeded against *St John Owen*, who was the other Prisoner.

He Answer'd them without any application, "that he was a plain Gentleman of Wales, who had been always taught Owen, to obey the King; that he had serv'd him homely during the War, and hindring afterwards that many honest Men en- deavour'd to raise Forces, whereby they might get him out of Prison, He did the like; and the High Sheriff en- deavour'd to oppose him, and to chance to be kill'd; which he might have avoided if he had staid at home: and concluded like a Man that did not much care what they resolv'd concerning him.

WHETHER the Question was well stated to Fairfax, or what was else said to him to dissuade him from owning his Declaration and promise, he boggl'd so much in his Answer, that they could be of opinion, "that he had not made such direct and positive promise; and that the same was never transmitted to the Parliament; which it ought to have been; and that, at most, it could but exempt those Prisoners from being tried before a Court, or Council of War, and could not be understood as an obligation upon the Parliament, not to give direction to such a legal Proceeding against them, as they should find necessary for the Peace, and Safety of the Kingdom. The President Bradshaw told the Lord Capel, with many insolent expressions, "that he was tried before such Judges as the Parliament thought fit to assign him; and who had judg'd a better Man than himself. So the Sentence of death was pronounced against all five of *St John Owen* them, "that they should lose their heads; upon which *St John Owen* made a low reverence, and gave them humble thanks, and being asked by a Stander by, "what he meant? he said aloud, "it was a very great honour to a poor Gentleman of Wales to lose his head with such noble Lords; and swore a great Oath, "that he was afraid they would have hang'd him.

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THE Prisoners were all carried to *St James's*; where they were to remain till their Execution two days after; where some of their Friends, and Relations, had to endeavour to preserve their lives by the Power and Authority of the Parliament; where there were so many fitting who had not taken judgement upon them, and who were of several Afflictions, and liable to several temptations, that there might be a reasonable hope to rescue them from the cruel and unjust Judgements. Their Wives, and Children, and Friends, left no way untried to prevail; offer'd, and gave Money to some who were willing to receive it, and made promises accordingly. But they who had the greatest credit, and most power to terrify others who should displease them, were incombable; yet dealt so much more honestly than the rest, that they declared to the Ladies, who solicited for their Husbands and their Fathers, that they would not endeavour to do them Service. *Irenus*, above all Men, continued his in violent and dogged humour, and told them, "If He had credit, they should all dye Others, who gave better Words, had no better Meaning than he.

ALL their Petitions were read in order, being penn'd in such Styles as the Friends, who solicited for them, were advised. Duke *Hampton's* Petition being read, many, upon the motives of Justice, and as they imagined his death might be the occasion of new Troubles between the two Nations, since *Scotland* could not but resent it, would have been willing he should live. But he had fewer Friends to his Person than any of the rest; and *Cromwell* knew well that his being out of the way would not be unacceptable to them upon whom the Peace of that Kingdom depended: so that when his Petition was read, it was rejected by very much the Major part of Voices. The consideration of the Earl of *Holland* took up a long Debate: the Interest and Interposition of the Earl of *Warwick*, his Brother, was apply'd; and every Presbyterian, to a Man, was solicitous to preserve him. They urg'd "his merit towards the Parliament in the beginning of the Troubles; how much he had suffer'd in the Court for his Affection to them; his Age, and Infirmities, which would not suffer him long to enjoy that Life they should give him; and the consideration of his Wife, and Children, which were numerous. But these Arguments stir'd up others, to inveigh against his backslidings with the more bitterness, and to undervalue the Services he had ever done; to tax his Vanities, and his breach of Faith. When the Question was put concerning him, they who were for the Negative, exceeded the number of the other by three or four Voices; *Cromwell* having more than an ordinary Animosity against him, for his behaviour

behaviour in the beginning of the Summer, and for some words of neglect and contempt he had let fall concerning himself. The Earl of *Northwich* came next upon the Stage; who having always liv'd a cheerful and jovial Life, without contrasting many Enemies, had many there who wish'd him well, and few who had Animosity against him; so that when the Question was put concerning him, the House was equally divided, the Votes which reject'd his Petition, and those which would preserve his Life, were equal: so that his Life or Death depended upon the single Vote of the Speaker; who told the House, "that he had receiv'd many obligations from that Lord; and that once when he had been like to have incur'd the King's displeasure, by some misinformation, which would have been very penal to him, the Lord *Goring* (under which Style he was treated, the additional of *Northwich* not being allow'd by them upon their old Role) "had by his Credit prefer'd him, and remov'd the Prejudice that was against him; and therefore he was oblig'd in gratitude to give his Vote for the saving him. By this good fortune he came to be prefer'd; whether the ground of it were true or no, or whether the Speaker made it only as an excuse for saving any Man's Life who was put to ask it in that place.

THE Lord *Capel*, shortly after he was brought Prisoner to the Tower from *Windsor* Castle, had by a wonderful adventure, having a Cord and all things necessary convey'd to him, let himself down out of the Window of his Chamber at the Night, over the Wall of the Tower; and had been directed through what part of the Ditch he might be best able to wade. Whether he found the right place; or whether there was no safer place, he found the Water and the Mud so deep, that, if he had not been by the head taller than other Men, he must have perished; since the Water came up to his Chin. The way was so long to the other side, and the fatigue of drawing himself out of so much Mud so intolerable, that his Spirits were near spent, and he was once ready to call out for help, as thinking it better to be carried back again to the Prison, than to be found in such a place, from whence he could not extricate himself, and where he was ready to expire. But it pleas'd God, that he got at last to the other side; where his Friends expected him; and carried him to a Chamber in the Temple; where he remain'd two or three Nights secure from any discovery, notwithstanding the diligence that could not but be us'd to recover a Man they design'd to use no better. After two or three days a Friend whom he trusted much, and who deserv'd to be trusted, conceiving that he might be more secure in a place to which

there was less resort, and where there were for many hours who were every day sought after, had provided a Lodging for him in a private House in *Lambeth Marsh*; and calling upon him in an evening, when it was dark, to go thither, they chose rather to take any Boat they found ready at the Temple Stairs, than to trust one of that People with the secret; and it was so late that there was one only Boat left there. In that the Lord *Capel* (as well dignify'd as he thought necessary) and his Friend, put themselves, and bid the Water-man row them to *Lambeth*. Whether, in their passage thither, the other Gentleman call'd him *my Lord*, as was confidently reported, or whether the Water-man had any jealousy by observing what he thought was a disguise, when they were landed, the wicked Water-man, undiscern'd, follow'd them, till he saw into what House they went; and then went to an Officer, and demanded, "what he would give him to bring him to the place where the *Lord Capel* lay? And the Officer promising to give him ten pounds, he led him presently to the House, where that excellent Person was seized upon, and the next day carried to the Tower.

WHEN the Petition, that his Wife had deliver'd, was read, many Gentlemen spoke on his behalf; and mention'd the great Virtus which were in him; and "that he had never deceiv'd them, or pretended to be of their Party; but always resolutely declar'd himself for the King: and *Cromwell*, who had known him very well, spoke so much good of him, and profess'd to have so much kindness and regard for him, that all Men thought he was now safe, when he concluded, "that his Affection to the Publick so much weigh'd down his private Friendship, that he could not but tell them, that the Question was now, whether they would preserve the most bitter and most implacable Enemy they had: that he knew the *Lord Capel* very well, and knew that he would be the last Man in *England* that would forsake the Royal Interest; that he had great Courage, Industry, and Generosity; that he had many Friends who would always adhere to him; and that as long as he liv'd, what condition soever he was in, he would be a thorn in their sides; and therefore, for the good of the Common-wealth, he should give his Vote against the Petition. *Iretson's* Hired was Immortal: he spoke of him, and against him, as if of a Man of whom he was heartily afraid. Very many were sway'd by the Argument that had been urg'd against *Duke Hamilton*, "that God was not pleas'd that he should escape, because He had put him into their hands again, when he was at liberty. And so, after a long Debate, though there was not a Man who had not a value for him, and very few

who had a particular Malice, or Prejudice towards him, the Question being put, the Negative was mov'd by three or four Votes: So that, of the four Lords, there were without the Mercy of that Unmerciful People. There being no other Petition presented, *Iretson* told them, "there had been great Endeavours and Solicitation us'd to save all those Lords; but that there was a Commoner, another condemn'd Person, for whom no one Man had spoke a word, nor had he himself so much as Petition'd them; and therefore he desired, that *St John Oxen*, might be prefer'd by the meer Motive, and goodness of the House itself; which found little opposition, whether they were faint'd with Blood, or that they were willing, by this Instance, that the Nobility should see that a Commoner should be prefer'd before them.

A SCAFFOLD was erected before *Westminster* Hall, and all the Prisoners condemn'd were brought from *St James's* (as well the two who were receiv'd, as the three who were to suffer) upon the ninth of *March*, that was at the end of the year 1648, a little more than a Month after the Murder of the King, to *St Thomas Cotton's* House, at the upper end of *Westminster* Hall; where they were suffer'd to repose themselves about the space of an hour, and then were led successively through the Hall to the Scaffold, *Duke Hamilton* being first; ^{John} *St John Oxen* who seem'd yet to have some hope of a Reprieve, and made motions to some Bay in the Hall, till the Earl of *Denbigh* came to him; ^{headed} *March* 9. and, after a short whisper, in which he found there was no hope, he ascend'd the Scaffold. He complain'd much of his injustice that was done him; and that he was put to death for obeying the Laws of his Country; which if he had not done, he must have been put to death there. He acknowledged the Obligations he had to the King, and seem'd not sorry for the gratitude he had express'd, how dearsoever it cost him. His natural darkness, and relevation in his discourse, made him to be thought a Wise man, and his having been in Command under the King of *Sweden*, and his continual encounters of Battles, and Fortifications, made him be thought a great Soldier. And both these mistakes were the Cause that made him be looked upon as a worse and a more dangerous Man, than in truth he deserv'd to be.

THE Earl of *Holland* was brought next, who, by his long sickness, was so spent, that his Spirits serv'd not to entertain the People with long discourse. He spoke of his Relinquishing a Son, as a matter unquestionable, by the Education he had receiv'd in the Religious Family of which he was a branch: which was thought a strange discourse for a dying Man, who, though a Son, knew enough of the iniquity of his Father's House, which should rather have been buried in silence, than, by

by such an uncomfutable Testimony, have been revived in the memory and discourse of Men. He took more care to be thought a good friend to Parliaments, than a good Servant; his Master, and was thought to say too little of his having failed so much in his Duty to him, which most good Men believ'd to be the Source from whence his present calamity sprung. He was a very well bred Man, and a fine Gentleman in good times; but too much desir'd to enjoy ease and plenty, when the King could have neither; and did think Poverty the most insupportable evil that could befall any Man in this world. He was then so weak that he could not have liv'd long; and when his head was cut off, very little blood follow'd.

The Lord Capel. THE Lord Capel was then called; who walked through Westminster Hall, saluting such of his Friends and Acquaintance as he saw there, with a very ferre Countenance, accompanied with his Friend Dr. Morley; who had been with him from the time of his Sentence; but, at the foot of the Scaffold, the Soldiers stopping the Dr. his Lordship took his leave of him; and embracing him, thanked him; and said, he should go no farther, having some apprehension that he might receive some affront by that noise People after his death; the Chaplains who attended the two other Lords, being Men of the time, and the Dr being well known to be most contrary.

AS SOON as his Lordship had ascended the Scaffold, he looked very vigorously about, and asked, "whether the other Lords had spoken to the People with their Hats on?" and "being told, that they were bare; he gave his Hat to his Servant, and then with a clear and a strong voice, he said, "that he was brought thither to dye for doing that which he could not repent of; that he had been born, and bred under the Government of a King whom he was bound in Conscience to obey; under Laws, to which he had been always obedient; and in the bottom of a Church, which he thought to be the bell in the world: that he had never violated his Faith to either of those, and was now condemn'd to dye against all the Lawg of the Land; to which Sentence he did submit.

He enlarg'd himself in commending "the great Virtue and Piety of the King, whom they had put to death; who was so just and so merciful a Prince; and pray'd to God, to forgive the Nation that innocent Blood. Then he recommended to them the present King; who, he told them, was their true and their lawful Sovereign; and was worthy to be so: that he had the Honour to have been some years near his Person, and therefore he could not but know him well; and assured them, "that he was a Prince of great un-

derstanding, of an excellent Nature, of great Courage, an entire Lover of Justice, and of exemplary Piety: that he was not to be shaken in his Religion; and had all those Princely Virtues, which could make a Nation happy: and therefore advis'd them "to submit to his Government; as the only means to preserve themselves, their posterity, and the Protestant Religion. And having, with great vehemence, recommended it to them, after some prayers very devoutly pronounced upon his Knees, he submitted himself, with an unparalleled Christian Courage, to the fatal stroke, which depriv'd the Nation of the noblest Champion it had.

He was a Man in whom the Malice of his Enemies could not discover very few faults, and whom his Friends could not with better accomplished; whom Cromwell's own Character well described; and who indeed would never have been contented to have liv'd under that Government. His Memory all Men loved and revered, though few follow'd his Example. He had always liv'd in a State of great plenty and general estimation, having a very noble Fortune of his own by descent, and a fair Addition to it by his Marriage with an excellent Wife, a Lady of very worthy Extraction, of great Virtue and Beauty, by whom he had a numerous Issue of both Sexes, in which he took great Joy and Comfort: so that no Man was more happy in all his Domestick Affairs; and he was so much the more happy, in that he thought himself most blest in them.

AND yet the King's Honour was no sooner violated, and his just power invaded, than he threw all those blessings behind him; and having no other obligations to the Crown, than those which his own Honour and Conscience suggest'd to him, he frankly engag'd his Person and his Fortune from the beginning of the Trouble, as many others did, in all Actions and Enterprises of the greatest hazard and dangers; and continued to the end, without ever making one false step, as few others did, though he had once, by the iniquity of a Faction, that then prevail'd, an indignity put upon him that might have excus'd him for some remission of his former warmth. But it made no other impression upon him, than to be quiet and contented, whilst they would let him alone, and, with the same cheerfulness, to obey the first Summons when he was call'd out; which was quickly after. In a word, he was a Man, that whoever shall, after him, deserve both of the English Nation, he can never think himself undervalued, when he shall hear, that his Courage, Virtue, and Fidelity, is bid in the Balance with, and compar'd to that of the Lord Capel.

So ended the year one thousand six hundred forty eight. The Council a year of Reproach and Infamy above all years which had been since the first year 1648.

passed before it; a year of the height d simulation and hypocrisy, of the deepest Villainy and most bloody Treasons, that any Nation was ever curf'd with, or under: a year, in which the Memory of all the Transactions ought to be rais'd out of all Records, left, by the success of it, Atheism, Infidelity, and Rebellion, should be propagated in the world: a year, of which We may say, as the Historian said of the time of *Dimitrius*, *Sicut vetus ætas vidit, quid ultimam in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitate*; or, as the same Writer says of a time not altogether so wicked, *si habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facturus auderent pati, plures velent, minus paterentur.*

THE END OF THE ELEVENTH BOOK

THE

THE
History of the Rebellion, &c.

BOOK XII.

2 Chron. xxviii. 10.

And now ye purpose to keep under the Children of Judah and Jerusalem for bond-men and bond-women unto you: but are there not with you, even with you, Sins against the Lord your God?

Isa. xxix. 10.

For the Lord hath poured out upon you the Spirit of deep sleep, and hath closed your eyes: the Prophets and your Rulers, the Seers hath he covered.

WHILST these Tragedies were acting in ^{the young} England, and Ordinances form'd, as hath ^{King's com-} been said, to make it penal in the highest ^{degree} degree for any Man to assume the Title of King, or to acknowledge any Man to be so, the King himself remain'd in a very disconsolate Condition at the *Hague*. Though he had known the desperate state his Father was long in, yet the barbarous stroke so surpris'd him, that he was in all the Confusion imaginable, and all about him were almost bereft of their understanding. The truth is, it can hardly be conceiv'd, with what a consternation this terrible News was receiv'd by all, even by the Common People of that Country. There was a Woman at the *Hague*, of the middling Rank, who, being with Child, with the Horror of the mention of it, fell into Trance, and in it died. There could not be more Evidence of a general detestation, than there was, amongst all Men of what Quality

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foever. Within two or three days, which they gave to the King's recollection, the States presented themselves in a Body to his Majesty, to condole with him for the Murder of his Father, in terms of great Sorrow, save that there was no bitterness enough against the Rebels and Murderers. The States of *Holland*, apart, perform'd the same Civility towards his Majesty; and the Body of the Clergy, in a Latin Oration, deliver'd by the Chief Preacher of the *Hague*, lamented the Misfortune, in terms of as much alperity, and detestation of the Actors, as unworthy the name of Christians, as could be expressed.

The desperate of the King's Condition, could not excuse the sinking under the Burthen of his Grief: but those who were about him besought him to refuse so much Courage as was necessary for his present State. He thereupon caus'd those of his Father's Council who had attended him, to be remov'd from his Privy Council, adding only Mr *Lang* his Secretary; who, before, was not of the Council. All which was done before he heard from the Queen his Mother; who, notwithstanding the great Agony she was in, which without doubt was as great a passion of Sorrow as she was able to sustain, wrote to the King, "that he could not do better, than to repair into *France* as soon as was possible, and, in the mean time, desired him, not to swear any Persons to be of his Council, till she could speak with him. Whether it was, that she did not think those Persons to be enough at her Devotion; or that she would have them receive that Honour upon her recommendation.

The King himself had no mind to go into *France*, where he thought he had not been treated with excess of Courtesy; and he resolv'd to perform all Filial respect towards the Queen his Mother, without such a condemnation and resignation of himself, as she expected; and to avoid all Eclaircissements upon that Subject, he heartily desired that any other Course might be found more Consensible than that he should go into *France*. He himself liv'd with, and upon the Prince of *Orange*; who supplied him with all things necessary for his own Person, for his Mourning, and the like: but towards any other support for himself and his Family, his Majesty had not enough to maintain them one day; and there were very few of them who could maintain themselves in the most private way; and it was visible enough, that they should not be long able to reside in the *Hague*; where there was, at that very time, an Agent for the Parliament, *Strickland*; who had been there some years, but pretended then to reside there with his Wife (who was born in *Holland* of English Parents) and without any publick Character, though he was fill under the

same Credentials. And their Advertisements from *London* assur'd them, that the Parliament had nominated one, who was presently to be sent as their Ambassador, or Envoy to the States, to give them an Account of their Affairs, and to invite them to enter into an Alliance with them. So that it wastime to think of some other Retreat for the King; and none appear'd then so feasible in their view, as *Ireland*; from whence they heard, "that Prince *Royce* was arriv'd in the King's City at *Knobole* with the Fleet: that the Lord *Inchiquin* had made a Cessation with the *Irish*, before the Lord Lieutenant came thither; and the *Irish* had deferted the Pope's Nuncio, who was driven away, and had Embarked himself for *France*: that the Marquis of *Ormond* was receiv'd by the Lord *Inchiquin* with all the Obedience imaginable, by which he became entirely possess'd of the whole Province of *Munster*; and that the Confederate Roman Catholics had invited him to *Kilkenny*; where he had made a full Peace with them: so that they were preparing an Army to march under his Command against *Dublin*. This News made them hope, that every day would improve it so much, that it would be fit for the King to Transport his own Person thither in the Spring.

In this conjuncture there arriv'd a Gentleman, one *St-Joseph Douglas*, with a Letter from the Privy Council of *Scotland*, by which they sent his Majesty word that they had proclaim'd him King of *Scotland*; and sent him the Proclamation; and wili'd "that he would prepare himself to repair into that his Kingdom; in order to which they would speedily send another Invitation to him. And that Invitation arriv'd at the same time with some Commissioners deputed by the Council, and three or four Preachers sent from the Commissioners of the Kirk. The Proclamation indeed declar'd, "For that as much as the late King was, contrary to the Dissent and Proclamation of that Kingdom, remov'd by a violent death, that, by the Lord's Blessing, there was left unto them a righteous Heir, and lawful Successor, *Charles* &c. who was become their true and lawful King; but upon condition of "his good behaviour, and strict observance of the Covenant, and his entertaining no other Persons about him but such as were Godly Men, and faithful to that obligation. A Proclamation so strangely worded, that, though it call'd him their King, manifested enough to him, that he was to be subject to Their determinations, in all the parts of his Government. And the Commissioners, both Laity and Clergy, spok'e no other Language; and saving that they bow'd their Bodies; and made low Reverences, they appear'd more like Ambassadors

The States
condole with
him.

The new
Council
form'd.

The Queen's
first Message
to him.

equally concern'd in the honour of the Nation, to prosecute an high Expostulation with those of *England*, for the breach of Faith, and the Promises which had been made for the safety, and preservation of the King's Person, at the time he was deliver'd up; and therefore propos'd, "that Commissioners "should be forthwith sent to the Parliament at *London*, to require the performance of what they had promised, and to "enter their defenses, and protestation against all their Breaches against their King, in the Name of the Kingdom "of *Scotland*. And the Earl of *Lothian*, and two others, who were known to be most zealous for the Covenant, and most estrag'd and incens'd against the proceedings of the Army, and not subject to the examination and persual of so many, were made choice of, and presently sent away, that they might make all possible haste to *Westminster*, and were, immediately upon their Arrival, to demand permission to wait upon the King, wherever he should be, and to receive from him such farther directions, as he should judge necessary for his service.

THUS far *Argyle* could not oppose; and therefore was as zealous as any Man to advance it; knowing that the particular Instructions must be prepar'd by a less number of Men, and not subject to the examination and persual of so many. And in those, he was sure to prevent any inconvenient Powers to be granted to the Commissioners, with whom he had Credit enough, having made the Earl of *Lothian* Secretary of State, in the place of the Earl of *Larwick*, and the other two being (however solicitous for the due observation of the Covenant, as he himself likewise pretended to be) known to be most averse from the *Hamiltonian* Party. Their private Instructions were, "that they should not, in their enlargements and aggravations upon the subject of their Message, seem to take "notice, or to imply, that any violence had been us'd against "the Parliament, or any Member of it: That they should be "so libert in their expostulations, that they gave no occasion of offence: That nothing should fall from them justifying the "King's Proceedings, nor in approbation of the late Engagements, or which might import a breach, or give, or be "ground of a new War: They should urge, that the Parliament would delay to meddle with the King's Person, according to their several Promises, and Declarations at *New-Castle*, and at *Edinburgh*. That if they should proceed to sentence "against the King, then they were to enter their dissent and "protest, that this Kingdom may be free from the Miseries "which will inevitably follow, without offering in their reasons, that Princes are exempted from Trial and Justice: "That none in the Parliament of *Scotland* hath, or had any "hand in the proceedings against the King, or Members of "Parliament

Their private Instructions from Argyle's Party.

"Parliament in *England*. If they proceed, then to their "Calumnies that will follow, and how grievous it must be to "the Kingdom of *Scotland*, considering his being deliver'd up "at *New-Castle*: That if the Papers which were intitul'd *The Agreement of the People*, appear'd to be countenanced, and "should import any thing concerning the Proceeding of the "Prince, or changing the Fundamental Government of the "Kingdom, they should enter their dissent: That they should "alter those their Instructions, and manage their Trust therein, according to the advice they should receive from their "Friends there: That they should prosecute their Instructions concerning the Covenant, and against any Toleration: That they should shew, that the King's last Concessions were unsatisfactory to those Propositions which they had made in "point of Religion.

THESE were their private Instructions; and who those Friends at *London* were, by whose advice they were to alter their Instructions, or manage their Trust therein, can be understood of no other Men but *Cromwell*, and young *St. Harry Vane*; with whom *Argyle* held close Correspondence. The Commissioners observ'd their Instructions very faithfully, and after the King had been twice brought before the High Court of Justice, they gave in their very calm Protestation; in which they put them in mind, "that they had, near three Weeks "before, represented to them what Endeavours had been us'd "for taking away the King's Life, and for the change of the "fundamental Government of the Kingdom, and introducing "a sinful and ungodly Toleration in matters of Religion; and "that therein they had express'd their thoughts, and fears of "the dangerous Consequences, that might follow thereupon; "and that they had also earnestly protest'd, that there might be "no farther proceeding against his Majesty's Person, which "would certainly continue the great distractions of the Kingdom, and involve them in many Evils, Troubles, and Confusions; but that, by the free Counsels of both Houses of Parliament of *England*, and with the advice and consent of "the Parliament of *Scotland*, such course might be taken in "relation to the King, as might be for the good and happiness of both Kingdoms; both having an unquestionable, and undeniable right in his Person, as King of both; which "duly consider'd, they had reason to hope, that it would have "given a stop to all farther proceedings against his Majesty's Person. But now understanding that after the Imprisonment, and Exclusion of divers Members of the House of Commons, and without, and against the consent of the House of "Peers, by a single Act of their own, and Their's alone, "power was given to certain Persons of their own Members,

of

of the Army, and some others, to proceed against his Majesty's Person, in order whereunto he had been brought before that extraordinary new Court; they did therefore in the Name of the Parliament of *Scotland*, for their vindication from false Aspersions and Calumnies, declare, that though they were not satisfied with his Majesty's late Concessions, in the Treaty at *Newport*, in the Isle of *Wight*, especially in the matters of Religion, and were resolv'd not to crave his Restoration to his Government, before satisfaction should be given by him to that Kingdom; yet they did all unanimously with one voice, not one Member excepted, disclaim the least knowledge of, or occasion to the late Proceedings of the Army here against the King; and did sincerely profess that it would be a great grief to their Hearts, and lie heavy upon their Spirits, if they should see the trusting his Majesty's Person to the two Houses of the Parliament of *England* to be made use of to his ruin, contrary to the declared Intentions of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and solemn Professions of the Kingdom of *England*. And to the end that it might be manifest to the World, how much they did abominate and detest fo'ward a design against his Majesty's Person, they did, in the Name of the Parliament and Kingdom of *Scotland*, declare their dissent from the said Proceedings, and the taking away of his Majesty's Life; protesting, that as they were altogether free from the same, so they might be free from all the Miseries, evil Consequences, and Calumnies, that might follow thereupon to the distracted Kingdoms.

Whoever considers the wariness in the wording, and timing this Protestation, the best end whereof could be no other than the keeping the King always in Prison, and so governing without him in both Kingdoms (which was thought to have been the purpose and agreement of *Cromwell* and *Argyle* when they parted) must conclude that both the Commissioners, and they who sent them, labour'd and consider'd more, what they were to say in the future, than what they were to do to prevent the present Mischief they seem'd to apprehend. And the Parliament best knew their temper, when they deserv'd taking notice of their Protestation, till after they had executed their execrable Villainy; and then they sent them an Answer that might suit with all their Parties. They said, "they had heretofore told them, what power this Nation had in the Fundamentals of Government: That if *Scotland* had not the same Power and Liberty, as they were not about to confine them, so they would not be limited by them, but leaving them to act in Thems as they should see cause, they resolv'd to maintain their own Liberties."

The Parliament
sent after
the King's
Message, and
went not
about to
confine them,
but leaving
them to act
in Thems as
they should
see cause,
they resolv'd
to maintain
their own
Liberties."

as heretofore God should enable them. And as they were very far from imposing upon them, so they should not willingly suffer impositions from them, whilst God gave them strength or lives to oppose them. They said, "the Answer they made to their first and second Letter was, that after a long and serious Deliberation of their own intrinsic Power, and Trust deriv'd to them by the Providence of God, through the delegation of the People) and upon the like considerations of what themselves, and the whole Nation had suffer'd from the Misgovernment, and Tyranny of that King, both in Peace, and by the Wars, and considering, how fruitless, and full of danger and prejudice the many Addresses to him for Peace had been, and being Conscious how much they had provoked and tempted God, by the neglect of the imperial execution of Justice, in relation to the innocent Blood spilt and mischief done in the late Wars, they had proceeded in such a course of Justice against that Man of Blood, as they doubted not the just God (who is no respecter of Persons) did approve and would countenance with his blessings upon the Nation; and though perhaps they might meet with many difficulties before their Liberties and Peace were restor'd, yet they hoped they should be prefer'd from Confusion, by the good Will of him who dwelt in the bush, which burn'd, and was not consumed; and that the course they had taken with the late King, and meant to follow towards others the Capital Enemies of the Peace, was, they hoped, that which would be for the good and happiness of both Nations; of which if that of *Scotland* would think to make use, and vindicate their own Liberty and Freedom (which lay before them, if they gave them not away) they would be ready to give them all Neighbourly and Friendly Assistance in the establishing thereof; and desired them to take it into their most serious consideration, before they espous'd that quarrel, which could bring them no other advantage than the entailing upon Them, and their Posterities, a lasting War, with all the Miseries which attend'd it, and Slavery under a Tyrant and his issue."

It cannot be denied, but that *Scotland* had by this a fair Invitation to have made themselves a poor Republick, under the Shelter and Protection of the other, that was already become terrible. But the Commissioners, who well knew how unsuitable such a change would be to the constitution of their Government, and that they might be welcome to their own Country, whither they were now to repair, made a reply to this Answer with more Courage than they had yet express'd; for which, notwithstanding their Qualification, they were imprison'd.

The Marquis
of Argyll
slog the All
roy of his
King with
clans for
the Crow-
nant.

prison'd by the Parliament; and, upon new Instance from

Scotland, let at liberty afterwards

MATTERS being reduced to this State, the Marquis of

Argyll could not hinder the new King's being acknowledged,

and proclaimed King, nor from being invited home; which

since he could not obstruct, it would be his Master-piece to

bring the Proclamation it self with such conditions as might

terrify the new King from accepting the invitation; and there-

fore he caud this Clause to be inserted in the Body of the

Proclamation it self, "because his Majesty is bound, by the

Law of God and the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom,

to rule in Righteousness and Equity to the Honour of God,

and of the good of Religion, and the Wealth of the People;

"it is hereby declared, that before he be admitted to the Ex-

ercise of his Royal Power, he shall give satisfaction to his

Kingdom in those things which concern the security of Re-

ligion, the Unity betwixt the Kingdoms, and the good and

Peace of this Kingdom, according to the National Covenant

and Solemn League and Covenant; for which end, they were

resolv'd, with all possible Expedition, to make their humble

and earnest Address to his Majesty.

It was the Proclamation that *St. Japhé Douglas* brought

to the *Hague*, and the Subject upon which the Commissioners

were to invite his Majesty to go for *Scotland*, whose Intra-

ctions were very suitable to the Proclamation: and at the

same time when the Commissioners came from thence, *Mil-*

lleton, and some other Officers, who had been in their last

Army, hearing that the Prince was proclaim'd King, thought

it was feasible to put themselves into a posture to serve him

upon his arrival; and so assembled some of those Troops

which had formerly serv'd under them in the North of *Scot-*

land; whereupon *Darid Laflay* was appointed forthwith, with

a Party of Horse and Foot, against those Royalists, whom

they knew to be real Assertors of his Cause, without any other

interest or design than of their performing their Duties, as

Loyal Subjects ought to do: and the Kirk at the same time

declared, "that, before the King should be receiv'd, albeit

they had declared his Right by Succession, he should first

sign the Covenant, submit to the Kirk's Censure, renounce

the Sins of his Father's House, and the iniquity of his Mo-

ther, with other things of the like Nature. All which In-

formation arriv'd at the same time with the Commissioners,

that they who were about the King, might not be too much

Exalted with their Master's being declared King of one of his

three Kingdoms. And it was very manifest, by all that pass'd

then and afterwards, that the Marquis of Argyll meant only

to satisfy the People, in declaring that they had a King, with-

out which they could not be satisfied, but that such condi-
tions should be put upon him, as he knew, he would not fab-
ricate; and so he should be able, with the concurrence of
the Kirk, to Govern the Kingdom, till, by Cromwell's assistance
and advice, he might reverse that little approach he had made
towards Monarchy by Proclaiming a King.

It was a great Misfortune to the King, and which always follows in
the King's
attends Courts which labour under great wants and necessities, the
that, whilst the greatest Union imaginable amongst the few reform'd
Friends he had was necessary, and of too little Power to buoy
him up from the distresses which overwhelm'd him, there was
yet so great a Faction, and Animosity amongst them, that de-
fer'd any the most probable design that could offer it self;
as it now fell out with reference to *Scotland*, which, if united,
might yet be able to give Reputation at least, if not a vigorous
Assistance to the King's Interest.

The Marquis of *Montrose*, who hath been mention'd by the Marquis
before, had been oblig'd by the late King to lay down his Arms;
and after he had perform'd such wonderful Actions in *Scot-*
land, and left that Kingdom upon his Majesty's first coming
into the *Scottish* Army to *New-Castle*, had first arriv'd in *France*,
and had not such a Reception from the Queen of *England*,
and those who were in credit with her, as he thought the
notable Services he had perform'd for the King had merited.

The truth is, he was somewhat elated with the great Actions
he had done; which, upon his first coming to *Paris*, he caus'd
to be published in a full Relation in Latin, dedicated to the
Prince of *Wales*; in which, as his own Person, Courage, and
Conduct, was well extoll'd, so the Reputation of all the rest
of that Nation (upon whose Affections the Queen at that time
depended) was exceedingly undervalued and despis'd; which
obliged the Queen, and the Prince, to look less graciously
upon him; which he could not bear without expressing much
disturbance at it. He was then a Man of *estate*, had many Ser-
vants, and more Officers, who had serv'd under him, and
came away with him, all whom he employ'd the Queen should
enable him to maintain with some Lucre, by a liberal assigna-
tion of Monies. On the other hand, the Queen was in
sights enough, and never open-handed, and us'd to pay
the best Services with receiving them graciously, and looking
kindly upon those who did them. And her Graces were fill'd
more towards those who were like to do Services, than to those
who had done them. So that after a long attendance, and
some overtures made by him to Cardinal *Mazarin*, to raise
an Army for the Service of that King, which he did not think
were receiv'd with that regard his great name deserv'd, the
Marquis left *France*, and made a Journey into *Germany* to the
Emperor's army.

the Marquis
of Mont-
rose arriv'd
in France:

the Queen
was not
satisfy'd
with
the
Emperor's
army.

Middleton
of Argyll
some Troops
at Scot-
land.

Emperor's Court, desiring to see Armies, till he could come to command them; and was return'd to *Brussels*, about the time that the Prince came back into *Holland* with the Fleet; and lay there very privately, and at *Amoyne*, for some time, till he heard of the Murder of the late King. Then he sent to the King with the tender of his Service, and to know, if his Majesty thought his attendance upon him might bring any prejudice to his Majesty; and if so, that he would send over the Chancellor of the Exchequer to *Strensberg*, a Town in *Flanders*, where he was at present to expect him, and had matters to communicate to him of much importance to his Majesty's Service. Whether he did this out of modesty, and that he might first know his Majesty's pleasure, or out of some vanity, that he might seem to come to the King, after the colonels he had met at *Paris*, by a kind of Treaty, the King commanded the Chancellor presently to go to him; and if he could, without exasperating him (which he had no mind to do) willet, he might be persuaded rather for some time to suspend his coming to the *Hague*, than presently to appear there; which was an injunction very disagreeable to the Chancellor; who in his judgement believ'd his Majesty should bid him very welcome, and prefer him before any other of that Nation in his esteem.

There happened violent frosts, which flux up all the River in less than four and twenty hours, kept them at that time from meeting; but, within a short time after, and upon another Message from him, they met at a Village three or four miles off the *Hague*; whither the Marquis was come. The Chancellor had never seen him from the time he had left *Oxford*, when he seem'd to have very much modesty, and deference to the opinion and judgement of other Men. But he had, since that time, done so many signal Actions, won so many Battles, and in truth made so great a noise in the world, that there appear'd no less alteration to be in his humour, and discourse, than there had been in his Fortune. He seem'd rather to have desired that interview, that he might the better know what advice to give the King, and how to make a Party that would be faithful to him, than out of any doubt that his presence would not be acceptable to his Majesty. There was yet no news from *Scotland* since the Murder of the King, and he seem'd to think of nothing but that the King would presently send him thither with some Forces, to prepare the way for himself to follow after. They spent that Night together in Conference, and the next Morning the Chancellor prevailed with him, with great difficulty, that he would stay in that place, which did not abound with all things desirable, or some where else, until he might give him Notice, what

The Chancellor of the Exchequer sent to visit with him in a Village near the Hague.

the King's sense should be of the matters discour'd between them; insinuating principally, that, if his going into *Scotland* should be thought presently to be necessary, it would then be as necessary, that he should not be taken notice of publicly to have been with the King; with which reason he seem'd satisfied; and promised not to come to the *Hague*, till he should first receive advice from the Chancellor. But when he heard of the Commissioners being come from *Scotland*, and of the other Lords arrival there, he would no longer delay his Journey thither, but came to the *Hague* well attended by servants and Officers, and presented himself to the King; who receiv'd him with a very good countenance.

There were at this time in the *Hague*, the Commissioners who came from the Council and the Kirk to invite the King into *Scotland*, or rather to let him know upon what terms he might come thither, Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Lutherdale*, and others of the Nobility of that Faction, who were now as odious, and as much persecuted by that Party, which then govern'd *Scotland*, and which in that manner invited the King, as any Men were who had serv'd the King from the beginning. There was also the Marquis of *Montrose*, with more of the Nobility, as the Earls of *Seaforth*, and *Knox*, and others, who adher'd to *Montrose*, and believ'd his dear Spirit to be most like to advance the King's Service. Of these three Parties, it might reasonably have been hoped that the two last, being equally persecuted by the Power that the other govern'd, should have been easily United to have Suppressed the other. But it was a business too hard for the King to bring it to pass; and he could as easily have persuaded the Parliament to reject *Cromwell*, as the Lords of the Engagement, and those who had join'd with Duke *Hamilton*, to be reconciled to *Montrose*: So that when the King hoped to have drawn all the *Scottish* Nobility together, to have consulted what Answer he should give to the Messages he had receiv'd from the Council and the Kirk, with which they themselves were enough offended, those Lords of the Engagement did not only refuse to meet with the Lord *Montrose*, but, as soon as he came into the Room where they were, though his Majesty himself was present, they immediately withdrew, and left the Room; and had the confidence to desire the King, that the Marquis of *Montrose* (whom they call'd *James Graham*) might be forbidden to come into his Majesty's Presence, or Court, because he stood Excommunicated by the Kirk of *Scotland*, and degraded and forfeited by the Judiciary of that Kingdom. This Proposition and Demand they made confidently in writing under their Hands, and abounded so much in this sense, that a

Learned

Learned and Worthy *Scott's* Divine, Dr *Wigham*, who was then Chaplain to a *Scott's* Regiment in the Service of the States, being appointed to Preach before the King on the Sunday following, they formally besought the King, "that he would not suffer him to Preach before him, nor to come in to his Presence, because he flood Excommunicated by the Kirk of *Scotland*, for having refused to take the Covenant; though it was known, that the true cause of the displeasure they had against that Divine was, that they knew he was the Author of the excellent Relation of the Lord *Montrose's* Actions in *Scotland*. This carriage and behaviour of those Lords appear'd ridiculous to all sober Men, that any Men should have the presumption to accuse those who had serv'd the King with that Fidelity, and were only branded by those Rebellious Judicatories for having perform'd their duties of Allegiance, and to demand that the King himself should condemn them for having serv'd his Father: which made those of his Majesty's Council full of Indignation at their Insolence, and his Majesty himself declar'd his being offended, by using the Marquis of *Montrose's* with the more countenance, and hearing the Doctor Preach with the more attention. But from this very absurd behaviour, besides his Majesty's desire being frustrated, of receiving the joynt advice of the Nobility of that Kingdom in an affair that so much concern'd himself and them; and besides the displeasure, and distance, that it caus'd between them and the King's Council (who thought the *Scott's* Lords might as reasonably move the King, that they might be remov'd, who lay under the same brand, and reproaches in *England* for adhering to the Crown, as the other did in *Scotland*) the King had reason to be troubled with another apprehension, which was, that the Marquis of *Montrose's* (who could not be ignorant of any thing which the other Persons said or did) would, out of just indignation, take revenge upon those Persons whom he concern'd too much; and so that the Peace of the Country, where his Majesty was but a Guest, would be violat'd by his Subjects, as it were in his own fight; which would make his absence from thence the more desirable.

He, to whom this unreasonable Animosity was most imputed, and who indeed was the great Fomentor, and Incitator of it, was the Earl of *Lantherdale*; whose fiery Spirit was not capable of any moderation. One of the Council conferring one day with him upon a subject that could not put him into passion, and so being in a very fair conversation, he serv'd him "to inform him, what foul Offence the Marquis of *Montrose's* had ever committed, that should hinder those "to make a conjunction with him, who, in respect of the

"to be, were in as desperate a condition as himself, and who could not more desire the King's Restitution than he did. The Earl told him calmly enough, "that he could not imagine, or conceive the Barbarities and Inhumanities *Montrose's* was guilty of, in the time he made a War in *Scotland*; "that he never gave Quarter to any Man, but purified all the Advantages he ever got, with the utmost outrage and Cruelty: that he had in one Battle kill'd fifteen hundred of one Family, of the *Campbells*, of the blood and name of *Argyle*, "and that he had utterly rooted out several Names, and entire noble Families. The other told him, "that it was the Nature and Condition of that War, that Quarter was given "on neither side; that those Prisoners which were taken "by the *Scots*, as once they did take some Persons of Honour of his Party, were afterwards in cold blood hang'd reproachfully, which was much worse than if they had been kill'd in the Field; and asked him, "if *Montrose's* had ever caus'd any Man to dye in cold Blood, or after the Battle was ended; since what was done in it *flagrante*, was more "to be imputed to the fierceness of his Soldiers, than to his want of humanity. The Earl confest, "that he did not know he was guilty of any thing but what was done in the Field; but concluded with more passion, "that his behaviour there was so Savage, that *Scotland* would never forgive him. And in other Company, where the same Subject was debated, he swore with great passion, "that though he wou'd nothing more in this World than to see the King Restor'd, he had much rather that he should never be Restor'd, than that *James Graham* should be permitted to come into the Court: of which Declaration of his the King was inform'd by *William Legg* and *Sr William Armour*, who were both present at the *Hague*, and in the Company, when he said it.

THERE was at that time in the *Hague* the Lord *Newburgh*, who, after the Murder of the late King, was compell'd together with his Wife, the Lady *Abinger*, to fly out of *England*, *Cromwell* every day making discoveries of correspondencies which had been between the King and them. And thereupon they made an escape from thence, and came to the *Hague*. That Lord having been too young to have his part in the former War, had been then sent by his Majesty's direction, to be bred in *France*; from whence he return'd not till his Majesty was in the hands of the *Scott's* Army; and from that time he perform'd all the Offices of Fidelity, and Duty to the King, that a generous and worthy Person could find any opportunity for; with which his Majesty was

Earl of Lan-
therdale
-Glenroy
Montrose.

abundantly satisfied and pleas'd: and he now Transported himself and his Wife into *Exland*, that he might leave her there, and himself attend the King in any Expedition.

† This Lady was a Woman of a very great Wit, and most trusted and conversant in those Intrigues, which at that time could be best manag'd and carried on by Ladies, who with less jealousy could be seen in all Companies: and so he had not been a stranger to the most secret Transactions with the *Scotts*, and had much Conversation with the Lord *Lewick*, during the time the King was at *Hampton Court*, and whilst he stay'd afterwards in *London*, when the King was Imprison'd in the Isle of *Wight*; and being now both in the *Hogers*, they had much Conversation together. She had likewise had long Acquaintance, and Friendship with one of the Council, who, she knew, had been as much trusted as any by the Father, and was believ'd to have Credit with the present King. She lamented those Divisions amongst the *Scotts*, which every Body spoke of, and every Body knew the disorder they produced in the King's Councils; and said, "the desir'd nothing more, than that there were a good understanding between Duke *Hamilton* and Him; which, she said, "she was sure "would easily be, if they two had but once a frank Conference together. The other, who indeed had an esteem for the Duke, seem'd very desirous of it; and she thereupon told him, that "the Duke had express'd to her, that he "would be willing to embrace the occasion: and it was so concern'd, that within a day or two, they met as by chance at her Lodgings. And he so dextrously introduc'd them to a Civility towards each other, and to express their Inclinations to a mutual freedom, that after an hour's general Conversation there, to which she left them, and went her self abroad, they parted with fair professions of future good Will; and the other promis'd to visit the Duke the next morning early, that they might have the more time without being interrupted, and he was with him accordingly, and found him in his bed. They continued together near two hours, the Duke having commanded his Servant to tell any who came to visit him, that he was asleep. The other, spoke of "the Proclamation, and the manner of inviting the King into *Scotland*, "and of the strange Spirit that possess'd those who govern'd there, and perswaded them to imagine it possible, that the King could ever be prevail'd with to take the Oath; "or that it could be of Advantage to him to do so; since it "could not but much alienate the Affections of all that Party "in *England* that had serv'd his Father, upon whom he ought "chiefly to depend for his Restoration to the Government: "that

Conference between Duke Hamilton and an English Peer, concerning the Affairs of Scotland.

"that Kingdom. Then he spoke of "the differences and "jealousies which were between those of that Nation who "had an equal desire to serve the King, and seem'd to be "equally prosecuted by the Party that now prevail'd, which "had excluded both; and with'd "that some Expedient "might be found out to Unite all those; and particularly that "his Grace and the Marquis of *Montrose* might be reconcil'd; "towards which, he said, he was sure that the Marquis had "great Inclination, and had always esteem'd him a Man of "Honour; which appear'd by the Book which was publish'd, "where he was always worthily mention'd, though he had "not deal so well with many others.

WHEN the Duke had heard him with very civil attention, he told him as to the first part, "concerning the Proclamation, and the manner of inviting the King to come to them, "he was not to make any other judgement by it, than only "of the Person of the Marquis of *Argyle*; who, with the "Assistance of some few Ministers, and others his Creatures, did at present Govern: that *Argyle* well knew there was "an absolute necessity, in respect of the whole People, to "Proclaim the King after the Murder of his Father; and "therefore he could find no other way to keep him from "coming thither, but by clogging the Proclamation and Message with those unworthy Expressions, which might deter "him from putting himself into their hands; which *Argyle* "did not wish he should do, because in his absence he "was sure he should Govern all, being well agreed with *Cromwell* "that the Government should be carried; and so the King "might be kept out, *Cromwell* would support him against all "other Parties; but that they both knew well enough, that "if his Majesty were once there, the whole Nation would "stick to him and obey him. He confess'd, "that there was "generally so great a Superstition for the Covenant, that whoever "should speak against it for the present, would lose "all credit, though he did acknowledge it had done much "Mischief, and would do more whilst it should be insisted upon; but, he said, "that must be a work of time, and an effect of the King's Government: which would find it necessary, in many other respects, to lessen the power of the Ministers; which being lessen'd, the Reverence of the Covenant would quickly fall too; and till then He, and all Men, must have patience. For the second, he said, "he wish'd heartily that there could be a Union of all Parties "which desir'd the King's Restoration, and that the Antimoney against the Marquis of *Montrose* might be extinguish'd. For his own part, that he had only one Quarrel against "him,

him, which was that, by his unjust Calumnies and Prosecutions, he had driven him into Rebellion; which nothing else could have done. And for that he always asked God forgiveness from his Heart, and desired nothing more than to repair his fault by losing his life for the King; and would, with all his Heart, joy to morrow with the Marquis of *Monsieur*, in carrying on the King's Service, though he did believe, in that conjuncture, the Animosity against the Marquis was so great, that if he should declare such an Inclination, all his own Friends would fall from him, and abhor him. He said, "his own Condition was very hard; for that having been always bred up in the Church of *England*, for which he had a great Reverence, he was forced to comply with the Covenant; which he perfectly detested, and looked upon it as the ruin of his Nation; and would be as glad as any Man of a good opportunity to declare against it. But, said he, "I dare not say this; and if I did, I should have no power or credit to serve the King. There is, said he, "a very worthy Gentleman, who Lodges in this House, the Earl of *Lauterdale*, my Friend and my Kin-man; who, upon my Confidence, loves me heartily; and yet I dare say nothing of this to him, either against the Covenant, or for the Marquis of *Monsieur*'s; and, if I should, I believe he would rather choose to kill me, than to joy with me: so much he is transported with prejudice in both these particulars, and is incapable to hear reason upon either of those Arguments, though, in all other things, few Men have a better Understanding, or can discourse more reasonably.

WHILE they continued in all possible freedom in this conference, the Earl of *Lauterdale*, who it seems was inform'd of the others being there, came in his Night-Gown into the Chamber, and so broke off the discourse. The other, after sitting some time in general Conversation, departed. And there continued afterwards all civility between the Duke and him. But as himself told the Lady *Abigay*, who shortly after died there, "he could not, without giving jealousy to his Friend *Lauterdale*, which he had no mind to do, spend so much time with the other in private as he could have been willing to have done: and the death of that Lady lessen'd the opportunities.

IN this untimely and irresolute condition of the King's Councils, it was very manifest, that, how long soever his Majesty should defer the resolution, to what place he would remove, he should not be able to stay long in the place where he was. The States, especially those of *Holland*, let fall

somewhat every day in their Councils, and Consultations, "that the King's residing in the *Hague* would be very inconvenient to them; and it was the great Interest of the Prince of *Orange*, not without much dexterity, that kept the States from sending a Message directly to his Majesty, to desire him, "that he would depart from that Country, altho as he could. And there happen'd an Accident at this time, which made the resolution necessary, and would inevitably have drawn on that Message, which had yet been kept back.

IT was touch'd before, that there was a purpose at *London*, to send over an Envoy from thence into *Holland*, to prepare the way for a farther good Intelligence, and Negotiation, which might end in a firm Peace, and a reciprocal Alliance between the two Republicks. To that purpose one *Dorflans*, a Dr in the Civil Law, was named; who, being born in *Delft* in *Holland*, had been bred at *Lejden*, and afterwards liv'd long in *London*, having been receiv'd into *Greyfriars* College as a Professor in one of those Chairs which are endow'd for publick Lectures in that Society, and had been, from the beginning of the Troubles, in the Exercise of the Judge Advocate's Office in the Earl of *Essex*'s Army. In this conjuncture this Man arriv'd at the *Hague*, and took his Lodging in a House where Strangers used to repair, and were accommodated till they provided otherwise for their better accommodation. While he was at Supper, the same Evening that he came to the Town,

in Company of many others who used to Eat there, half a dozen Gentlemen enter'd the Room with their Swords drawn, and required those who were at the Table "not to stir; for none, said "that there was no harm intended to any but the Agent who came from the Rebels in *England*, who had newly Mur-^{der'd} their King. And one of them, who knew *Dorflans*, pulled him from the Table, and killed him at his Feet: and thereupon they all put up their Swords, and walked leisurely out of the House, leaving those who were in the Room, in much Amazement and Consternation. Though all who were engaged in that Enterprize, went quietly away, and so out of the Town, inasmuch as no one of them was ever apprehended, or call'd in question, yet they kept not their own Counsel so well (believing they had done a very Heroick Act) but that it was generally known they were all *Scottish* Men, and most of them Servants, or Dependents upon the Marquis of *Monsieur*.

THE King was exceedingly troubled and perplexed with this Accident, which he could not foresee, and easily discern'd that it would be applied to his prejudice; and that the States could not but highly resent it, in many respects; that the

Dorflans,
an Agent of
the *Parliament*
at *Brillague*
by fine *Scottish*
Men.

Man who was killed, was in truth their own Subject, and imployed to them, as a publick Minister; by those with whom they had no mind to have any Quarrell. Upon all which his Majesty concluded, that his presence there would quickly appear more unacceptable than ever: besides, that there had been the same night some Quarrells, and Fighting in the Streets between some Servants of the King and some Gentlemen of the Town; in which a Son of one of the States was dangerously hurt, though he recover'd afterwards.

It cannot be denied but that the States proceeded upon these disorders, to which they had not been accustom'd, with great gravity, and more than ordinary respect to the King. They were highly offended with what was said, and sensible what expostulations, and clamour for Justice they must expect, and sustain from *England*, and what reproaches they must undergo for suffering all those who had been guilty of such a Crime, to escape the Ministers of Justice; which could not but be imputed to them, as a great scandal to their Government: Yet they proceeded very slowly in their Inquisition, and with such formalities as were usual (and which could bring no prejudice to the Offenders; who were either gone out of their Dominions, or concealed themselves in other Towns, where the same formalities were to be used, if they were discover'd) and without so much reflection upon the King, as if they believ'd that the guilty Persons had any relation to his Service: Yet they took notice of "the multitude of Strangers which were in the Towns, and how impossible it would be for them to preserve the Peace, and good Government thereof, if they were not restrain'd. They aggravated exceedingly "the indignity that had been offer'd to the State it self, in the attempt that had been made upon "a Person under Their Protection, and for whose safety the "Publick Faith was, upon the matter, engag'd; with intimation enough, "that it would be fit for the King to remove "from thence. Of all which his Majesty receiving advertisement, he thought it better himself to give them notice of his intent to do so. He found this the more necessary to be done, since from the time that the *Scottish* Commissioners were come thither, they had taken great pains to insinuate into the opinions of that People, "that they were sent from the Kingdom of "Scotland, that was entirely and unanimously at his Majesty's disposal, to invite him to repair thither, and to take possession of his Government there, where there was already an Army preparing to assist him towards the recovery "of his other Dominions; but that there was a Party of evil

"Count-

"Counsellors about his Majesty, who dissuaded him from accepting that their Invitation, except they would be content "to change the Government of their Church, and to establish Episcopacy there again. And by these insinuations they perswaded many of the States to believe, that the defence of *Bishops*, for whom they had no regard, was the sole difference between the King and Them, which kept the King from going into *Scotland*: So that the King was not without some apprehension, that by that mistake and false Information, the States might give him advice to accept the State Invitation. And therefore he sent to the States of *Holland*, "that he had "a desire to say somewhat to them, if they would assign him "an Audience the next day; which they readily did.

His King was receiv'd in the same manner he had been ^{The King} formerly, and being conducted into the Room of Council, ^{gave a wife} after a short Compliment, he deliver'd a Paper to them, which ^{to the States} he desired might be read, and that he might receive their advice thereupon as they pleas'd. The Memorial contain'd, in the first place, his Majesty's acknowledgement of the Civilities he had receiv'd there, and his desire "that by "them the States General (who were not at that time assembled) "might be inform'd of such his Majesty's sense of their "kindness; especially in the full and high desecration they "had express'd of the impious, and unparalleled Murder of "his Royal Father of Blessed Memory, their faith and unshaken Ally, by which the Forms and Rules of all kind of Government were no less violated and dissolv'd, than that of "Monarchy: That he came to inform them that he did intend, "in a short time, to do dispose of his Person, as might with "God's Blessing most probably advance his Affairs; and that "for the better doing thereof, and that he might in so important an Affair receive their particular advice, he should impart to them the true state and condition of his several Dominions. That he need not inform them of the deplorable condition of his Kingdom of *England*, where the Hearts and Affections of his Loyal Subjects were so deprest, and kept under by the Power and Cruelty of those who had Murder'd their late Sovereign, and who every day gave fresh "and bloody instances of their Tyranny, to fright Men from their Allegiance, that for the present no Man could believe "that miserable Kingdom could be fit for his Majesty to trust "his Person in: That in *Scotland*, it is very true, that his Majesty is proclaim'd King, but with such limitations, and restrictions against his exercise of his Royal Power, that in truth they had only given him the Name, and denied him "the Authority: That above five parts of six of the Nobility

"and

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"and chief Gentry of that Kingdom, were likewise excluded
 "from their just Right, and from any part in the Administration
 "of the Publick Affairs; so that That Kingdom seem'd not
 "sufficiently prepar'd for his Majesty's reception; but that he
 "hop'd, and doubted not, that there would be in a short time
 "a perfect Union, and right understanding between all his
 "Subjects of that his Kingdom, and a due submission and obe-
 "dience from them all to his Majesty, for that he was re-
 "solv'd (and had never had the least purpose to the contrary)
 "to preserve and maintain the Government of Church and
 "State in that Kingdom, as it is establish'd by the Laws there-
 "of, without any violation or alteration on his part: So that
 "there could be no difference between him and his Subjects
 "of that Kingdom, except they should endeavour, and press
 "his Majesty to alter the Laws and Government of his other
 "Kingdoms; which as it would be very unreasonable to de-
 "mand, so it is not in his power to do if he should consent,
 "and joy'n with his Subjects of *Scotland* to that purpose: which
 "made him confident, that, when they had thoroughly weigh'd
 "and consider'd what was good for themselves, as well as for
 "Him, they would acquiesce with enjoying the Laws and
 "Privileges of that Kingdom, without desiring to infringe or
 "impose upon those of their Brethren and Neighbours. And
 "his Majesty desir'd the States, "that if any Persons had en-
 "deavour'd to make any impressions upon them, that he hath
 "or ever had other intentions or desires, with reference to
 "his Subjects of *Scotland*, than what himself now express'd
 "them to have, that they would give no Credit to them:
 "And assur'd them, that they should always find him con-
 "stant to those resolutions, and especially, that all ways and
 "means which might lead to the advancement and propaga-
 "tion of the Protestant Religion, should be so heartily em-
 "braced by him, that the World should have cause to believe
 "him to be worthy of his Title of *Defender of the Faith*,
 "which he valued as his greatest Attribute.

THIS being the true present condition of his two King-
 "doms of *England* and *Scotland*: and it being necessary for his
 "Majesty, to give life to the afflicted state of his Affairs by his
 "own Personal Activity and Vigour, he told them, "there re-
 "main'd only, that he should impart to them the like State
 "of his other Kingdom of *Ireland*; which had likewise sent
 "to him, and desired him to repair thither with great impor-
 "tunity: That the Marquis of *Ormonde*, his Lieutenant there,
 "had concluded a Peace with the Roman Catholics; and
 "that thereby his Majesty was entirely possess'd of three parts
 "of four of that his large and fruitful Kingdom, and of the

"Com-

"Command of good Armies, and of many good Ships to be
 "employ'd to his own Fleet; and that he had reason to hope
 "and to believe that *Dublin* itself, and the few other places,
 "which had submitted to the Rebellious power in *England*,
 "either already were, upon the knowledge of that odious
 "Particide, return'd to their Allegiance, or would speedily be
 "reduced; of which he expected every day to receive Ad-
 "vertisement; which if it should fall out, yet he foresaw
 "many objections might be made against his going thither,
 "not only in regard of the difficulty and danger of his pas-
 "sage, but of the jealousies which would arise upon the large
 "Concessions which were made unto the Roman Catholics
 "of that Kingdom; which could not be avoided. And
 "having thus given them a clear Information of the State of
 "his three Kingdoms, his Majesty concluded with his desire,
 "that the States would give him their advice as freely, to
 "which of them he should repair; and that they would
 "give him all necessary assistance that he might procure
 "their Council.

MANY Men fear'd, that the King would have brought
 "great prejudice to himself by this Communication, and, upon
 "the matter, oblig'd himself to follow their Advice; which
 "they apprehended would be contrary to his own Judgement.
 "For nothing was more commonly discour'd among the *Dutch*,
 "and by many of the States themselves, than "that the King
 "ought, without delay, to throw himself into the Arms of
 "*Scotland*, and to gratify them in all they desir'd: That
 "Bishops were not worth the contending for; and that the
 "supporting Them, had been the ruin of his Father, and
 "would be His, if he continued in the same obstinacy. But
 "the King had reason to believe that they would not so much
 "concern themselves in his broken Affairs, as to give him Ad-
 "vice what to do: And it was necessary for him to get a little
 "more time, upon some occurrences which would every day
 "happen, before he took a positive resolution which way to
 "steer: For though, in his own opinion, *Ireland* was the place
 "to which he was to repair, yet he knew that notwithstanding
 "the Peace that was made, there were several Parties still in
 "Arms there, besides those who adher'd to the Parliament,
 "who refus'd to submit to that Peace. Though the General
 "Council at *Kilkenny* (which had been always look'd upon as
 "the Representative of the Confederate Catholics of that King-
 "dom, and to which they had always submitted) had fully con-
 "sented to the Treaty of Peace with the Lord Lieutenant,
 "yet *Owen O'Neill*, who had the Command of all the *Irish* in
 "*Ulster*, and who was look'd upon as the best General they

had, totally refused to submit to it, and positively proceeed as if, as not having provided for their Interest; and that Council was not sorry for his separation, there being little less Animosity between both of *Ulster* and the other *Tribs*, than was between them both and the *English*: And they knew that *O Neale* more insisted upon recompence in Lands and Preferments, than upon any provision that concern'd Religion it self. Then the *Scots* in *Ulster*, who were very numerous, and under good discipline, and well provided with Armes and Ammunition, would not submit to the Command of the Lord Lieutenant; but were resolv'd to follow the example of their Country-men, and to see the King admitted and receiv'd, as well as proclaim'd, before they would submit to his Authority: which made the Marquis of *Ormond* the less troubled at the Obstinacy of *O Neale* (though he had used all the means he had to draw him in) since he performed the *Scots* and He would mortify each other, during the time that he should spend in making himself strong enough to suppress them both: For the *Scots* who would not join with the Marquis, were very vigorous in prosecuting the War against *O Neale*, and the *Tribs* of *Ulster*. These Divisions, Factions, and Contentions in *Ireland*, made the King the more solicitous that his Council should be unanimous for his going thither, at least that the *Scots*, how virulent soever against each other, should all concur in their Advice, that it was not yett reasonable for him to go for *Scotland*; which made him labour so much to bring the *Hamiltonians*, and those who follow'd *Montrose*, whom he believed both to be of that opinion, to meet together, and to own it joyntly to the King in Council: But it is said before how impossible it was to obtain that Consensus.

When the King found, that it was not possible to bring the Lords of the *Scottish* Nation together to confer upon the Affairs of that Kingdom, he thought to have drawn them severally, that is, those of the *Engagement* by themselves, and the Marquis of *Montrose* with his *Enemies* by themselves, to have given him their Advice in the presence of his Council, that so, upon Debate thereof between them, his Majesty might the more maturely have determin'd what he was to do. The Marquis of *Montrose* express'd a great willingness to give his Majesty satisfaction this, or any other way, being willing to deliver his opinion concerning Things, or Persons, before any Body, and in any place. But the Lords of the *Engagement* positively refused to deliver their opinion, but to the King himself, and not in the presence of his Council; which, they said, would be to confess a kind of subordination

tion of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, which was independent on the Council of *England*; and Duke *Hamilton* told the Council, with whom he had before so freely conversed, and who expostulated with him upon it, that it was the only ground of the heavy judgement in Parliament against the Earl of *Treasurer*, that, having been the King's Commissioner in *Scotland*, he gave account to the King of the satisfaction; and of the affairs of that Kingdom, at the Council-Table in *England*; whereof he was likewise a Member; so jealous that Kingdom was, and fill'd, of their Native Privileges; and therefore desired, that he might not be press'd to do what had been so penal to another in his own right.

The King satisfied himself with having all their opinions deliver'd to himself, subscribed under all their hands, which every one consented to: though most of them would have been glad that the King would have gone into *Scotland*, upon what considerations soever; because they all believ'd His presence would easily turn all, and that they should be quickly restored to their Estates, which they cared most for; yet no body presumed to give that advice, or seem'd to think it reasonable. So that the King refused the former Debate of going directly for *Ireland*, and direction was given for providing Ships, and all other things necessary for that Voyage. There remain'd only one doubt, whether his Majesty should take *France* in his way, that he might see his Mother, who by Letters and Messages press'd him very earnestly to do so; whether he should embark in *Holland* directly for *Ireland*; which would be less loss of time, and might be done early in the Spring, before the Parliaments Fleet should put out to Sea.

There was who did not will that the Queen should exercise any power over the King, or have too much credit with him, were against his going into *France*, as an occasion of spending more time than his Affairs would permit, and an obligation to make a greater Expence than he had, or knew where to have means to defray; and they thought it an Argument of moment, that from the time of the Murder of his Father, the King had never receiv'd Letter of condolment from *France*, nor the least invitation to go thither. On the other side, they who wish'd, and hop'd that the Queen would have such an influence upon the King that his Council should have less credit with him, desired very much that his Majesty would make *France* his way. The *Scots* desired it very much, believing they should find her Majesty very propitious to their Councils, and inclin'd to trust their

their undertakings; and they were very fure that *Mauntesp* would never go to *Paris*, or have creck with the Queen.

The Prince of *Orange*, and the Prince Royal his Wife, had a great desire to gratify the Queen, and that the King should for her in the way; and propos'd "that his Majesty might appoint a place, where the Queen and He might meet, without going to *Paris*; and, after three or four days stay together, his Majesty might halten his Journey to some convenient Port, from whence he might embark for *Ireland* by a shorter passage than from *Holland*; and the Prince of *Orange* would appoint two Ships of War, to attend his Majesty in that *French* Port, before he should get thither. His Majesty inclin'd this way, without positively resolving upon it; yet direct'd "that his own Goods of bulk, and his inferior Servants, should be presently embarked to take the directest passage to *Ireland*; and order'd "that the rest, who were to wait upon his Person, should likewise send their Goods and Baggage, and such Servants who were not absolutely necessary for their present Service, upon the same Ships for *Ireland*; declaring, "that, if he made *France* his way, he would make all possible hast, and go with as light a train as he could. Hereupon two Ships were shortly after provided, and many Persons (and great store of Baggage) embark'd for *Ireland*, and arriv'd there in safety; but most of the Persons, and all the Goods, miscarried in their return, when they knew that the King was not to come thither, upon the accident that afterwards fell out thereupon.

This Resolution being taken, the Lord *Cottingham*, who had a just excuse from his Age, being then seventy five years old, to wish to be in some repose, consider'd with himself how to become disintangled from the fatigue of his Voyages and Journeys, which he saw the King would be oblig'd to make. In *Holland* he had no mind to stay, having never lov'd that People, nor been lov'd by them; and he thought the Climate it self was very pernicious to his health, by reason of the Gout, which frequently visited him. *France* was as ungrateful to him, where he had not been kindly treated, and was look'd upon as one who had been always addic'd to *Spain*, and no friend to the Crown of *France*; so that he was willing to find a good occasion to spend the remainder of his age where he had spent so much of his youth, in *Spain*, and where he believ'd that he might be able to do the King more Service than any other way. And there was newly come to the *Hague* an *English* Gentleman, who had been an Officer in the King's Army, and was in *Madrid* when the News came thither of the Murder of the King: and he re-

late'd many particulars of the passion and indignation of that Court, upon that occasion, against the Rebels; that "the King, and all the Court, put themselves into solemn Mourning: (and he repeated some Expressions which the King and *Don Lewis de Haro* had made of tenderness and compassion for our King) and that "the King of *Spain* (spoke of sending an Embassador to his Majesty.

This is relations, and any thing of that kind, how weakly soever founded, were very willingly heard. And from hence the Lord *Cottingham* took occasion to confer with the *Confessors* Chancellor of the Exchequer (with whom he held a strict Friendship, they living, and keeping House together) of "the Lord *Cottingham* will condition the King was in, and that he ought to think, and "what Prince's kindness was like to be of more use and be-
"nefit to his Majesty, and from whom he might hope to receive a Sum of Money; if not as much as might serve for
"a Martial Expedition, yet such an annual Exhibition as
"might serve for his support: that he had already experience
"of *France*, and knew well the Intelligence that the *Cardinal*
"had had at that very time with *Cromwell*: but he did verily

believe, that if the King of *Spain* were dexterously treated with, and not more asked of him than could consist with his Affairs to spare, a good yearly support might be procured There, and the expectation of it might be worth the King's sending an Embassador thither. He said, "he was more of that opinion since the King had taken the resolution of going for *Ireland*; where the King of *Spain's* credit might of great benefit to him: that *Owen O'Neil*, and the old *Irish* of *Ulster*, were still in Arms against the King; and would not submit to the conditions which the general Council of the Consecrate Catholics had consented to with the Marquis of *Ormonde*: that *O'Neil* had been bred in *Spain*, and had a Regiment in *Flanders*, and so must have an absolute dependence upon his Catholick Majesty, for whom all the old *Irish* had ever had a particular devotion; and if it were only to dispose Him and that People to the King's obediences, and to accept those conditions which might conveniently be given to them, it were well worth such a Journey; and the King of *Spain* would never refuse to gratify the King to the utmost that could be desired in that particular. The Chancellor thought this discourse not unreasonable, and asked him, "who would be fit to be sent thither? not imagining that he had any thought of going thither Himself. He Answer'd, "that, if the King would be advis'd by him, he should send them two thirder, and he did believe they should do him very good Service.

THE Chancellor was weary of the Company he was in, and the business, which, having no prospect but towards despair, was yet render'd more grievous by the continual Contentions and Antinomies between Persons. He knew he was not in the Queen's Favour at all, and should find no respect in that Court. However, he was very scrupulous, that the King might not suspect that he was weary of his Attendance, or that any Body else might believe that he withdrew himself from waiting longer upon so deperate a Fortune. In the end, he told the Lord Cottington "that he would only be passive in the point, and refer it entirely to Him, if he thought fit to dispose the King to like it; and if the King approv'd it so much as to take notice of it to the Chancellor, and commend it as a thing he thought for his Service, he would submit to his Command.

The King
discreetly
trusts in his
Embassa-
dours.

THE Lord Cottington's Heart was much set upon this employment, and he magnan'd to warily with the King, and presented the whole Scheme to him so dexterously, that his Majesty was much pleas'd with it; and shortly after declared his Resolution publicly, "to send the Lord Cottington, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, his Embassadors Extraordinary into Spain; and Commanded them "to prepare all their own Commission, and Instructions; and to begin their Journey as soon as was possible.

BEFORE the King could begin his own Journey for France, and to go to Ireland, his Majesty thought it necessary, upon the whole prospect of his Affairs with reference to all places, to put his business into as good a method as he could, and to dispose of that number of Officers, and Soldiers, and other Persons, who had presented themselves to be applied to his Service, or to leave them to take the best course they could for their own Subsistence. Of these, many were sent into Ireland with the Ship which carried the King's Goods, with recommendation to the Marquis of Ormond, "to put them into his Army till the King came thither. Since the Scots were no better dispos'd to serve, or receive the King for the present, his Majesty was resolv'd to give the Marquis of Montrose all the Encouragement he desired to visit them, and to incite them to a better temper.

THERE was then at the Hague Cornelius Wolfeste, Embassador extraordinary from the King of Denmark to the States General, who came with a great Train and great State, and was himself a Man of vanity and ostentation, and took pains to be thought to great a Man by his own Interest, that he did not exceed equal the power of his Master; which prov'd his ruin after his return. He had left Denmark before the

News

News came thither of the Murder of the King, and so he had no Credentials for his Majesty, by reason whereof he could not receive any publick formal Audience; but desired "the King's leave that he might, as by accident, be admitted to speak to him at the Queen of Bohemia's Court; where his Majesty used to be every day; and there the Embassador then spoke to him. The Marquis of Montrose had found means to endear himself much to this Embassador, who gave him encouragement to hope for a very good reception in Denmark, if the King would send him thither, and that he might obtain Armes and Ammunition there for Scotland. The Embassador told him, "that, if the King would write a Letter to him to that purpose, he would presently supply him with some Money and Armes, in assurance that his Master would very well approve of what he should do. The Marquis of Montrose well knew, that the King was not able to supply him with the least proportion of Money to begin his Journey; and therefore he had only propos'd, "that the King would give him Letters, in the form he prefcrib'd, to several Princes in Germany, whose affections he pretended to know; which Letters he sent by several Officers, who went to bring the Soldiers or Armes they should obtain, to a Rendezvous he appointed near Hamberg; and resolv'd himself to go into Sweden and Denmark, in hope to get supplies in both those places, both from the Crowns, and by the contribution of many Scottish Officers, who had Command and Estates in those Countries; and to have Credentials, by virtue of which he might appear Embassador extraordinary from the King, if he should find it expedient; though he did intend rather to negotiate his business in private, and without any publick Character. All this was resolv'd before his conscience, at least his familiarity with the Embassador, was grown less. But, upon the Encouragement he had from him, he mov'd the King "for his Letter to the Embassador, to assist the Marquis of Montrose with his Advice, and with his Interest in Denmark, and in any other Court, to the end "that he might obtain the Loans of Money, Armes, and Ammunition; and whatever else was necessary to enable the Marquis to prosecute his intended Descent into Scotland. The King, glad that he did not press for ready Money, which he was not able to supply him with, gave him such Letters as he desired to all Persons, and particularly to the Embassador himself, who, having order from his Master to present the King with a Sum of Money for his present occasions, never inform'd the King thereof, but advis'd Montrose to procure such a Letter from his Majesty to him; which being done, the

Marquis

The Marquis
of Mont-
rose goes to
Hamburg.

Marquis receiv'd that Money from him, and likewise Arms; with which he began his unfortunate Enterprize; and prosecuted his Journey to *Hamburg*; where he expected to meet his *German* Troops, which he believ'd the Officers he had sent thither with the King's Letters would be well able to raise, with the assistance of those Princes to whom they had been sent. But he was carried on by a stronger assurance he had receiv'd from some prophecies, and predictions, to which he was naturally given, "that he should by his valour recover *Scotland* for the King, and from thence conduct an Army that should settle his Majesty in all his other Dominions.

THERE had been yet nothing done by the King with reference to *England* since the Murder of his Father; nor did there appear any thing, of any kind, to be attempted as yet there: there was so terrible a Condemnation, that still possessed the Spirits of that People, that though Men's Affections were greater, and more general for the King, out of the Horror and Detestation they had of the late Parricide, yet the owning it was too penal for their broken Courage; nor was it believ'd possible for any Man to contribute any thing, at present, for their Deliverance. However, most Men were of opinion, "that it was necessary for the King to publish some Declaration, that he might not seem utterly to give over his Claim there; and to keep up the Spirits of his Friends. And many from *England*, who in the midst of their despair would give some Council, advis'd, "that there might be some what publish'd by the King that might give some Check to the general submitting to the Engagement, which was so universally press'd there. The King being every day advertised, how much this was desired, and expected, and the *Scottish* Lords being of the same opinion, hoping that somewhat might be inter'd in it that might favour the Presbyterians, his Majesty propos'd at the Council "that there might be some draught prepar'd of a Proclamation, or Declaration, only with reference to the Kingdom of *England*; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had been most conversant in Instruments of that nature, was appointed to make one ready; though he had declared, "that he did not know what such a Declaration could contain, and therefore "that he thought it not reasonable to publish any. The Prince of *Orange* was present at that Council, and whether from his own opinion, or from the Suggestion of the *Scottish* Lords, who were much favour'd by him, he will'd, "that, "in regard of the great differences which were in *England* about matters of Religion, the King would offer, in this Declaration,

The Chancellor
of the
Exchequer
appointed to
make a Declaration
concerning
England.

Declaration, to refer all matters in controversy concerning Religion to a National Synod; in which there should be admitted some Foreign Divines from the Protestant Churches; which, he thought, would be a Popular Clause, and might be acceptable abroad as well as at home; and the King believ'd no objection could be made against it; and so thought fit that such a Clause should be interred.

WITHIN a short time after the Council was parted, the Prince of *Orange* sent for the Lord *Cottington*, and told him, "he was not enough acquainted with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but desir'd him to intreat him not to be too sharp in his Declaration, the end whereof was to Unite, and Reconcile different Humours; and that he found many "had a great apprehension, that the sharpness of His Style "would irritate them much more. The Chancellor knew well enough that this came from the Lord *Lauterdale*, and he will'd heartily that the Charge might be committed to any Body else, protesting, "that he was never less disposed "in his own conceptions, and reflections, to undertake any such Task in his Life; and that he could not imagine how "it was possible for the King to publish a Declaration at that time (his first Declaration) without much sharpness against the Murderers of his Father; which no Body could speak against; nor could he be excused from the Work imposed upon him; and the Prince of *Orange* assur'd him, "it was not That kind of sharpness which he will'd should be declined; and though he seem'd not willing farther to explain himself, it was evident that he will'd that there might not be any sharpness against the Presbyterians, for which there was at that time no occasion.

THERE was one particular, which, without a full and distinct Instruction, the Chancellor could not presume to express. The great end of this Declaration was to confirm the Affection of as many as was possible for the King, and consequently, as few were to be made desperate, as might consist with the King's Honour, and necessary Justice, so that how far that Clause, which was essential to a Declaration upon this subject, concerning the Indemnity of Persons, should extend, was the question. And in this there was difference of opinions; the most prevalent was, "that no Persons should be excepted from Pardon, but only such who had an immediate hand in the execrable Murder of the King; by being his Judges, and pronouncing that Sentence, and they who perform'd the Execution. Others said, they "knew that some were in the List of the Judges, and named by the Parliament, who found Excuses to be absent; and others,

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that "some who were not named, more contriv'd and contributed to that odious proceeding, than many of the Actors "in it. But the resolution was, that the former should be only comprehended.

WHEN the Declaration was prepared, and read at the Board, there was a deep Silence, no Man speaking to any part of it. But another day was appointed for a second reading it, against which time every Man might be better prepared to speak to: and in the mean time the Prince of Orange, in regard he was not a perfect Master of the English Tongue, desir'd he might have a Copy of it, that he might the better understand it. And the Chancellor of the Exchequer desir'd, "that not only the Prince of Orange might have a Copy, but that his Majesty would likewise have one, and, since he should have perus'd it himself, he would shew "it to any other, who he thought was fit to advise with; there being many Lords and other Persons of Quality about him, who were not of the Council; and he mov'd, "that he might have liberty himself to Communicate it to some, who were like to make a judgement, how far any thing of that Nature was like to be accepted, and agreeable to the minds "of the People; and named *Herbert* the Attorney General, and *Dr Steward*, who was Dean of the Chapel; and His opinion, in all things relating to the Church, the King had been advised by his Father to submit to. All which was approv'd by the King; and, for that reason, a farther day was appointed for the second reading. The Issue was, that, except two or three of the Council, who were of one and the same opinion of the whole, there were not two Persons who were admitted to the perusal of it, who did not take some exception to it, though scarce two made the same exception.

DOCTOR *Steward*, though a Man of a very good understanding, was so exceedingly griev'd at the Clause of admitting Foreign Divines into a Synod that was to Consult upon the Church of England, that he could not be satisfied by any Arguments that could be given of "the impossibility of any effect, or that the Parliament would accept the Overture; and that there could be no danger if it did, because the "Number of those Foreign Divines must be still limited by "the King; but came one Morning to the Chancellor, with whom he had a Friendship, and protested "he had not slept that Night, out of the Agony and Trouble, that He, who "he knew lov'd the Church so well, should consent to a Clause so much against the Honour of it; and went from him to the King, to beseech him never to approve it. Some were of opinion "that there were too few excepted from

"Pardon;

"Pardon; by which the King would not have Confitations "enough to satisfy, and reward his Party; and others thought, "that there were too many excepted; and that it was not prudent to make so many Men desperate; but that it would "be sufficient to except *Cromwell*, and *Bradshaw*, and three or "four more of those whose Malice was most notorious; and "whose Number not to exceed Six.

THIS *Board* did not value the Clause for Foreign Divines; who, they knew, could persuade little in an English Synod; but they were implacably offended, that the King mention'd the Government of the Church of England, and the Book of Common-Prayer, with so much Reverence and Devotion; which was the harpness they most fear'd of the Chancellor's Style, when they thought now the Covenant to be necessary to be insisted upon more than ever. So that, when the Declaration was read at the Board the second time, most Men being mov'd with the discourses, and fears which were express'd abroad of some ill effects it might produce, it was more fairly Debated, and Men seem'd not to think that the publishing any, at this time, was of so much importance, as they formerly had conceiv'd it to be. By all which Men may judge, how hard a thing it was for the King to resolve, and act with that steadiness and resolution, which the most prosperous Condition doth more require than the State that is less perplex'd and intangled. Thus the Declaration slept ^{upon which} without farther proposition to publish any.

ALL things being now as much provided for as they were like to be, the two Ambassadors for Spain were very solicitous to begin their Journey, the King being at last resolv'd not to give his Mother the trouble of making a Journey to meet him, but to go himself directly to *St Germain's*, where her Majesty was. The Prince of Orange, to advance that resolution, had promis'd to supply the King with twenty thousand pounds; which was too great a Loan for him to make, who had already great debts upon him, though it was very little for the enabling the King to discharge the debts He and his Family had contracted at the Hague, and to make his Journey. Out of this Sum the Lord *Cottingham*, and the Chancellor, were to receive so much as was design'd to defray their Journey to Paris: what was necessary for the discharge of their Embassy, or for making their Journey from Paris, was not yet provided. The King had some hope, that the Duke of *Lorraine* would lend him some Money; which he design'd for this service; which made it necessary that they should immediately resort to *Brussels*, to finish that Negotiation, and from thence to prosecute their Journey.

Different
opinions in
the King's
Council, as
said in other
places.

IN the following their first dispatch at the *Hague*, they made a discovery that seem'd very strange to them, though afterwards it was a truth that was very notorious. Their Journey having been put off some days, only for the receipt of that small Sum, which was to be paid them out of the Money to be lent by the Prince of *Orange*, and *Hemstel* the Prince's chief Officer in such affairs of Money having been some days at *Amsterdam* to negotiate that Loan, and no Money being return'd, they believ'd that there was some affected delay; and so went to the Prince of *Orange*, who had advis'd, and was well pleas'd with that Embassy, to know when that Money would be ready for the King, that he might likewise resolve upon the time for his own Journey. The Prince told them, he believ'd, that they, who knew *London* so well, and had heard so much discourse of the Wealth of *Holland*, would wonder very much that he should have been endeavouring above ten days to borrow twenty thousand pounds; and that the richest Men in *Amsterdam* had promised him so largely him with it, and that one half of it was not yet provided. He said, it was not that there was any question of his credit, which was very good; and that the security he gave, was as good as any Body desir'd; and upon which he could have double the Sum in less time, if he would receive it in Paper, which was the Course of that Country; where bargains being made for one hundred thousand pounds to be paid within ten days, it was never known that twenty thousand pounds was paid together in one Town; but by Bills upon *Rotterdam*, *Havre*, the *Hague*, and *Antwerp*, and other places, which was as convenient; or more, to all Parties; and he did verily believe, that though *Amsterdam* could pay a Million within a Month, upon any good occasion, yet they would be troubled to bring twenty thousand pounds together into any one Room; and that was the true reason, that the Money was not yet brought to the *Hague*; which it should be within few days; as it was accordingly.

The Embassadors for Spain left their journey

THE Embassadors took their leave of the King at the *Hague* before the middle of *May*, and had a Vatch from the Prince of *Orange*, that attended them at *Rotterdam*, and transported them with great convenience to *Antwerp*, where the Chancellor's Wife and his Family were arriv'd ten days before; and were settled in a good and convenient House; where the Lord *Cottingham* and He both Lov'd whilst they stay'd in that City. There they met the Lord *Jernyn* in his way towards the King, to hasten the King's Journey into *France*, upon the Queen's great importunity. He was very

glad

glad they were both come away from the King, and believ'd he should more easily prevail with his Majesty in all things, as indeed he did. After two or three days stay at *Antwerp*, they went to *Brussels* to deliver their Credentials both to the Arch-Duke, and the Duke of *Lorraine*, and to visit the *Spanish* Ministers, and, upon their Landing at *Brussels*, they took it for a good Omen, that they were assur'd that *le Brave*, who had been one of the Plenipotentiaries at the Treaty at *Monsieur*, on the behalf of the King of *Spain*, was then in that Town with Credentials to visit the King, and to condescend with him. They had an Audience, the next day, of the Arch Duke: they perform'd the Compliments to him from the King, and inform'd him of their Embassy into *Spain*, and desired his recommendation, and good Offices in that Court; which he, according to his flow, and formal way of speaking, consented to: and they had no more to do with Him, but receiv'd the visits from the Officers, in his Name, according to the style of that Court. Their main business was with the Duke of *Lorraine*, to procure Money for their Journey into *Spain*.

They visit the Duke of Lorraine at Brussels.

THE Duke was a Prince that liv'd in a different manner from all other Sovereign Princes in the World: from the time, that he had been driven out of his Country by *France*, he had retir'd to *Brussels* with his Army, which he kept up very strong, and serv'd the King of *Spain* with it against the *French*, upon such terms, and conditions, as were made, and renew'd every year between them; by which he receiv'd great Sums of Money yearly from the *Spaniards*, and was very rich in Money. He always Commanded apart in the Field, his Officers receiv'd no Orders but from himself: He always agreed at the Council of War what he should do, and his Army was in truth the best part of the *Spanish* Forces. In the Town of *Brussels* he liv'd without any order, method, or state of a Prince, except towards the *Spaniards* in his Treaties, and being present in their Councils, where he always kept his full Dignity: otherwise, he liv'd in a jolly familiarity with the Bourgeois and their Wives, and feasted with them, but scarce kept a Court or any number of Servants, or Retinue. The House wherein he liv'd was a very ordinary one, and not furnish'd; nor was he often there, or easy to be found; so that the Embassadors could not easily find him for an Audience. He receiv'd them in a lower Room with great Courtesy and Familiarity; and visited them at their own Lodging. He was a Man of great Wit, and presence of Mind, and, if he had not affected extravagancies, no Man knew better how to seduce the Prince. He lov'd his Money very much; yet the Lord *Cottingham's* dexterity and address, prevail'd with him to lend the

X 3

King two thousand Pistols; which was all that was in their view for defraying their Embassy. But they hoped they should procure some supply in Spain, out of which their own necessary Expenscs must be provided for.

THERE were two Spaniards, by whom all the Councils there were govern'd and conducted, and which the Arch-Duke himself could not control: the Conde of Pignoranda (who was newly come from *Massifer*, being the other Plenipotentiary there; and staid only at *Brussels*, in expectation of renewing the Treaty again with *France*; but, whilst he staid there, was in the highest Trust of all the Affairs) and the Conde of *Fuensaldagne*, who was the Governour of the Armes, and Commanded the Army next under the Arch-Duke; which was a subordination very little inferior to the being General. They were both very able and expert Men in business, and if they were not very wise Men, that Nation had none. The former was a Man of the Robe, of a great Wit, and much Experience, Proud, and, if he had not been a little too Pedantick, might very well be look'd upon as a very extraordinary Man, and was much improv'd by the excellent temper of *le Brance* (the other Plenipotentiary) who was indeed a wise Man, and by seeming to defer in all things to *Pignoranda*, govern'd him. The Conde of *Fuensaldagne* was of a much better temper, more industry, and more insinuation than *Spaniards* use to have: His greatest Talent lay to Civil business; yet he was the best General of that time to all other offices and purposes, than what were necessary in the hour of Battle, when he was not so present and compar'd as at all other seasons.

BOTH these receiv'd the Embassadors with the usual Civilities, and return'd their visits to their own Lodging, but seem'd not pleas'd with their Journey to *Madrid*, and spoke much of the necessities that *Crown* was in, and its disability to assist the King; which the Embassadors imputed to the Influence *Dona Alonca de Cardenas* had upon them both; who remain'd still under the same Character in *England* he had done for many years before. The same Civilities were perform'd between *le Brance* and them; who treated them with much more freedom, and encourag'd them to hope well from their Negotiation in *Spain*; acquainted them with his own Instructions, "to give the King all assistance of the affection of his Catholick Majesty, and of his readiness to do any thing for him that was in his power. He said, "he only deserv'd his Journey, because he heard that the King intend'd to spend some time at *Breda*; and he had rather attend him there, than at the *Hague*.

WHEN the Embassadors had dispatch'd all their business

at *Brussels*, and receiv'd the Money from the Duke of *Lorraine*, they return'd to *Antwerp*; where they were to Negotiate for the return of their Monies at *Madrid*, which requir'd very much wariness, the Bills from thence finding now more difficulties at *Madrid*, than they had done in former times.

By the Letters my Lord *Torrone* brought, and the importunity he used, the King resolv'd to begin his Journey sooner than he thought to have done, that is sooner than he thought he should have been able, all provisions being to begin to be made both for his Journey into *France*, and from thence into *Ireland*, after the Money was receiv'd that should pay for them. But the Queen's impatience was so great to see his Majesty, that the Prince of *Orange*, and the Prince's Royal his Wife, were as impatient to give her that satisfaction. Though her Majesty could not justly dislike any resolution the King had taken, nor could imagine whether he should go but into *Ireland*, she was exceedingly displeas'd that any resolution at all had been taken before she was consult'd. She was angry that the Counsellors were chosen without her directions, and look'd upon all that had been done, as done in order to exclude her from meddling in the Affairs; all which she impos'd principally to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; nevertheless she was not pleas'd with the design of the Negotiation in *Spain*. For though she had no confidence of his affection to her, or rather of his complying with all her Commands, yet she had all confidence in his Duty and Integrity to the King, and therefore wish'd he should be still about his Person, and trall'd in his business; which she thought him much fitter for than such a Negotiation, which she believ'd, out of her natural prejudice to *Spain*, would produce no advantage to the King.

THAT the Queen might receive some content, in knowing that the King had begun his Journey, the Prince of *Orange* receiv'd the order of him, "whilst his Servants prepar'd what was necessary "at the *Hague*, that *Himself*, and that part of his Train that was ready, would go to *Breda*, and stay there till the rest were ready to come up to him; that being his best way to *Flanders*, through which he must pass into *France*. *Breda* was a Town of the Prince's own, where he had a handsome Palace and Castle, and a place where the King might have many Divertissements. Hence the Spanish Embassadors *le Brance*, Complements to his Majesty, and deliver'd his Master's Complements to his Majesty, and offer'd his own Services to him, whilst he should remain in those Provinces; he being at that time design'd to remain Embassador to the United Provinces; as he did; and died shortly after at the *Hague* with a general regret.

regret. He was born a Subject to the King of Spain, in that part of *Burgundy* that was under his Dominion; and having been from his youth always bred in business, and being a Man of great Parts, and Temper, he might very well be looked upon as one of the best States men in Christendom, and who best understood the true Interest of all the Princes of Europe.

As soon as the Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor, heard of the King's being at *Brussels*, and that he intended to hasten his Journey for France, they resolv'd, having in truth not yet Negotiated all things necessary for their Journey, to stay till the King pass'd by, and not to go to *St Germain's* till the first Interview, and Eclaircisments were pass'd between the King and Queen, that they might then be the better able to judge what Weather was like to be.

THENCE TO
ANTWERP?

THE King was receiv'd at *Antwerp* with great Magnificence: He enter'd in a very rich Coach with six Horses, which the Arch Duke sent a present to him when he came into the Spanish Dominions: He was treated there, at the Charge of the City, very splendidly for two days: and went then to *Brussels*, where he was lodged in the Palace, and Royally entertain'd.

THENCE TO
BRUSSELS.

But the French Army, under the Command of the *Comte de Harcourt*, was two days before set down before *Cambray*; with the News whereof the Spanish Council was surpris'd, and in so much disorder, that the Arch-Duke was gone to the Army to *Mont*, and *Valenciennes*, whilst the King was in *Antwerp*; so that the King was receiv'd only by his Officers; who perform'd their parts very well.

FIXT the *Comde de Pignerone* waited upon the King in the Quality of an Embassadour, and cover'd. And his Majesty staid here three or four days, not being able suddenly to resolve which way he should pass into France. But he was not troubled long with that doubt; for the French thought to have surpris'd that Town, and to have cut up their Line of Circumvallation before any Supplies could be put in; but the *Comde de Farnesildagne* found a way to put seven or eight hundred Foot into the Town; upon which the French rais'd the Siege; and so the King made his Journey by the usual way; and, near *Valenciennes*, had an Interview with the Arch-Duke; and, after some short Ceremonies, continued on his Journey, and lodg'd at *Cambray*; where he was likewise treated by the *Comde de Garciey*, who was Governour there, and a very civil Gentleman.

THE KING
HAD AN INTER-
VIEW WITH
THE ARCH-
DUKE NEAR
VALENCIE-
NNE.

A NOTY a week after the King left *Brussels*, the two Embassadours prosecuted their Journey for Paris, where they staid only one day, and then went to *St Germain's*; where the King and the Queen his Mother, with both their Families,

and the Duke of *Tork's*, then were; by whom they were receiv'd graciously. They had no reason to repent their caution in staying so long behind the King, for they found the Court so full of jealousy and disorder, that every Body was glad that they were come. After the first two or three days that the King and Queen had been together, which were spent in tears and lamentations for the great alteration that had happen'd since their last parting, the Queen began to confer with the King of his business, and what course he meant to take; in which she found him to resolv'd, as if he had no mind that should be conversant in it. He made no Apologies to her; which she expected; nor any professions of resigning himself up to her Advice. On the contrary, upon some expostulations, he had told her plainly, "that he would always perform his Duty towards her with great affection and exactness, but that in his business he would obey his own reason and judgement; and did as good as desire her not to trouble her self in his Affairs: and finding her passions strong, he frequently retir'd from her with some abruptness, and seem'd not to desire to be so much in her Company as she expected; and prescribed some new rules to be observ'd in his own retirement, which he had not been accusom'd to do.

THIS kind of unexpected behaviour gave the Queen much trouble. She began to think, that this distance, which the King seem'd to affect, was more than the Chancellor of the Exchequer could wish; and that there was some Body else, who did her more mischief: inasmuch as to the Ladies who were about her, wherof some were very much his Friends, there seem'd to will, that the Chancellor were come. There was a Gentleman, who was newly come from *England*, and who came to the *Hague* after the Chancellor had taken his leave of the King, and had been ever since very close about him, being one of the Grooms of his Bed-Chamber, one *Mr Thomas Elliot*, a Person spoken of before; whom the King's Father had formerly sent into France, at the same time that he resolv'd the Prince should go for the West; and for no other reason, but that he should not attend upon his Son. And he had given order, "that if he should return out of France, and come into the West, the Council should not suffer him to see about the Prince; with whom he thought he had too much Credit, and would use it ill; and he had ever seen the Prince from the time he left *Oxford* till now. He was a bold Man, and spoke all things confidently, and had not that reverence for the late King which he ought to have had; and said for the Queen; though he had great obligations to both; yet being not so great as he had a mind to, he looked upon them as

none

none at all. This Gentleman came to the King just as he left the *Magy*, and both as he was a new Comer, and as one for whom his Majesty had formerly much kindness, was very well receiv'd; and being one who would receive no injury from his modesty, made the favour the King shew'd him as bright, and to shine as much in the Eyes of all Men, as was possible. He was never from the Person of the King, and always whispering in his Ear, taking upon him to understand the sense and opinion of all the Loyal Party in England: And when he had a mind that the King should think well, or ill of any Man, he told him, "that he was much belov'd by, or very odious to all his Party there. By these insinuations, he had prevailed with him to look with less grace upon the Earl of *Brighthelm*, who came from *Geneva* (where he had hitherto resided) to kiss his hands, than his own good Nature would have inclin'd him to; and more to discountenance the Lord *Digby*, and to tell him plainly, "that he should not serve "him in the place of Secretary of State; in which he had serv'd his Father, and from which Men have seldom been remov'd upon the Descent of the Crown; and not to admit either Father or Son to be of his Council; which was more extraordinary. He told the King, "it would be the most unpopular thing he could do, and which would lose him more "Hearts in England than any other thing, if he were thought "to be govern'd by his Mother. And in a Month's time that he had been about the King, he became already to be look'd upon as very like to become the Favorite. He had us'd the Queen with wonderful neglect when she spok't to him, and had got so much Interest with the King, that he had procur'd a promise from his Majesty to make Colonel *Windham*, whose Daughter Mr *Ellist* had married, Secretary of State; an honest Gentleman, but extreme unequal to that Province; towards which he could not pretend to a better qualification, than that his Wife had been Nurse to the Prince, who was now King.

In this kind of humours and indispositions the Embassadors found the Court, when they came to St *German's*. They had, during their stay at *Paris*, in their way to Court, consider'd with the Earl of *Brighthelm*, and his Son the Lord *Digby*, who breath'd out their Grievs to them; and the Lord *Digby* was the more troubled to find that Mr *Ellist*, who was a known and declared Enemy of his, had gotten so much Credit with the King, as to be able to satisfy his own malice upon him, by the countenance of his Majesty; in whom, he knew, the King his Father desired, that he should of all Men have the least Interest. After they had been a day or two there, the Chancellor of the Exchequer thinking it his Duty to lay

form

somewhat to the Queen in particular, and knowing that she expected he should do so, and the King having told him at large all that had pass'd with his Mother, and the ill humour he was in (all which his Majesty related in a more exalted Dialect than he had been accustom'd to) and his Majesty being very willing to understand what the Queen thought upon the whole, the Chancellor asked a private Audience; which her Majesty readily granted. And after she had gently expostulated upon the old passages at *Trefry*, she concluded with the mention of the great countenance the King her Husband had always repos'd in him, and thereupon renew'd her own gracious professions of good will towards him. Then the complain'd, not without tears, of the King's unkindness towards her, and of his way of living with her, of some expressions he had us'd in discourse in her own presence, and of what he had said in other places, and of the great credit Mr *Ellist* had with him, and of his rude behaviour towards her Majesty, and lastly of the incredible design of making *Windham* Secretary; "who, besides his other unfitness, the said, "would be sure "to joyn with the other to lessen the King's kindness to her "all they could. The Chancellor, after he had made all the professions of duty to her Majesty which became him, and said what he really believ'd of the King's kindness and respect for her, asked her, "whether she would give him leave to take "notice of any thing she had said to him, or, in general, that "he found her Majesty unsatisfied with the King's unkindness? The Queen replied, "that she was well contented he "should take notice of every thing she had said; and, above "all of his purpose to make *Windham* Secretary; of which the King had not made the least mention, though he had taken notice to him of most other things the Queen had said to him.

This Chancellor, shortly after, found an opportunity to inform the King of all that had pass'd from the Queen, in such a method as might give him occasion to enlarge upon all the particulars. The King heard him very greedily, and protest'd, "that he desir'd nothing more than to live very well with the Queen; towards whom he would never fail "in his Duty, as far as was consistent with his Honour, and "the good of his Affairs; which, at present, it may be, requir'd more reservation towards the Queen, and to have it "believ'd that he Communicated less with Her than he did, "or than he intended to do; that, if he did not seem to be "desirous of her Company, it was only when the griev'd him "by some Importunities, in which he could not satisfy her; "and that her exception against *Ellist* was very unjust; and

A private Audience of the Chancellor with the Queen.

“that he knew well the Man to be very honest, and that he lov’d him well; and that the prejudice the King his Father had against him, was only by the malice of the Lord *Digby*, who hated him without a cause, and had likewise inform’d the Queen of some illhoods, which had incens’d her Majesty against him; and seem’d throughout much concern’d to justify *Elliot*, against whom the Chancellor himself had no exceptions, but receiv’d more respects from him than he paid to most other Men.

WHEN the Chancellor spoke of making *Windham* Secretary, the King did not own the having promised to do it, but “that he intended to do it: the Chancellor said, “he was glad he had not promised it; and that he hoped, he would never do it: that he was an honest Gentleman, but in no degree qualified for that Office. He put him in mind of Secretary *Nicholas*, who was then there to present his Duty to him; “that he was a Person of such known affection and honesty, that he could not do a more ungracious thing than to pass Him by. The King said, “he thought Secretary *Nicholas* to be a very honest Man; but he had no title to that Office more than another Man; that Mr *Windham* had not any experience in that Employment, but that it depended so much upon forms, that he would quickly be instructed in it: that he was a very honest Man, for whom he had never done any thing, and had now nothing else to give him but this place; for which he doubted not but, in a short time, he would make himself very fit. All that the Chancellor could prevail with his Majesty, was to suspend the doing it for some time, and that he would hear him again upon the Subject, before he took a final Resolution. For the rest, he promised “to speak upon some particulars with the Queen, and to live with her with all kindness and freedom, that she might be in good humour. But he heard Her, and all others, very unwillingly, who spoke against Mr *Windham*’s being Secretary of State.

ONE day the Lord *Cottington*, when the Chancellor and some others were present, told the King very gravely (according to his custom, who never smiled when he made others merry) “that he had an humble Suit to him, on the behalf of an old Servant of his Father’s, and whom he assured him upon his knowledge, his Father lov’d as well as he did any Man of that condition in England; and that he had been for many years one of his Falconers; and he did really believe him to be one of the best Falconers in England; and thereupon enlarg’d himself (as he could do very well, in all the terms of that Science) to show how very

skillful he was in that Art. The King asked him, “what he would have him do for him? *Cottington* told him, “it was a very true that his Majesty kept no Falconers, and the poor Man was grown old, and could not Rise as he had used to do; but that he was a very honest Man, and could Read very well, and had as audible a voice as any Man need to have; and therefore besought his Majesty, “that he would make him his Chaplain; which speaking with so composed a Countenance, and somewhat of earnestness, the King look’d upon him with a smile to know what he meant; when He, with the same gravity, assur’d him, “the Falconer was in all respects as fit to be his Chaplain, as Colonel *Windham* was to be Secretary of State; which so surpris’d the King, who had never spoken to him of the matter, all that were present being not able to abstain from laughing, that his Majesty was somewhat out of Countenance: and this being merrily told by some of the Standers by, it grew to be a story in all Companies, and did really divert the King from the purpose, and made the other so much ashamed of pretending to it, that there was no more discourse of it.

WHILST all Endeavours were us’d to compose all ill humours here, that the King might prosecute his intended Voyage for *Ireland*, there came very ill news from *Ireland*. An account Aforesaid as the Marquis of *Ormond* was arriv’d, as hath been of the affairs said before, the Confederate Catholics, who held their Assembly, as they had always done, at *Kilkenny*, sent Committeemen to him to Congratulate his Arrival, and to enter upon a Treaty of Peace with him. But the inconsistency of that Nation was such, that, notwithstanding their experience of the ruin they had brought upon themselves by their falling from their former Peace, and notwithstanding that themselves had sent to *Paris* to importune the Queen and the Prince to send the Marquis of *Ormond* back to them, with all promises and proffessions that they would not insist upon any unreasonable Concessions; now he was come upon their invitation to them, they made new demands in point of Religion, and insisted upon other things, which if he should consent to, would have reconcil’d all the *English*, who were under the Lord *Inchiquin*, upon whom his principal confidence was plac’d: By this means so much time was spent, that the Winter pass’d without any agreement; whereby they might have advanc’d against the Parliament Forces, which were then weak, and in want of all manner of Supplies, whilst the distractions continued in England between the Parliament and the Army, the divisions in the Army, and the prosecution of the King; during

during which the Governours there had work enough to look to themselves; and left *Ireland* to provide for itself: and if that unfortunate People would have made use of the advantages that were offer'd, that Kingdom might indeed have been entirely Reduced to the King's Obedience.

THAT the Lord Lieutenant might even compel them to preserve themselves, he went himself to *Kilkenny*, where the Council sat; about *Christmas*, after three months had been spent from his arrival, that no more time might be lost in their Commissioners coming and going, and that the Spring might not be lost as well as the Winter. And at last a Peace was made and concluded; by which, against such a day, the Confederate Catholics oblig'd themselves, "to bring into the Field, a body of Horse and Foot, with all provisions for the Field, which should be at the disposal of the Lord Lieutenant, and to march as he should appoint. The Treaty had been drawn out into the more length, in hope to have brought the whole Nation to the same agreement. And the General Assembly, to which they all pretended to submit, and from which all had receiv'd their Commissions, as hath been said, sent to *Owen O'Neil*, who remain'd in *Ulster* with his Army, and came not himself to *Kilkenny*, as he had promis'd to have done, upon pretence of his Inconspicuous health. He profess'd "to submit to whatsoever the General Assembly should determine: but when they sent the Articles, to which they had agreed, to be sign'd by him; he took several exceptions, especially in matters of Religion; which he thought was not enough provided for; and, in the end, positively declar'd "that he would not submit, or be bound by them: and at the same time he sent to the Marquis of *Ormond*, "that he would treat with him apart, and not concern himself in what the Assembly resolv'd upon.

THIS tract is; there was nothing of Religion in this contention; which proceeded from the Animosity between the two Generals, *O'Neil* and *Presfon*, and the bitter Faction between the old *Irish* and the other; who were as much hated by the old; as the *English* were; and lastly from the Ambition of *Owen O'Neil*; who expected some Concessions to be made to him in his own particular, which would very much have offended and incensed the other Party, if they had been granted to him: so that the Assembly was well pleas'd to leave him out, and concluded the Peace without him.

HERRUPON the Lord Lieutenant us'd all possible endeavours that the Army might be form'd, and ready to march in the beginning of the Spring. And though there

was not an appearance answerable to their promise, yet their Troops seem'd to be good, and were so numerous, that he thought fit to march towards *Dublin*; and, in the way, to take all Castles and Garrisons, which were possess'd by the Parliament: in which they had very good Success. For many of the Parliament Soldiers having serv'd the King, they took the first opportunity, upon the Marquis of *Ormond's* approach within any distance, to come to him; and by that means several places Surrender'd likewise to him. Colonel *Monk*, who had formerly serv'd the King, and remain'd, for the space of three or four years, Prisoner in the Tower, had been at last prevail'd with by the Lord *Liffie* to serve the Parliament against the *Irish*; pleasing himself with an opinion that he did not therein serve against the King. He was at this time Governour of *Dundalk*, a Garrison about thirty miles from *Dublin*; which was no sooner summon'd (*Trylegb*, and those at a nearer distance, being taken) but he was compell'd by his own Soldiers to deliver it up; and if the Officer who Commanded the Party which summon'd him, had not been his Friend, and thereby hoped to have reduced him to the King's Service, his Soldiers would have thrown him over the Walls, and made their own conditions afterwards; and most of that Garrison betook themselves to the King's Service.

UPON all these Encouragements, before the Troops were come up to make the Army as numerous as it might have been, the Marquis was perswaded to block up *Dublin* as *Ormond* very little distance; having good reason to hope, from the smallness of the Garrison, and a Party of well affected People within the Town, that it would in a short time have been given up to him. In the mean time, he us'd all the means he could to hasten the *Irish* Troops, some whereof were upon their march, and others not yet rais'd, to come up to the Army. By all their Letters from *Londen* (with which, by the way of *Dublin*, and the Ports of *Manster*, there was good Intelligence) they understood, that there were fifteen hundred, or two thousand Men shipp'd for *Ireland*; and the wind having been for some time against their coming for *Dublin*; there was an apprehension that they might be gone for *Mon-Tu* *Le-Tripier*: whereupon the Lord *Inchiquin*, who was not confident of all his Garrisons there, very untimely departed with some Troops of Horse to look after his Province; there being then no cause to apprehend any Ely out of *Dublin*, where they were not in a condition to look out of their own Walls. But he was not gone above two days, when the Wind coming fair, the Ships expected came into the Port of *Dublin*; and land.

and landed a greater number of Soldiers, especially of Horfe, and brought the News that *Cromwell* himself was made Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and intended to be shortly there with a very great supply of Horfe and Foot. This Fleet that was already come, had brought Armes, and Cloaths, and Money, and Victuals; which much exalted the Garrison and the City; which presently turn'd out of the Town some of those who were suspected to will well to the Marquis of *Ormond*, and imprison'd others. The second day after the arrival of the *Saccours*, *Jones*, who had been a Lawyer, and was then Governour of *Dublin*, at Noon-day march'd out of the City, with a Body of three thousand Foot, and three or four Troops of Horfe, and fell upon that Quarter which was next the Town; where they found so little resistance that they adventur'd upon the next; and in soon so disorder'd the whole Army, one-half whereof was on the other side the River, that the Lord Lieutenant, after he had, in the head of some Officers whom he drew together, Charg'd the Enemy with the loss of many of those who follow'd him, was at last compell'd to draw off the whole Army, which was so discomfited, that he did not think fit to return them again to their Posts, till both the Troops which he had, were refresh'd, and compos'd, and their Numbers increased by the Levies which ought to have been made before, and which were now in a good forwardness.

It may be remember'd, that the general Insurrections in the last year, the revolt of the Navy, and the Invasion of the *Scots*, encouraged and drawn in by the Presbyterian Party, had so disturb'd and obtruded the Councils both in the Parliament, and in the Army, that nothing had been done in all that year towards the relief of *Ireland*, except the sending over the Lord *Lifes* Lieutenant, with a Commission that was determin'd at the end of so many Months, and which had given so little relief to the *English*, that it only discover'd more their weakness, and animosity towards each other, than oblietted the *Irish* in making their progress in all the parts of the Kingdom; and the more confirm'd the Lord *Inchiquin* to pursue his Resolutions of serving the King, and of receiving the Marquis of *Ormond* how meanly soever attended, and to unite with the *Irish*, the perfecting of which conjunction, with so general a success, brought so great reproach upon the Parliament, with reference to the loss of *Ireland*, that the noise thereof was very great: So that *Cromwell* thought it high time, in his own Person, to appear upon a Stage of so great Action. There had been always Men enough to be spar'd out of the Army to have been sent upon that Expedition, when

the other difficulties were at height; but the conducting it then was of that importance, that it was, upon the matter, to determine which power should be superior, the Presbyterian or the Independent. And therefore the one had set up and design'd *Walker* for that command, and *Cromwell*, against Him and this Party, had insist'd, that it should be given to *Lambert*, the second Man of the Army, who was known to have as great a detestation of the Presbyterian power, as he had of the Prerogative of the Crown; and the Contests between the two Factions, which of these should be sent, had spent a great part of the last year, and of their Winter Councils. But now, when all the Domestic differences were compos'd by their successes in the field, and the bloody prosecution of their civil Councils, so that there could be little done to the disturbance of the Peace of *England*, and when *Walker's* Friends were so suppress'd, that he was no more thought of, *Cromwell* began to think that the committing the whole Government of *Ireland*, with such an Army as was necessary to be sent thither, was too great a Trust even for his beloved *Lambert* himself, and was to lessen his own power and authority, both in the Army which was commanded by *Parfaix*, and in the other, that, being in *Ireland*, would, upon any occasion, have great influence upon the Affairs of *England*. And therefore, whilst there appear'd no other obstructions in the relief of *Ireland* (which was every day loudly call'd for) than the determining who should take that Charge, some of his Friends, who were always ready upon such occasions, on a sudden propos'd *Cromwell* Himself the Lieutenant General, to conduct that Expedition.

Cromwell himself was always absent when such Overtures were to be made; and whoever had propos'd *Lambert*, had propos'd it as a thing most agreeable to *Cromwell's* desire; and therefore, when they heard *Cromwell* Himself propos'd for the service, and by those who they were sure intended him no affront, they immediately a quiesced in the Proposition, and look'd upon the change as a good expedient: on the other side, the Presbyterian party was no less affected, and concluded that this was only a trick to defer the service, and that he never did intend to go thither in Person; or that if he did, his absence from *England* would give them all the advantages they could wish, and that they should then recover entirely their General *Parfaix* to their Party; who was already much broken in Spirit upon the concurrence he had been drawn to, and declar'd some bitterness against the Persons who had led him to it. And so in a moment both Parties were agreed, and *Oleiver Cromwell* elected and declar'd to be Lord Lieutenant. Vol. III. Part I.

Jones follows out of Dublin, and beats the Marquis of Ormond's Army.

Ormond's

Cromwell made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

nant of *Ireland*, with as ample, and independent a Commission, as could be prepar'd.

Cromwell, how little surpris'dsoever with this designation, appear'd the next day in the House full of confidence and irresolution; which the natural temper, and composure of his understanding could hardly avoid, when he least desir'd it; and therefore, when it was now to his purpose, he could act it to the life. And after much hesitation, and many expressions of his own unworthiness, and disability to support so great a Charge, and of the entire resignation of himself to Their command, and absolute dependence upon God's providence and blessing, from whom he had receiv'd many Instances of his Favour, he submitted to their good will and pleasure; and desir'd them "that no more time might be lost in the preparations which were to be made for so great a Work; for he did confess that Kingdom to be reduced to so great straits, that he was willing to engage his own Person in this expedition, for the difficulties which appear'd in it, and more out of hope, with the hazard of his life, to give some obstruction to the success which the Rebels were at present exalted with (for so he call'd the Marquis of Ormond, and all who joynd with him) "that to the Common-Wealth might retain still some footing in that Kingdom, till they might be able to send fresh Supplies, than out of any expectations, that, with the strength he carried, he should be able, in any logical degree, to prevail over them.

He provides
forms for his
going the
war.

It was an incredible expedition that becom'd from this minute after his assuming that Charge, in the raising of Money, providing of Shipping, and drawing of Forces together, for this enterprise. Before he could be ready himself to march, he sent three thousand Foot and Horse to *Milford Haven*, to be Transported, as soon as they arriv'd there, to *Dublin*; all things being ready there for their Transportation; which Troops, by the contrary Winds, were constrain'd to remain there for many days. And that caus'd the report in *Ireland*, by the intelligence from *Londou*, that Cromwell intended to make a descent in *Wexester*; which unhappily divided the Lord *Inchiquin*, and a good Body of his Men from the Lord Lieutenant, as hath been said, when he march'd towards *Dublin*. Nor did the Marquis of Ormond in truth at that time intend to have march'd thither with that expedition, until his Army should be grown more numerous, and more accusom'd to discipline, but the wonderful success of those Troops, which were sent before, in the taking of *Trim*, *Dundalk*, and all the cast Garrisons, and the invitation and intelligence he had from within *Dublin*, made him unwilling to lose any more time,

time, since he was sure that the crossness of the Wind only hinder'd the arrival of those Supplies, which were design'd thither out of *England*: and the arrival of those Supplies, the very day before his coming before *Dublin*, enabled the Governour thereof to make that Sally which is mention'd before; and had that Success which is mention'd.

The Marquis of Ormond, at that time, drew off his whole Army from *Dublin* to *Tredagh*, where he meant to remain till he could put it into such a posture, that he might prosecute his farther design. And a full account of all these particulars met Cromwell at his arrival at *Milford Haven*, when he rather expected to hear of the loss of *Dublin*, and was in great perplexity to resolve what he was then to do. But all those clouds being dispers'd, upon the news of the great success his Party had that he had sent before, he desir'd not to embark his whole Army, and, with a very prosperous Wind, arriv'd at *Dublin* within two or three days after the Marquis of Ormond had retired from thence; where he was receiv'd with wonderful Acclamations; which did not retard him from pursuing his active resolutions, to improve those advantages had already befallen him. And the Marquis of Ormond was no sooner adverted of his arrival, than he concluded to change his former resolution, and to draw his Army to a greater distance, till those Parties which were marching towards him from the several Quarters of the Kingdom, might come up to him; and in the mean while to put *Tredagh* into so good a posture, as might entertain the Enemy, till he might be able to relieve them. And so he put into that place, which was look'd upon, besides the strength of the Situation, to be in a good degree fortified, the flower of his Army, both of Soldiers and Officers, most of them *English*, to the number of three thousand Foot, and two or three good Troops of Horse, provided with all things; and committed the charge and command thereof to *St Andrew Aiken*, who had been often mention'd before, and was an Officer of great name and experience, and who at that time made little doubt of defending it against all the power of Cromwell, for at least a Month's time. And the Marquis of Ormond made less doubt, in much less time, to relieve and succour it with his Army; and so retired to those parts where he had appointed a Rendezvous for his new Levies.

This News coming to *St Germain's*, broke all their Measures, at least as to the Expedition: the resolution continued before, but it was thought fit that they should expect some other account from thence, before the King began his Journey; nor did it seem countenance that his Majesty should

Y a venture

venture at Sea whilst the Parliament Fleet commanded the Ocean, and were then about the Coast of *Ireland*; but that he should expect the Autumn, when the Season of the year would call home, or disperse the Ships. But where to stay so long was the Question; for it was now the Month of *August*, and as the King had receiv'd no kind of civility from *France*, since his last coming, so it was notorious enough that his absence was impatiently desired by that Court; and the Queen, who found her self disappointed of that Dominion which the him from a Guest that was so unwelcome to them, though he had not been in any degree chargeable to them; and so was not at all solicitous for his longer stay. So his Majesty consider'd how he should make his departure; and, upon looking round, he resolv'd, that he would make his Journey through *Normandy*, and Embark himself for his Island of *Jersey*; which still continu'd under his obedience, and under the Government of *St George Carteret*; who had in truth the power over the place, though he was but the Lieutenant of the Lord *Jermyn*; who, in those Breights the King was in, and the great privacy he himself enjoyed, was wonderfully jealous that the King's being there would lessen some of the profits which he challenged from thence; and therefore, when it was found, in order to the King's Support, whilst he should stay there, necessary to sell some of the King's Demesnes in that Island, the yearly rent whereof used to be receiv'd by that Lord towards the discharge of the Garrisons there, he insisted, with all possible importunity, that some of the Money, which should be rais'd upon that Sale, should be paid to him, because his receipts, for the time to come, would not remain so great as it had been formerly: and though this demand appear'd unjust, and unreasonable, that the Council could not admit it, yet he did prevail with the King in private, to give him such a Note under his hand, as enabled him to receive a good Sum of Money, after the return of his Majesty into *England*, upon that consideration. This Resolution being taken for *Jersey*, the King sent to the Prince of *Orange*, that he would cause two Ships of War to ride in the rode before *St Malo*; (which they might do without notice) and that he might have a Warrant remain in his hands, by which the Ships might attend his Majesty, when he should require them; which they might do in very few hours; and in these he meant to Transport himself, as soon as it should be feasible, into *Ireland*. These Ships did wait his pleasure there accordingly.

FRANCE had too good an excuse at this time for not giving

giving the King any assistance in *Money*, which he might expect, and did abundantly want, by the ill condition their own of *France* Affairs were in. Though the Sedition which had been rais'd in *Paris* the last Winter, was at present so much appeas'd by the Courage, and Conduct of the Prince of *Condé* (who brought the Army, which he commanded in *Flanders*, with great Expedition before *Paris*, that the City yielded to reason) so that his most Christian Majesty, the Queen his Mother, and the whole Court, were at this present there; yet the wound was far from being closed up. The Town continu'd still in ill humour; more of the great Men inclin'd to them than had done before; the Animosities against the Cardinal increased, and, which made those Animosities the more terrible, the Prince of *Condé*, who surely had merited very much, either unattitud, or not to be satisfied, broke his Friendship with the Cardinal, and spoke with much bitterness against him: So that the Court was far from being in that Tranquillity, as to concern it self much for the King our Master, if it had been otherwise well inclin'd to it.

As to things standing thus, about the middle of *September*, the King the King left *St Germain's*, and began his Journey towards *Laure* in *Jersey*; and the Queen, the next day, remov'd from thence to *Paris* to the *Louvre*. The two Embassadors for *Spain* arriv'd there, but to prepare themselves for their Journey to *Spain*, where they longed to be, and whether they had sent for a *Papa* to meet them at *St Sebastian's*, and that they might have a House provided for them at *Madrid*, against the time they should come thither; both which they recommended to an *English* Gentleman, who liv'd there, to solicit, and advertise them in their Journey of the temper of that Court.

THEY thought it convenient, since they were to desire a *Papa* to go from *Paris* into *Spain*, that they should wait upon the Queen Mother of *France*, and the Cardinal; and likewise upon the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Prince of *Condé*; who were then in a Cabal against the Court. The Prince of *Condé* spoke so publickly, and so warmly against the Cardinal, that most People thought the Cardinal undone; and he himself apprehended some attempt upon his Person; and therefore had not in many days gone out of his House, and admitted few to come to him, and had a strong Guard in every Room; so that his fear was not dissembled.

IN this so general disorder, the Embassadors declined any formal Audiences; for which their Equipage was not suitable: so the Lord *Cottington* went privately to the Queen Regent, who receiv'd him graciously, and desired him to recom-

recommenc'd her very kindly to her Brother the King of Spain, without enlarging upon any thing else. From Her he went to the Duke of Orleans, whom he found in more disorder; and when the Embassadour told him, "he came to know whether he had any Service to command him into Spain, the Duke, who scarce flood fill whilst he was speaking, answer'd aloud, "that he had nothing to do with Spain; and so went hastily into another Room; and the Lord Costington then withdrew. They intended both to have gone together to the Prince of Conde, and to the Cardinal. But when they went to the Prince, he wisely, but with great Civility, sent them word, "that they could not be ignorant of the disorder that Court was in, and of the jealousies which were of him; and therefore desired them "to excuse him, "that he did not see them.

The Cardinal appointed them a time; and accordingly they met, and convers'd together about half an hour, the Lord Costington speaking Spanish, and the Cardinal and Fle conferring wholly in that Language. The Cardinal acknowledg'd the apprehension he was in, in his looks; and took occasion in his discourse to mention "the unjust displeasure, "which Monsieur le Prince had conceiv'd against him. He seem'd earnestly to desire a Peace between the two Crowns; and said, "that he would give a pound of his Blood to obtain it; and desir'd the Embassadours "to tell Don Lewis de Haro from him, that he would with all his heart meet him upon the Frontiers; and that he was confident; if they two were together but three hours, they should conclude all differences: which Message he afterwards dispos'd, when Don Lewis accepted the motion, and was willing to have met him. When they took their leave of him, he brought them to the top of the Seins in disorder enough, his Guards being very crumple, and suffering no stranger to approach any of the Rooms.

The Lord Costington and the Cardinal begin their journey for Spain, and arrive at Bourdeaux.

They began their Journey from Paris upon Michaelmas day, and continu'd it, without resting one day, till they came to Bourdeaux; which was then in Rebellion against the King. The City and the Parliament had not only sent several complaints, and bitter invectives against the Duke of Epernon, their Governour, for his Acts of Tyranny in his Government, but had presum'd, in order to make his Person the more ungracious, to asperse his life and manners with those reproaches which they believ'd would most reflect upon the Court. And the truth is, their greatest Quarrel against him was, that he was a full Friend to the Cardinal; and would not be divid'd from his Interest. They had driven the Duke

out of the Town, and did not only desire the King "that he might no more be their Governour; but that his Majesty would give the Government to the Prince of Conde; which made their complaints the less consider'd as just. And it was then one of the most avow'd exceptions that Prince had against the Cardinal, that he had not that Government upon the Petition of Bourdeaux, since he offer'd to resign his of Burgundy, which was held to be of as much Value, to accommodate and repair the Duke of Epernon. At Paris, the Embassadours were visited by the Marshal of Plessy Prusse, who had been sent by the Court to treat with the Parliament of Bourdeaux, but could bring them to no reason, they positively insisting upon the remove of their old Governour, and conferring the Command upon the Prince. When they came to Bourdeaux they found the Citizens Transpette, which still held for the King, shooting at the Town, the Town having invest'd it very close, that no Succour could be put into them, the Duke of Epernon being at his House at Cadillac, from whence his Horse every day infest'd the Citizens when they stir'd out of the Town. Here the Embassadours were compell'd to stay one whole day, the disorders upon the River, and in the Town, not suffering their Coaches and Baggage to follow them so soon as they should have done. They were here visited by some Counsellors, and Presidents of the Parliament; who press'd duty to their King, but irreconcilable hatred to the Duke of Epernon; against whom they had published several Remonstrances in Print, and dedicated them to the Prince of Conde. After a days rest there, which was not unwelcome to them, they continu'd their Journey to Bayonne; and arriv'd, upon the twentieth day from their leaving Paris, at the Tais; where they took Boat, and in an hour or two arriv'd at Girons. The next day they went by the River to Passage, and when they came out of their Boats, which were row'd by Women, according to their Privilege there, they found Mules, sent from St Sebastian's to carry them thither. About half a Mile from the Town they were met by the Governour of Gasconne, Don Antonio de Cardenas, an old Soldier, and a Knight of the Order, the Corregidor and all the Magistrates of St Sebastian's, and the English Merchants which inhabited there; and were Conducted by the Governour to one of the best Houses in the Town, which was provided for their reception; where they no sooner were, than the Governour, and the rest of the Magistrates, took their leave of them.

They had not been half an hour in their Lodging, conferring with the English Merchants, about conveniences to prosecute

prosecute their Journey, when the *Corregidor* came to them, and desired to speak with them in private, and after some compliment and apology, he shew'd them a Letter, which he had receiv'd from the Secretary of State; the contents whereof were, ⁶⁴that when the Embassadors of the Prince of *Wales* should arrive there, they should be receiv'd with ⁶⁵all respect; but that he should find some means to persuade ⁶⁶them to stay and remain there, till he should give ⁶⁷the King notice of it, and receive his farther pleasure. And at the same time an *English* Merchant of the Town, who had told them before, that he had Letters from *Madrid* for them, and had gone home to fetch them, brought them a Paquet from *St Benjamin Wright*; who was intrusted by them to solicit at *Madrid* for their Pass, and for a House to be prepared for them. In this Letter their Pass was inclosed, under the same Style, as Embassadors from the Prince of *Wales*; which he had observ'd upon the place, and desir'd to have it mended, but could procure no alteration, nor could he obtain any Order for the providing a House for them; but was told, ⁶⁸that it should be done time enough. This was an unexpected mortification to them; but they seem'd not to be troubled at it, as if they had intended to stay there a Month, to refresh themselves after their long Journey, and in expectation of other Letters from the King their Master. The *Corregidor* offer'd to send away an Express the same Night, which they accepted of; and writ to *Don Lewis de Haro*, ⁶⁹that the King their Master had sent them his Embassadors ⁷⁰to his Catholick Majesty, upon Affairs of the highest Importance: that they were come so far on their way, but ⁷¹had, to their great wonder, met there with a signification ⁷²of that King's pleasure, that they should stay and remain ⁷³there, till they should receive his Majesty's farther Orders; ⁷⁴which troubled them not so much, as to find themselves ⁷⁵fly'd the Embassadors of the Prince of *Wales*, which they ⁷⁶thought very strange, after his Catholick Majesty had sent ⁷⁷an Embassador to the King their Master before they left ⁷⁸him: they desired therefore to know, whether their Persons were unacceptable to his Catholick Majesty, and if ⁷⁹that were the Case, they would immediately return to their ⁸⁰Master; otherwise, if his Majesty were content to receive ⁸¹them, they desir'd they might be treated in that manner as ⁸²was due to the Honour and Dignity of the King their Master. And they writ to *St Benjamin Wright*, to attend ⁸³*Don Lewis*, and if he found that they were expected ⁸⁴at *Madrid*, and that they reform'd the Errors they had committed, he should then use those importunities, which were ⁸⁵necessary

⁸⁶necessary for the providing a House for them against they ⁸⁷should come.

THOUGH the Court was then full of business, being in daily expectation of their new Queen; who was land'd, and at that time within few days Journey of *Madrid*; yet the very next day after the Letter was deliver'd to *Don Lewis de Haro*, he return'd an Answer full of civility, and impetred the error that was committed, to the negligence, and ignorance of the Secretary; and sent them new Passes in the same Style; and assured them, ⁸⁸that they should find a very good welcome from his Majesty. And *St Benjamin Wright* sent them word, ⁸⁹that he had receiv'd the Warrant for the ⁹⁰providing the House; and the officer, to whom it was directed, had call'd upon him to view two or three Houses; ⁹¹and that *Don Lewis* told him, that as soon as he had found ⁹²a House that pleased him, Orders should be given to the ⁹³King's Officers of the *Wardrobe* to furnish it; and then ⁹⁴when the Embassadors came, there should be one of the ⁹⁵King's Coaches to attend them whillt they staid. Hereupon they made haste in their Journey, with some satisfaction and confidence that they should find a Court not so hard to treat with, that could begin to receive them with so barefaced and form'd an affront, and then so easily recede from it with weak Apologies. And it was plain enough, that they heavily wish'd that they had not come; and imagin'd that this might put them to return again, and then were ashamed of their own Expedient, and being press'd, choser rather to decline than avow it: So unnatural a thing it is for the Court to stoop to any ugly Action, without doing it so ungraciously, as to confess it in their own Countenance, and quickly receding from it.

It was about the middle of *November* when they left *St Sebastian's*, the Weather yet continuing fair; and a Gentleman of Quality of the Country was appointed to accompany them out of the jurisdiction of *Gaspassa*, which was to the City of *Vitoria*; and from thence they enter'd into *Castile*. When they came to *Alcavandas*, within three Leagues of *Madrid*, they sent to *St Benjamin Wright* to know what House was provided for them: he came to them, and told them, ⁹⁶that all things were in the same state they were when he writ ⁹⁷to them to *St Sebastian's*; that though *Don Lewis* gave him ⁹⁸very good words, and seem'd much troubled and dignify ⁹⁹with the Officers that the House was not ready, and the ¹⁰⁰Officers excus'd themselves upon the jollities the Town ¹⁰¹was in during the *Fiestas*, which were held every day for ¹⁰²the Queen's arrival, that no body could attend any particu-

¹⁰³lar

lar affair, yet it was evident there was not that care taken from the Court that there ought to have been, and that *Don Alonso de Cardinas* from England had done the Embassadors all the ill offices possible, as if their good reception in Spain would incense the Parliament, and make them more propitious to France, which valued it less upon having driven all the Royal Family from thence.

UPON this new Mortification, they writ again from thence to *Don Lewis*, to desire that they might not be put to stay there for want of a House, and so be exposed to contempt. Nor were they accommodated in that place in any degree. He always Answer'd their Letters with great punctuality, and with courtesy enough, as if all things should be ready by the next day. The English Merchants, who resided at *Madrid*, came every day to visit them, but still brought them word, that there was no appearance of any provision made to receive them; so that, after a weeks stay in that little Town, and ill accommodation, they accepted the civil offer and invitation, which *St Benjamin Wright* made them, of receiving themselves *incognito* in his House; which would only receive their Persons with a *Palat de Chambres* for each; and the rest of their family was quarter'd in the next adjacent Houses for the reception of Strangers; so they went privately in the Evening into *Madrid* in *St Benjamin Wright's* Coach, and came to his House; and if, by His generosity, they had not been thus accommodated, they must have been exposed to reproach and infamy, by the very little respect they receiv'd from the Court. This *St Benjamin Wright* was a Gentleman of a good Family in Essex; and, being a younger Brother, had been bred a Merchant in *Madrid*; where he had great business, and great reputation; and, having married a Wife of the Family of *Toledo*, was become a perfect Spaniard, not only in the Language, but in the generous part of their Nature and Customs.

THE Court well enough knew of their Arrival, but took no notice of it. The Lord *Cottingham* therefore sent to *Don Lewis*, to desire that he might have a private Audience of him *incognito*; which he presently consented to, and appointed, the next Morning, to meet in the King's Garden; which was at such a distance from the Court, that it was not in the view of it. There they met at the hour: *Don Lewis* was a Man of little ceremony, and used no flourish in his discourses, which made most Men believe that he said all things from his heart; and he seem'd to speak so cordially, that the Lord *Cottingham*, who was not easy to be imposed upon, did think that they should have a House very speedily,

and

and that he had a good inclination to favour them in what they came about. He spoke, with more composure than was natural to him, in the business of the Murder of the King; excus'd all the ommissions towards the Embassadors; that should be repair'd out of hand; after the few days, which yet remain'd to be spent in *Fleets* for the Queen; during which time, he said, no Officers would obey any Orders that diverted them from the fight of the Triumphe; and wif'd that the Embassadors would see the Masquerade that Afternoon, and the *Trois* the Day following.

THE Lord *Cottingham* return'd home very well satisfied; and had not been half an hour in the House, when a Gentleman came from *Don Lewis* to invite the Embassadors to see those Exercises, which were mention'd before; and sent them word that there should be places provided for them. The Chancellor went that Afternoon to the place assign'd where he saw the Masquerade, and the running of the Course, and, afterwards, the *Trois*.

AT the running of the Course, the King and *Don Lewis* run several Courses, in all which *Don Lewis* was too good a Courtier to win any prize, though he always lost it by very little. The appearance of the People was very great, and the Ladies in all the Windows were a very rich sight, otherwise they few it self had nothing wonderful. Here there happen'd to be some disdainful words between the *Admirante* of *Castile*, a haughty young Man, and the *Marquis de Liche*, the eldest Son of *Don Lewis de Haro*; the which being taken notice of, they were both dismissed the Squadrons wherein they were, and committed to their Chambers.

AT the Entertainment of the *Trois* there was another accident, the mention whereof is not unfit to shew the discipline, and severity of that Nation in the observation of orders. It was remember'd, that at the Masquerade, the *Admirante* and the *Marquis de Liche* were sent to their Chambers: and afterwards, the matter being examin'd, they were both commanded to leave the Town, and retire each to a House of his own, that was within three or four Leagues of the Town. The *Marquis de Liche* was known to have gone the next day, and no body doubted the fame of the *Admirante*, those orders being never disput'd or disobey'd. The King as he was going to the *Trois*, either himself discern'd at another Balcony, or some body else advertised him of it, that the *Duchess*, who was Wife to the *Admirante*, was there; and said, that he knew that Lady was a Woman of more Honour than to come out of her House, and be present at

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The *gens*
Madrid to
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“his Majesty, whilst her Husband was under restraint, and in his Majesty’s displeasure; and therefore concluded that her Husband was likewise there; and thereupon sent an *Alguazil* to that Room, with command to examine carefully with his Eye, whether the *Admirante* was there; for there appear’d none but Women. The *Admirante* being a young rash Man, much in the King’s favour, and a Gentleman of his Bed Chamber, thought he might undiscern’d see the Triumph of that day; and therefore caus’d himself to be dress’d in the habit of a Lady, which his age would well bear, and forced his Wife to go with him; who exceedingly refitted his Commands, well knowing to what reproach she expos’d her own honour, though she had no fear of his being discover’d. The *Alguazil* brought the King word, that he was very sure that the *Admirante* was there, in the habit of a Woman, and sat next his Wife among many other Ladies. Whereupon the King sent the Officer to apprehend him in the habit he was in, and to carry him to the Officer’s own House. And as soon as the King return’d to the Palace, there was an Order that the *Alguazil* should the next Morning carry the *Admirante* to *Valadolid*, four days Journey from *Madrid*, to a House of his own there; where he was confin’d not to go out of the limits of that City; and under this restraint remain’d for the space of full three years. So penal a thing it is amongst that People, for any Man, of how great Quality soever (there was not in *Spain* a Man of greater than the *Admirante* of *Castile*) to disobey, or elude the judgement of the King.

The King
remains so
near himself
his Majesty

It may be thought impertinent to the work in hand, to make a digression upon this Embassy, and to enlarge upon many circumstances which occur’d in it, of the formality and constitution of that Court, of the nature and humour of that People, which may seem foreign to the affairs of *England*. But since the King, after his leaving *Paris*, remain’d in *Jersey* for many Months, waiting such a revolution as might administer an opportunity and occasion to quit that retirement, in all which time there was no Action, or Countenance to be receiv’d, and this being the first, and the only Embassy, in which his Majesty’s Person was represented, until his blessed return into *England* (for though some other Persons were afterwards sent to other Princes, with Commissions to perform that function, if they found encouragement to do, yet none assur’d that Character, nor were created as such in any Court in *Christendom*, *Spain* only excepted) it may therefore be reasonably thought not improper in this History, to give such a relation of this Negotiation,

that it may appear what sense so great a Court as that of *Spain* had of those Revolutions in *England*, and of the deplorable Condition to which this young innocent Prince was reduced, when it was fully press’d on them in the most efficacious terms possible; and every circumstance of their Reception, and Treatment, may serve to illustrate those particulars; and therefore we shall proceed farther in the relation of them.

BEFORE their Audience, *Don Lewis de Haro* sent them word of the Imprisonment of the Prince of *Orléans*, the Prince of the *Conty*, and the Duke of *Longueville*, and that *Marshall Turenne* had made his Escape into *Flanders*; the news whereof gave the *Spanish* Court much trouble; for they had promised themselves a better Harvest from that Seed, which they had carefully and industriously sown, and that thereby the Cardinal, whom they perfectly hated, would have been totally suppressed, and all his power entirely taken from him; which, they concluded, would forthwith produce a Peace, which was not less desir’d in *France* than in *Spain*; or that those Princes, and all their Dependents, would have appear’d in Arms in that Kingdom; by which the *Spaniards* should be able to recover much of what they had lost in *Flanders*; the hopes of either of which appear’d now blasted by this unexpected removal of the Cardinal’s power.

UPON the day assign’d for the Audience, it being resolv’d that when they had ended with the King, they should likewise have one of the Queen, *Don Lewis de Haro* sent Horses to their Lodging, for the accommodation of the Embassadors, and their Servants: it being the fashion of that Court, that the Embassadors ride to their first Audience. And so they rode, being attended by all their own Servants, and all the *English* Merchants who liv’d in the Town, together with many *Irish* Officers who were in the Service of his Catholic Majesty, all on Horses back; so that their Cavalcade appear’d very fair, all the Coaches of other Embassadors likewise following them. In this manner they came to the Court about ten of the Clock in the Morning, being Conducted by an Officer, who had been sent to their Lodging, and rode with them to the Court.

THROUGH several Rooms, where there was only one Officer, who attended to open and shut the doors, they came to the Room next that where his Majesty was; where, after a little stay, whilst their Conductor went in and out, they found the King standing upright, with his back against the Wall, and the Grandees at a distance, in the same posture against the Wall. When they had made their several respects,

and came to the King, he lightly mov'd his Hat, and bid them cover: The Lord *Cristingus* spoke only general things, ⁴⁰of the confidence the King had in his Majesty's kindness, and ⁴¹that He believ'd his credition facts, as that all the Kings of ⁴²the World were concern'd to vindicate the wrong He had ⁴³rain'd: That this was the first Embassy he had sent, relying ⁴⁴more upon the Honour of his Majesty's Nature and Genero- ⁴⁵sity, than upon any other Prince; with discourses of the time ⁴⁶nature: Then they presented their Credentials.

THE King expell'd a very tender Sense of our King's con- ⁴⁷dition, and acknowledged ⁴⁸that it concern'd all Kings to ⁴⁹payn together for the punishment of such an Impious Rebel- ⁵⁰lion and Parricide; and if his own Affairs would permit ⁵¹it, he would be the first that would undertake it; but that ⁵²they could not but know how full his Hands were; and ⁵³whillt he had so powerful an Adversary to contend with, ⁵⁴he could hardly defend himself; but that when there should ⁵⁵be a Peace with *France* (which he desired) ⁵⁶the King, his ⁵⁷*Admiral* (for so he shall call'd the King, his Nephew) ⁵⁸should ⁵⁹find all he could expect from him; in the mean time he ⁶⁰would be ready to do all that was in his power towards his ⁶¹assistance and relief. After the formal part was over, the ⁶²King asked many Questions, most with reference to his Sister, ⁶³the Queen of *France*; and discoursed very intelligently of ⁶⁴every thing; so that his defects proceeded only from the laziness ⁶⁵of his mind, not from any want of understanding; and ⁶⁶he seem'd then, when he was about eight and forty years of ⁶⁷Age, to have great vigour of Body, having a clear ruddy ⁶⁸Complexion; yet he had been accom'd to Fevers from ⁶⁹his Debauches with Women, by which he was much ⁷⁰wasted.

FROM the King they were Conducted to the Queen; who ⁷¹used very few words, and spoke so low that she could scarce ⁷²be heard; she stood, in the time manner the King did, against ⁷³a Wall, and her Ladies on both sides as the Grandees did; ⁷⁴the *Infanta* at a little distance from her, to whom likewise ⁷⁵they made a Compliment from their Master. The Queen was ⁷⁶then about eighteen years of Age, not Tall, round faced, and ⁷⁷inclined to be fat. The *Infanta* was much Lower, as she ought ⁷⁸to be by her Age, but of a very lovely Complexion, without ⁷⁹any help of Art, which every one else in the Room, even the ⁸⁰Queen her self, was beholding to; and she was then the full- ⁸¹lest of Spirit and Wit of any Lady in *Spain*, which she had ⁸²not improv'd afterwards, when she had more years upon her.

Their Audience ended, they return'd; and at last they had a ⁸³House provided for them in the *Calle de Alcalá*, belonging to

The last
of this
page is
from

the Marquis of *Villa Alegre*, to whom the King paid four hundred pounds Sterling by the year.

THE Council of State at this time consisted of *Don Lewis de Haro*, the Duke of *Medina de las Torres*, Duke of *Montenegro*, Marquis of *Castellé Rodrigo*, Marquis of *Vall-Perijó*, the Count of *Castrin*, and *Don Brancisco de Abola*; there were no more residing in that Court then; the Duke of *Medina del Infantado* residing constantly at his Government of *St. Lucar*, the Marquis of *Leganes* being General against *Portugal*, and so remaining at *Belesajon*, and coming seldom to *Madrid*, and the Duke of *sever* stood continu'd to his House, since the detestation of *Naples* when it was under his Government; and the Count of *Pignoranda* was not yet come out of *Flanders*.

DON Lewis was as absolute a Favourite in the Eyes of his ⁸⁴Master, had as entire a disposal of all his Affections and ⁸⁵Qualities, as any Favourite of that Age: Nor was any thing ⁸⁶transacted at home, or abroad, but by his direction and ⁸⁷determination: And yet of all the Favourites of that, or any ⁸⁸other time, no Man ever did so little alone, or seem'd less ⁸⁹to enjoy the delight and empire of a Favourite. In the most ⁹⁰ordinary occurrences, which, for the difficulty, required li- ⁹¹ber Deliberation, and in the nature of them required Expedi- ⁹²tion, he would give no Order without formal Consultation ⁹³with the rest of the Council; which hinder'd dispatch, and ⁹⁴made his Paris the more suspected. He was Son of the ⁹⁵Marquis of *Cerpio*, who had Married the Sister of *Oliverares*, ⁹⁶and had been put about the Person of the King, being about ⁹⁷the same Age with his Majesty, and had so grown up in his ⁹⁸Affection, and was not thought to have been displeas'd at ⁹⁹the disgrace of his Uncle, but rather to have contributed to ¹⁰⁰it, though he did not succeed in the place of Favourite in ¹⁰¹many years, nor seem'd to be concern'd in any business till ¹⁰²after the death of the then Queen, and was rather drawn in- ¹⁰³to it by the violence of the King's Affection, who had a ¹⁰⁴great kindness for his Person, than by the Ambition of his ¹⁰⁵own Nature, or any delight in business. His Education had ¹⁰⁶not fitted him for it, and his natural Parts were not sharp, ¹⁰⁷yet his Industry was great, and the more commendable, be- ¹⁰⁸cause his Nature had some repugnancy to it, and his Experi- ¹⁰⁹ence had so fitted him for it, that he never spoke impertinently, ¹¹⁰but discoursed reasonably and weightily upon all Sub- ¹¹¹jects. He was of a Melancholick Complexion; which, it ¹¹²may be, was the reason that he did not trust himself to him- ¹¹³self, which was his defect. He seem'd to be a very honest, ¹¹⁴and well natur'd Man, and did very rarely manifest his power ¹¹⁵in Acts of oppression, or hard heartedness; which made him

grateful

grateful to most particular Men, when he was hated enough by the generality. His Part and Grandeur was very much inferior to that of either of the French Cardinals; the last of which was Favourite during his Administration. Nor did he affect Wealth as They did, nor leaving a Fortune behind him much improv'd by his own industry; yet it cannot be denied, that the Affairs of Spain declined more, in the time they were under his Government, than at any time before; and that less was done with the consumption of so much Money, than might have been expected. But it must be likewise consider'd, that he centrd upon that Administration in a very unhappy conjuncture, after the loss of Portugal, and the defection in Catalonia, which made such a rent in that Crown, as would have required more than an ordinary States-man to have repair'd, and make it flourish as before.

of the Con-
do of Pige-
noranda.

THE Embassadors had not been long at Madrid, when the *Conde de Pignoranda* return'd thither from his Negotiation in the Treaty of *Munster*. He had been declar'd to be of the Council of State, after he had made that Peace with *Holland*, and was admitted to it as soon as he return'd. He was *Conde* in the right of his Wife only; and before, being of a good Family, *Don Diego de Brachamonte*, and bred in the study of the Law, was look'd upon as a good Man of business, and so employ'd in matters of greatest Trust. He was intend'd a Man of great Parts, and understood the Affairs of the World better than most in that Court. He was Proud to the height of his Nation, and retain'd too much of the Pedantry which he had brought with him from *Salamanca*. As soon as he return'd, according to the method of that Court upon great and fiscal Employments, the *Presidentship de los Ordenes*, an Office of great Reputation, becoming void, it was the very next day confer'd upon him. The Embassadors found no benefit by his Arrival, coming from *Brussels*, which was throngly infected by *Don Alonso*. The truth is, *Don Alonso*, who had no Affection for the King, upon the memory of some disobligations which he first came over into England, and likel well his Employment, and Residence there, us'd all the endeavours imaginable to have the King's Condition thought to be irrecoverable and desperate, and that therefore all Civilities extended towards him were cast away, and would yield no fruit, and that the Commonwealth was so established, that it could never be shaken. So that Spain thought only how to make a firm Friendship there, and to forget that there ever had been a King of *England*, in the confidence that there would be no more. And there-
fore

fore when the Embassadors, after all Ceremonies were over, had a private Audience of the King, and desir'd, "that he would appoint Commissioners, with whom they might treat about the renewing the Alliance between the Crowns, which had been provided for by the last Treaty to be renew'd within so many Months after the death of either King; and with whom they might likewise confer upon such relief in Armes, and Money, as his Catholick Majesty would think proper to send to their Master into Ireland (whichever one of the Embassadors desired to hasten his Journey as soon as might be; and in that Memorial, which they then deliver'd to his Catholick Majesty, they had desir'd likewise "that he would write to *Queen O Nidia* "to dispose him to submit to the King) they receiv'd shortly after an Answer, sent to them by *Don Francisco de Melo*, who *The Ambassador* told them, "that the King had sent him to them, to confer with them upon the substance of their last Memorial. He said, the King did not think it necessary to appoint any Committee to renew the last Treaty of Peace; which was still in force, and might well be observ'd between the two Nations; and that the renewing might be deserr'd till the times should mend, implying very little less than that when the King should be in England, it would be a fit time to renew the Alliance. He said, "he was ready to receive many Propositions from them, wherein they might more particularly set down their desires, if they were ready to depart; and for writing to *Queen O Nidia* (whom he call'd *Don Eugenia*) "he had so misbehav'd himself towards his Catholick Majesty, by leaving his Service in *Flanders*, and transporting himself into Ireland without his License, that his Majesty could not in Honour write to him; but that he would take such care, that he should know it would be agreeable to his Majesty's good liking, that he bestow'd himself to the Service of the King of Great Britain without reserve; which he did believe would dispose him to it: which Method the Embassadors conceiv'd was propos'd, because they should believe that the *Spaniard* had no hand in sending him into that Kingdom, or in fomenting the Rebellion there; whereas at the same time *Don Diego de la Torre* was with the *Iris* as Resident or Envoy from Spain.

THIS Answer was evidence enough to them, how little they were to expect from any avow'd Friendship of that Crown, though they still thought they might be able to obtain some little favour in private, as Armes, and Ammunition, and a small supply of Money for the King's Subsidience, that could hardly be taken notice of. And therefore the
Vol. III. Part 1. Z. Chancel-

The Embas-
sador's pri-
vate audience
was made
private.

Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was design'd by the King to attend him in *Ireland*, expected only to hear that he was arriv'd there, till when he could not present his Memorial particularly as was demanded, nor prepare himself for his Voyage thither: and so they rested for some time, without giving the Court any farther trouble by Audiences.

Now whilst they were in this impatient Expectation to hear from the King their Master, who yet remain'd at *Jersey*, by which they might take their own resolutions, Prince *Rupert* came upon the coast of *Spain* with the Fleet under his Command; which he had brought from *Ireland*; and had sent a Letter on Shore to be sent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; which the Officer upon the place, sent presently to *Don Lewis de Haro*; who, in the same moment, sent it to him with a very civil salutation. The Prince writ him word, "that he had brought away all the Fleet from

Prince Rupert came upon the coast of Spain.

His Letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Ireland, and that he had receiv'd an Assurance from *Pope Innocent*, that he should be very welcome thither; upon which "he was resolv'd, after he had attended some days to meet with any English Ships that might be prize, to go for *Lisbon*; and desired him to procure Orders from the Court, "that he might find a good reception in all the Ports of *Spain*, if his occasions brought him thither. The Embassadors sent immediately for an Audience to *Don Lewis*; who receiv'd them with open Arms, and another kind of Countenance than he had done before. A Fleet of the King of *England*, under the Command of a Prince of the Blood upon the Coast of *Spain*, at a Season of the year when they expected the return of their Galeons from the Indies, made a great contentation amongst the People, and the Court receiv'd the news of it with disorder enough. All that the Embassadors asked, was granted without hesitation; and Letters were dispatch'd away that very Night (Copies whereof were sent to the Embassadors) by several Expresses, to all the Governours of the Ports, and other Officers, for the good reception of Prince *Rupert*, or any Ships under his Command, if they came into any of the Ports; and for the furnishing them with any Provisions they should stand in need of, with as many friendly Clauses as could have been inserted if the King had been in possession of his whole Empire: so great an influence a little appearance of Power had upon their Spirits; and the Embassadors found they liv'd in another kind of Air than they had done, and receiv'd every day Visits and Carrels from the Court, and from those in Authority.

BUT

BUT the Government of these benign Stars was very short: The Prince Within few days after, they receiv'd News, "that the Prince, with the gross of his Fleet, was gone into the River of *the Tago* at *Lisbon*, and that a Squadron of four or five Ships, under the Command of Captain *Allen*, being sever'd from the Prince by a Storm, was driven upon the Rocks at *Cortegena*; where the People of the Country had treated them very rudely, and seized both upon the Ships, and Persons of the Men, and the Storm continuing had wrecked two or three of their Vessels in the Road, though the Guns and all things in the Ships were saved. When the Embassadors demanded Justice, "and that restitution might be made of all those Goods, and Ordnance, and rigging of the Ships, which not only the People, but the Governours, and Officers themselves had seized upon, they were receiv'd with much more cloudy looks than before; nor was there the same Expedition in granting what they could not deny. Orders were at last given for the fetching all the Men at liberty, and redelivery of the Goods, that thereby they might be enabled to mend their Vessels and Transport their Men.

BUT as these Orders were but faintly given, so they were more slowly executed; and a stronger Fleet led out by the Parliament of *England* then appear'd upon the Coast, which came into the Road of *St Andrew's*, from whence the King of *Spain* writ a very insolent Letter in English to the King of *Spain*; wherein he requir'd, "that none of those Ships under the Command of Prince *Rupert*, which had revolted from the Parliament, and were in Rebellion against the King, might be receiv'd into any of the Ports of *Spain*, and that those Ships which were in the Ports of *Cortegena*, might be deliver'd to him, and the Ordnance and tackling of the other which were wreck'd, might be carefully kept, and be deliver'd to such Person as should be authoriz'd to receive the same by the Common-wealth of *England*; to whom they belong'd; and concluded, "that as the Common-wealth of *England* was willing to live in Amity, and good Intelligence with his Catholick Majesty, so they knew very well how to do themselves right for any injury, or discourtesy, which they should sustain.

It is imperious style made such an impression upon the Court, that all the impertinency the Embassadors could use, could get nothing done at *Cortegena* in pursuance of the Orders they had sent from the Court; but the poor Men were, after long attendance, forced to Transport themselves as they were able; and two or three hundred of them march'd over Land, and were compell'd to List themselves in the Service

L 2

Service

Service at Land; where they, for the most part, perish'd; care being in the mean time taken, that the Parliament Fleet should be receiv'd in all places, with all possible demonstration of respect and kindness; and the King sent a Ring of the value of fifteen hundred pounds to the Commander. In this Triumph he Sail'd thence into *Portugal*, and drop'd his Anchors in the River of *Lisbon*, at a very small distance from the Fleet of Prince *Rupert*; and suffer'd not any Ship to enter into that River; but denounced War against that Kingdom, if that Fleet were not presently deliver'd up into his hands.

He fell into the hands of Lisbon. Rupert's Fleet was deliver'd up.

THE *Portuguese* had receiv'd Prince *Rupert* very civilly; bought all the Prizes he had brought thither, gave him the free use of all their Ports, and furnish'd him with all things he stood in need of. The Queen, and the Prince of *Portugal* then living, who was a young Man of great hope and courage, made great professions of Friendship to our King, and of a desire to assist him by all the ways and means which could be propos'd to them. But when their River was block'd up, their Ships taken, and the whole Kingdom upon the matter besieged by the Parliament Fleets, of which they knew the *Spaniards* would quickly make use, the Council was astonish'd, and knew not what to do: their free Trade with *England* was not only their profit, but their reputation; and if they should be depriv'd of that, they should not be able to preserve it any where else; which would put the whole Kingdom into a flame; and therefore they besought their King, "that Prince *Rupert* might be desir'd to leave the River, and to carry his Fleet from thence; which was not possible for him to do without fighting with the Enemy, to whom he was much inferior in strength of Shipping, and number of Men, by the loss he had sustain'd at *Cortegena*."

THE Prince of *Portugal* had so great indignation at this overture made by the Council, that he declar'd "he would have all the Ships in the Port made ready, and would himself go on Board, and join with Prince *Rupert*, and fight the *English*, and drive them from thence;" and he manifest'd a great desire to do so; but the Council prevail'd with the Queen not to consent to that: So in the end, after some Months stay there, and the Fleet being fully supplied with whatever it stood in need of, Prince *Rupert* found it necessary, upon the assistance the *Portuguese* gave him that the other Fleet should not follow him till after two Tides, to set Sail and leave that Kingdom; which he did with so full a Gale, that the Parliament's Commander, after to long a stay, found it no purpose to follow him; but took full vengeance upon *Portugal*

Prince Rupert's escape out of the Bay of Lisbon into the Fleet.

gal for rescuing his Prey from him; until they were compell'd, after great sufferings, to purchase their peace from *Cromwell* upon very hard conditions.

It seem'd no good sign to the Embassadors that Prince *Rupert* had left *Ireland*; where there were so many good Ports, and where the Fleet had been necessary for the carrying on his Majesty's Service. But, in a short time after, they receiv'd advertisement, "that the King had laid aside his purpose of going thither, and had taken new resolutions. Before the Marquis of *Ormond* could draw his Army together, *Cromwell* had besieg'd *Tredagh*; and though the Garrison was so strong in point of number, and that number of so choice Men, that they could wish for nothing more than that the Enemy would attempt to take them by storm, the very next day after he came before the Town he gave a general Assault, and was beaten off with considerable loss. But, after a day more, he Assaulted it again in two places, with so much courage, that he enter'd in both; and though the Governour and some of the chief Officers retir'd in disorder into a Fort, where they hoped to have made conditions, a panic fear possess'd the Soldiers, that they threw down their Armes upon a general offer of Quarter: so that the Enemy enter'd the Works without resistance, and put every Man, Governour, *Tredagh* Officers, and Soldier, to the Sword; and the whole Army being enter'd the Town, they executed all manner of cruelty, and put every Man that related to the Garrison, and all the Citizens who were Irish, Man, Woman, and Child, to the Sword; and there being three or four Officers of Name, and of good Families, who had found some way, by the humanity of some Soldiers of the Enemy, to conceal themselves for four or five days, being afterwards discover'd, they were butcher'd in cold blood.

THIS insupportable loss took away all hopes from the Marquis of *Ormond* of drawing an Army strong enough, and resolute enough, together, to meet *Cromwell* in the field, during the Summer, which was drawing to an end; and oblig'd him to retire into those Quarters, where, in respect of the strong Places, he might be secure, and from whence he might attempt upon the Enemy. *Cromwell* in the mean time took no rest, but having made himself terrible by that excess of rigour and cruelty, march'd into *Wexford* against the Lord *Inchiquin*, *Cromwell* and that Body of *English* which was under His Command, march'd Here he desir'd Fortune again; and march'd so far out of the places devoted to him, and from whence he had any reasonable hope to receive Supplies, that he must necessarily have been starv'd, and could not have retir'd, all the Bridges over which

The assault of Ireland at this time.

Item.

Cromwell's march into Wexford.

which he had paid, being broken down, if the City of *Carik*, which he could not have forced, had not been by the Garrison safely deliver'd up to him; those Officers who had been most oblig'd to the Lord *Insulph*, and in whom he had most confidence, unworthily betraying him, and every day forsaking him: so that by the Example of *Carik*, and by the terror of *Tredague*, the whole Province of *Manister*, in a very short time fell into *Crowmold's* hands, except some few Towns and Sea-Ports, which, being Garrison'd by the *Irish*, would, neither Officers nor Soldiers, receive or obey any Orders which were sent from the Lord of *Ormond*. The King receiving information of this at *Jersey*, gave over the thought very reasonably of adventuring himself into *Ireland*; and dismiss'd the two Ships, which, by the direction of the Prince of *Orange*, had attended so long at *St. Malo's*, to have waited him thither.

THOUGH Duke *Hamilton*, and the Earl of *Lantherdale*, and the other *Scottish* Lords, who remain'd in *Holland* when the King came into *France*, durst not return into their own Country, yet they held Intelligence with their Party there. And though the Marquis of *Argyle* had the sole power, yet he could not extinguish the impatient desire of that whole Nation, to have their King come to them. And every day produced instances enough, which inform'd him, how the affections of the People were generally dispos'd, and upon how slippery ground himself stood, if he were not supported by the King; and that the Government, he was then possess'd of, could not be lasting, except he had another Force to defend him, than that of his own Nation. And he durst not receive any from *Cromwell*, who would willingly have assisted him, for fear of being entirely deserted by all his Friends, who had been still firm to him. Hereupon he thought of drawing the King into *Scotland*, and keeping the *Hamiltonian* Faction from entering with him, by the sentence that was already against them, and to oblige the King to submit to the Covenant, and all those other obligations which were at that time establish'd; and if his Majesty would put himself into his hands upon those conditions, he should be sure to keep the power in himself under the King's name, and might reasonably hope that *Cromwell*, who made no pretence to *Scotland*, might be well enough pleas'd that his Majesty might remain there under His Government, and Assurance, that he should not give *England* or *Ireland* any disturbance.

UPON his presumption, he writ to the Council of *Scotland*, and that Committee of the Parliament in whom the Authority was vested, to send again to the King (who, they

Argyle design'd to visit the *King* in *Scotland*;

Providence was a help to his *Scottish* Land, by its *Jersey* upon the old *Condition*.

thought, by this time, might be weary of *Jersey*) to invite him to come to them upon the old conditions; and by gratifying them in this particular, which all the People did so passionately desire, he renew'd all the solemn obligations they had been before bound in, never to admit the King to come amongst them, but upon his first submitting to, and performing all those conditions. All things being thus settled, and agreed, they sent a Gentleman with Letters to *Jersey*, to invite his Majesty again to come into his Kingdom of *Scotland*, not without a rude insinuation that it was the last invitation he should receive. The *Scottish* Lords, who are mention'd before to be then in *Holland*, were glad of this advance; and believ'd that if the King were there, they should easily find the way home again. And therefore they prevail'd with the Prince of *Orange*, to write very earnestly to the King, and to recommend it to the Queen; and themselves made great instance to the Queen, with whom they had much credit, that the King would not lose this opportunity to improve his condition. No body presum'd to advise him to submit to All that was propos'd; and yet it was evident, that if he did not submit to All, he could have the benefit of none; but that he should make such an Answer as might engage the Scots in a Treaty, for the King's better information, and satisfaction in some particulars: which being done, he should imply a purpose to Transport his Person thither.

THE Spring was now coming on, and though *Jersey* was a convenient place to retire to, in order to consider what was next to be done, yet it was not a place to reside in, nor would be longer safe, than whilst the Parliament had so much elic to do, that it could not spare wherewithal to reduce it. The design for *Ireland* was at an end, and the desire of being welcome in any other place, compell'd the King to think better of *Scotland*, and so, according to the advice he had receiv'd, he return'd an Answer to the Message from *Scotland*, that there were many particulars contain'd in the Propositions which he did not understand, and which it was necessary for him to be advis'd in; and in order thereunto, and that he might be well inform'd and instructed in what so near concern'd him, he resolv'd, by such a time, which was set down, to find himself in *Holland*; where he desir'd to meet such Persons as his Kingdom of *Scotland* would send to him, and, to confer, and treat, and agree with those upon all things that might give his Subjects of that Kingdom satisfaction; which his Majesty did very much desire to do.

THE Queen had so good an opinion of many of the *Scottish* Lords, and so ill a one of many of the *English* who were about the King (in truth, she had fo entire a dislike of all other ways) that she was very desirous that the overtures from *Scotland* should be hearken'd to, and embraced: besides that she found her Authority was not so great with the King, as she expected, she had no possibility of their being long together: She knew well that the Court of *France*, that grew every day into a closer correspondence with *Cromwell*, would not endure that the King should make his Residence in any part of that Kingdom; and so horrid'd the Assignations which they had made for her own support, that she was at last, and begun to think of dissolving her own Family, and of her own retiring into a Monastery; which from that time she practis'd by degrees: and, no doubt, that consideration which made most impression upon the King, as it had done upon his Father, and terrified him most from complying with the *Scots* demand, which was the alteration it would make in Religion, and the Government of the Church, seem'd not to Her of moment enough to reject the other conveniences; nor did she prefer the order, and decency of the Church of *England*, before the fondness of the Kirk of *Scotland*, but thought it the best expedient to advance her own Religion, that the latter should triumph over the former. She therefore writ earnestly to the King her Son, "that he would en-

The Queen
advise the
King to a-
void the
Scots when
they return.

The Maj-
esties meet at
Brevasis.
The King
goes to Bre-
vasis.

The Scottish
Commissioners
come to Bre-
vasis, and
the terms
they bring.

certify this motion from *Scotland*, as his only refuge; and that he would invite Commissioners to meet him in *Holland*, "in such a place as the Prince of *Orange* should advise; and desir'd that, "in his passage thither, he would appoint some place where her Majesty would meet him; that they might spend some days together in consultation upon what might concern them jointly. In all which his Majesty complying, the City of *Brevasis* in *Flanders* was appointed for the interview; where both their Majesties met, and conversed together three or four days; and then the Queen return'd to *Paris*, and the King pass'd through *Blanzies* to *Breda*; which the Prince of *Orange* thought to be the first place for the Treaty, the States having no mind that the King should come any more to the *Flage*.

THE *Scottish* Commissioners came to *Breda* with the very same Propositions which had been formerly sent, and without the least mitigation, and as positive an exception to Persons; so that if the King should incline to go thither, he must go without any one Chaplain of his own: there were Ministers sent from *Scotland* to attend, and to instruct him. His Majesty must not carry with him any one Councillor, nor any

Person

Person who had ever serv'd his Father in the War against the Parliament, without taking the Covenant. And, that no body might have cause to complain, if they did go thither, that they were worse treated than they had reason to expect, the King himself, and all who should attend upon him, were first to sign the Covenant before they should be admitted to enter into the Kingdom. Very fair warning indeed: nor could any Man justify except against any thing that was afterwards done to him.

HERE was no great Argument for consultation: no Man had so ill an understanding, as not to discern the violence that was offer'd to Honour, Justice, and Conscience; yet whoever objected against what was propos'd, upon any of those considerations, was look'd upon as a Party, because he himself could not be suffer'd to attend the King. It was thought to be of great Weight, that they who disswaded the King from going into *Scotland*, upon those rude and barbarous terms, could not propose any thing else for him to do, nor any place where he might securely repose himself, with any hope of subsistence: a very sad State for a Prince to be reduced to, and which made it manifest enough, that the Kings of the Earth are not such a Body as is sensible of the Indignity, and Outrage, that is offer'd to any Member of it. The *Scottish Hamiltonian* Lords were thought to be the most competent Councillors, since They, by going, were to be expos'd to great rigour, and to undergo the severest part of all Censures. They could not sit in the Parliament, nor in the Council, and knew well that they should not be suffer'd to be about the Person of the King: yet all these resolv'd to wait upon him, and perswaded him to believe, "that his Majesty's presence would dissipate those Clouds; and that a little time would produce many alterations, which could not be presently effected. For his Majesty's signing the Covenant, "he should tell the Commissioners, that he would defer it till he came thither, that he might think better of it; and that if then the Kirk should press it upon him, he would give them satisfaction. And they were confident, "that after he should be there, he should be no more importuned in it, but that even the Church-men themselves would contend to make themselves gracious to him.

THIS kind of Argumentation wrought much with the Prince of *Orange*, but more with the Duke of *Burgh*, who had wait'd upon the King from the time of his Adventure with the Earl of *Holland* (against whose Person there was no exception) and with *Wilmet*, and *Wentworth* (who resolv'd to go with his Majesty, and would submit to any conditions,

which

which would be required of them) and with others about the King, who could not digest the Covenant; yet the hope that it would not be required from them, and the many promises those *Scottish* Lords made to them, who were like to grow into Authority again when they should be once in their native Air and upon their own Soils, prevailed with them to use all their Credit with the King to Embark himself, and try how propitious Fortune would be to him in *Scotland*. In the end, a faint hope in that, and a strong despair of any other expedient, prevailed to far with his Majesty, that he resolv'd, upon what terms *foever*, to Embark himself, in *Holland*, upon a Pleaz which the Prince of *Orange* provided for him; and to with all the *Scottish*, and very few *English* Servants, to set Sail for *Scotland*.

The King
resolves for
Scotland.

Arguments
of some Lords
against the
King's going
Scotland, and
his resolution.

THERE were two very strong Arguments, which made deep impression on those Lords who very vehemently disswaded, and ever proceeded against his Majesty's going for *Scotland*, and which, as it often falls out in matters of the highest importance, they could not make use of to convert others, especially in the place and company in which they were to urge them. The first, "that the Expedition of Duke *Hamilton* the year before, with an Army as numerous, and *much* better furnish'd, and provided, than *Scotland* could in *many* years be again enabled to fend out, made it manifest *enough*, how little that Nation, how united *foever*, could prevail against the force of *England*: The other, "that the whole, and absolute power of *Scotland* being, at that time, *confidently* vested in the Marquis of *Argyle*, it might reasonably be fear'd, and expected, that the King should no sooner arrive there, and the least appearance be discover'd of such resolutions, or alterations in the Affections of the People, upon which the *Hamiltonian* Faction wholly and *solely* depended, but *Argyle* would immediately deliver up the Person of the King into the hands of *Cromwell*; and with the Assistance He would willingly give, make that Kingdom Tributary or Subservient to him, whilst the King remain'd his Prisoner, and *Argyle* continued his Vice-gerent in *Scotland*. No doubt these objections had too much weight in them not to be thought worthy of Apprehension, by many Men, who were not blinded with passion, or amazed with despair: And though they were not able to give any other Council, what Course the King might taker with reasonable hope and security, they might yet reasonably dissuade his expeding himself to so many visible dangers as that Voyage was subject to both at Sea and Land; and might prudently believe, that the enjoying the empty title of King, in what

what obscurity *foever*, in any part of the world, was to be prefer'd before the empty name of King in any of his own Dominions; which was the best that could reasonably be expected from the conditions which were imposed upon him; to which he was compelled to submit.

DURING this time, when the Embassadors who were in *Spain*, expected every day to hear of his Majesty's being arriv'd in *Ireland*, and had thereupon importuned that Court for a dispatch, the King gave them notice of this resolution, and directed them "to remain where they were, till he could better judge of his own Fortune. They were extremely troubled, both of them having always had a strong aversion that the King should ever venture himself in the hands of that Party of the *Scottish* Nation, which had treated his Father so periodically. And they were now necessitated to stay there, where they had receiv'd so little Encouragement, and had no reason to expect more. They therefore resolv'd to set the best face they could upon it, and desired an Audience from the King: in which they told his Catholic Majesty, "that they had receiv'd Letters from the King their Master; who commanded them to inform his Majesty, who, he knew well, would be glad to hear of any good Fortune that befel him, that it had now pleas'd God to work so far upon the hearts and affections of his Subjects of *Spain*, *Ireland*, that they had given over all those Factions and Animosities, which had heretofore divided them, and made them rather Instruments of mischief, than benefit to his blessed Father, and to himself; that they were now sensible of all those Misarrages, and had fast unanimously to intert his Majesty to come into the Kingdom, and to take them all into his Protection; with which his Majesty was so well satisfied, that he had laid aside the thought of transporting himself into *Ireland*; which he had intended to do; and was gone into *Scotland*; where the Kingdom was entirely at his devotion, and from whence he could visit *England*, or *Ireland*, as he found it most convenient; and that he had reason to believe, that his friends in either of these Kingdoms, would quickly appear in Armes, when they were faine to be so powerfully assisted, and seconded. And they said, "they would, from time to time, inform his Majesty of the good success that should fall out. The King profess'd "to be very glad of this good News; and that they should assure the King their Matter, that he would be always ready to make all the demonstration of a Brotherly Affection that the ill condition of his own Affairs would permit, and that, if it pleas'd God to give a Peace to the

The two Em-
bassadors in
Spain had
Order from
the King to
stay where
they were.

They are
quaint in
King's resolu-
tion with
Spain's refer-
ence to
Scotland.

The King
is answer'd
there.

two

two Crowns, the world should see how forward he would be to revenge the wrong, and indignity the King of great Britain had undergone.

THOUGH the Embassadors themselves were afflicted with the News of his Majesty's being gone for Scotland, upon the too much knowledge they had of the treachery of that Faction there, yet they found his Majesty was much the more esteem'd in this Court by it. He was before look'd upon as being dispossest, and disinherited of all his Dominions, as if he had no more Subjects than those few who were banish'd with him, and that there was an entire defection in all the rest. But now that he was possess'd of one whole Kingdom, in which no Man appear'd in Armes against him; a Kingdom which had been famous for many warlike Actions, and which always bred a very warlike People, which had borne good parts in all the Wars of Europe in this Age, and had been celebrated in them, was a happy advance, and administer'd reasonable hope that he might be establish'd in the other two Kingdoms, in one of which he was thought to have a good, and was known to have a numerous Army on Foot at that very time: so that the Embassadors were much better look'd upon than they had been; and when they made any complaints of injuries done to any of the English Merchants who liv'd in the Ports of Spain, as they had sometimes occasion to do, upon Taxes and Impositions laid upon them, contrary to the Treaties which had been made, and which they said were still in force, they were heard with respect; the Merchants were reliev'd; and many favours were done to particular Persons upon their desires and interposition: so that they were not so much out of Countenance as they had been, and all Men spoke with more freedom and detestation against the Rebellion in England, and the barbarity thereof, than they had us'd to do.

THERE fell out at this time, and before the King left Holland, an accident of such a prodigious nature, that, if Providence had not, for the reproach of Scotland, determin'd that the King should once more make experiment of the courage and fidelity of that Nation, could not but have diverted his Majesty from that Northern Expedition, which, how unsecure soever it appear'd to be for the King, was predestin'd for a greater chastisement and mortification of that People, as it shortly after prov'd to be. When the King had left Holland, the Summer before, and intended only to make France his way to Ireland, he had given his Commission to the Marquis of Montrose, to gather such a force together, as by the help of the Northern Princes he might be enabled

to do. Upon which the Marquis, who was naturally full of great thoughts, and confident of Success, sent several Officers who had serv'd in Germany, and promised very much, to draw fresh Troops together as they should be enabled to do, and himself, with a great Train of Officers and Servants, went for Hamburg; which he appointed for the Rendezvous for all these Troops, and from whence he could in the mean time visit such Courts of the Neighbouring Princes and States, as he should be encouraged to do; and keep such Intelligence with his Friends in Scotland, as should provide for his reception.

BESIDES the hopes and encouragement he had receiv'd from the Embassador of *Hollande*, to expect good Supplies in Denmark, there were many Officers of good Name and Account in Sweden, of the Scottish Nation, who were grown Rich, and liv'd in plenty in that Kingdom. With the principal of them, the Marquis had held Correspondence; who undertook, as well for others as for themselves, that if the Marquis engag'd himself in the King's Service in the Kingdom of Scotland, they would give him notable Assistance in Money, Armes, and Men. In a word, he sent, or went in Person, to both those Kingdoms; where he found the performance very disproportionable to their promises. Queen Christina had receiv'd an Agent from England with wonderful Civility and Grace, and express'd a great esteem of the Person of Cromwell, as a Man of glorious Achievements; and before she resign'd the Crown, which she in few years after did, engag'd it in a faith Alliance with the new Commonwealth, and dispos'd her Successor to look upon it as a necessary Support to his Crown. In Denmark, the Marquis found good Willies enough, a hearty detestation of all the Villanies which had been acted in England, and as hearty wishes for the Advancement and Prosperity of the King's Affairs; but the Kingdom it self was very Poor, and full of Discontent, the King not so much esteem'd, because not so much fear'd, as his Father had been, and he had been oblig'd to make many unreasonable Concessions to Holland, that he might have Assistance from them, to Protect him from those Assaults and Invasions which were threaten'd from Sweden. So that the Marquis was oblig'd to return to Hamburg, with very small Supplies, from either or both those Kingdoms: And there he receiv'd no better account from those Officers who had been sent into Germany. His design had always been to Land in the High-lands of Scotland, before the Winter Season should be over, both for the safety of his Embarkation, and that he might have time to draw

The Marquis
travle over
to Hamburg
to find
out
Means
to
secure
his
Return.

those People together, who, he knew, would be willing to repair to him, before it should be known at *Edenborough*; that he was Landed in the Kingdom. He had, by frequent Messengers, kept a constant Correspondence with those principal Heads of the Clans who were most powerful in the Highlands, and were of known, or unsuspected Affection to the King, and advertised them of all his motions and designs. And by them acquainted those of the Low-lands of all his Resolutions; who had promised, upon the first notice of his arrival, to resort with all their Friends and Followers to him.

WHETHER these Men did really believe, that their own strength would be sufficient to subdue their Enemies, who were grown generally odious, or thought the bringing over Troops of Foreigners would lessen the Numbers and Affections of the Natives, they did write very carefully to the Marquis, "to hasten his coming over with Officers, Arms, and Ammunition; for which he should find hands enough; and gave him notice, "that the Committee of Estates at *Edenborough* had sent again to the King to come over to them; and that the People were so impatient for his presence, that *Argyle* was compell'd to consent to the Invitation. It is very probable that this made the greatest impression upon him. He knew very well how few Persons there were about the King, who were like to continue firm in those Principles, which could only confirm his Majesty in his former Resolutions against the perjurians, and unpardonable of many others, who knew how to represent to him the disadvantages of his Condition any other way, than by repairing into *Scotland* upon any Conditions. *Montrose* knew, that of the two Factions there, which were not like to be reconciled, each of them were equally his implacable Enemies; so that which soever prevail'd, He should be still in the same State, the whole Kirk, of what temper soever, being alike malicious to Him; and hearing likewise of the successive Misfortunes in *Ireland*, he concluded, the King would not trust himself there. Therefore upon the whole, and concluding that all his hopes from *Germany* and those Northern Princes would not encrease the strength he had already, he caus'd, in the depth of the Winter, those Soldiers he had drawn together, which did not amount to above five hundred, to be Embarked, and sent Officers with them, who knew the Country, with directions that they should Land in such a place in the High-lands, and remain there, as they might well do, till he came to them, or sent them Orders. And then in another Vessel Mann'd by People well known

to him, and Commanded by a Captain very faithful to the King, and who was well acquainted with that Coast, he Embarked himself, and near one hundred Officers, and Land'd ^{Montrose} *Edenburgh* in another Creek, not far from the other place, whither his ^{lands there} *Scottish* Soldiers were directed. And both the one and the other Party were Jet safely on Shore in the places they design'd; from whence the Marquis himself with some Servants, and Officers, repair'd presently to the House of a Gentleman of Quality, with whom he had corresponded, who expected him; by whom he was well receiv'd, and thought himself to be in security till he might put his Affairs in some method: And therefore order'd his other small Troops to contain themselves in those uncouth Quarters, in which they were, and where he thought they were not like to be disturb'd by the Visitation of any Enemy.

AFTER he had stay'd there a short time, it being in *March* about the end of the year 1649, he quickly pass'd himself of an old Castle, which, in respect of the Situation in a Country so impossible for any Army to march in, he thought strong enough for his purpose: thither he convey'd with him the Arms, Ammunition, and Troops, which he had brought with him. And then he publish'd his Declaration, "that he came with the King's Commission, to assist those his good Subjects, and to preserve them from oppression: That he did not intend to give any interruption to the Treaty that he had heard was enter'd into with his Majesty; but, on the contrary, hoped that his being in the head of an Army, how small soever, that was faithful to the King, might advance the same. However, he had given sufficient proof in his former Actions, that if any Agreement were made with the King, upon the first Order from his Majesty, he should lay down his Arms, and dispose himself according to his Majesty's good pleasure. These Declarations he sent to his Friends to be scatter'd by them, and dispers'd amongst the Peopple as they could be able. He writ likewise to those of the Nobility, and the Heads of the several Clans, "so draw such Forces together, as they thought necessary to join with him; and he receiv'd Answers from many of them, by which they desired him "to advance more into the Land (for he was yet in the remotest parts of *Catness*) and assur'd him, "that they would meet him with good Numbers: And they did prepare so to do, some really, and others, with a purpose to betray him.

In this state stood the Affair in the end of the year 1649; but because the unfortunate Tragedy of that Noble Person succeeded so soon after, without the intervention of any notable

The execution of Mountrose's Affairs, after the end of the year, as to his death.

circumstances to interrupt it. We will rather continue the relation of it in this place, than defer it to be resumed in the proper season; which quickly ensued, in the beginning of the next year. The Marquis of Argyll was vigilant enough, to observe the motion of an Enemy that was so formidable to him; and had present information of his Arrival in the High-lands, and of the small Forces which he had brought with him. The Parliament was then sitting at Edinburgh, their Messenger being return'd to them from Jersey, with an account, "that the King would treat with their Commissioners at Breda; for whom they were preparing their Instructions."

Colonel Straghan first against him and his small Forces.

THE Alarm of Mountrose's being Landed startled them all, and gave them no leisure to think of any thing else than of sending Forces to hinder the recourse of others to join with him. They immediately sent Colonel Straghan a diligent and active Officer, with a choice Party of the best Horse they had, to make all possible halt towards him, and to prevent the Infiltrations, which they fear'd would be in several parts of the High-lands. And, within few days after, David Lesley followed with a stronger Party of Horse and Foot. The encouragement the Marquis of Mountrose receiv'd from his Friends, and the unpleasantness of the Quarters in which he was, prevail'd with him to march, with these few Troops, more into the Land. And the High-landers flocking to him from all Quarters, though ill Arm'd, and worse Disciplin'd, made him undervalue any Lanny who, he thought, was yet like to encounter him. Straghan made such halt, that the Earl of Sutherland, who at least pretended to have gather'd together a Body of fifteen hundred Men to meet Mountrose, chose rather to join with Straghan: others did the like, who had made the same promises, or stay'd at home to expect the event of the first encounter. The Marquis was without any Body of Horse to discover the motion of an Enemy, but depended upon all necessary Intelligence from the affection of the People, which he believ'd to be the same it was when he left them. But they were much degenerated; the Tyranny of Argyll, and his having caus'd very many to be barbarously Murder'd, without any form of Law or Justice, who had been in Arms with Mountrose, notwithstanding all Acts of Pardon, and Indemnity, had so broken their Hearts, that they were ready to do all offices that might gratify and oblige him. So that Straghan was within a small distance of him, before he heard of his approach; and those High-landers, who had seem'd to come with much zeal to him, whether terrified, or corrupted, left him on a sudden, or

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threw down their Arms; so that he had none left, but a Company of good Officers, who had five or six hundred Foragers, Dutch and Germans, who had been acquainted with their Officers. With these, he betook himself to a place of some advantage by the inequality of the ground, and the bushes and small shrubs which fill'd it: and there they made a defence for some time with notable Courage.

BUT the Enemy being so much superior in number, the Common Soldiers, being all Foreagers, after about a hundred of them were kill'd upon the Place, threw down their Arms; and the Marquis, seeing all lost, threw away his Ribbons and George (for he was Knight of the Garter) and found by whom and to what a Gentleman, where he remain'd conceal'd about two days; most of the other Officers were shortly after taken Prisoners, all the Country desiring to merit from Argyll by betraying all those into his hands which they believ'd to be his Enemies. And thus, whether by the owner of the House, or any other way, the Marquis himself became their Prisoner. The Strangers who were taken, were set at Liberty, and Transported themselves into their own Countries; and the Castle, in which there was a little Garrison, presently render'd itself; so that there was no more fear of an Enemy in those parts.

THE Marquis of Mountrose, and the rest of the Prisoners, were the next day, or soon after, deliver'd to David Lesley, who was come up with his Forces, and had now nothing left to do but to carry them in Triumph to Edinburgh; whatever Notice was quickly sent of their great Victory; which was receiv'd there with wonderful joy, and acclamation. David Lesley treated the Marquis with great insolence, and for some days carried him in the same Cloaths, and Habit, in which he was taken; but at last permitted him to buy better. His behaviour was, in the whole time, such as became a great Man; his countenance Serene and Cheerful, as one that was superior to all these reproaches, which they had prepar'd the People to pour out upon him in all the places through which he was to pass.

WHEN he came to one of the Gates of Edinburgh, he was met by some of the Magistrates, to whom he was deliver'd, and by them presently put into a new Cart purposely made, in which there was a high Chair, or Bench, upon which he sat, that the People might have a full view of him, and fill'd it through holes made in the Cart. When he

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was in this posture, the Hangman took off his hat, and rode himself before the Cart in his Liveries, and with his Boones on; the other Officers, who were taken Prisoners with him, walking two and two before the Cart; the Streets, and Windows being full of People to behold the Triumph over a Person whose Name had made them tremble some few years before, and into whose hands the Magistrates of that place had, upon their Knees, deliver'd the Keys of that City. In this manner he was carried to the Common Goal, where he was receiv'd and treated as a Common Malefactor. Within two days after, he was brought before the Parliament, where the Earl of *Leicester*, the Chancellor, made a very bitter and virulent Declaration against him: told him, "he had broken all the Covenants by which that whole Nation flood oblig'd; and had impiously rebel'd against God, the King, and the Kingdom; that he had committed many horrible Murders, Treasons, and Impieties, for all which he was now brought to suffer condign punishment; with all those insolent reproaches upon his Person, and his Actions, which the liberty of that place gave him leave to use.

He is brought before the Parliament

He behaves our selves.

PER 11 18 1038 was then given him to speak; and without the least trouble in his countenance, or disorder, upon all the indignities he had suffer'd, he told them, "since the King had own'd them so far as to treat with them, he had appear'd before them with reverence, and bare-headed, which otherwise he would not willingly have done: that he had done nothing of which he was ashamed, or had cause to repent; that the first Covenant, he had taken, and comply'd with it; and with them who took it, as long as the ends for which it was ordain'd were observ'd; but when he discover'd, which was now evident to all the world, that private and particular Men design'd to satisfy their own ambition and interest, instead of considering the Publick benefit; and that, under the pretence of reforming some errors in Religion, they resolv'd to abridge, and take away the King's just power; and lawful authority; he had withdraw himself from that Engagement: that for the League and Covenant, he had never taken it, and therefore could not break it: and, it was now too apparent to the whole Christian World, what monstrous mischief it had produced: that when, under colour of it, an Army from *Scotland* had invaded *England*; in Assistance of the Rebellion that was then against the Lawful King, he had, by his Majesty's Command, receiv'd a Commission from him to raise Forces in *Scotland*, that he might thereby divert them from the other odious profession: that he had executed that Commission with the obedi-

dience and duty he ow'd to the King; and in all the circumstances of it, had proceeded like a Gentleman; and had never suffer'd any Blood to be shed in the heat of the Battle; and that he saw many Persons there, whose lives he had saved: that when the King commanded him, he laid down his Armes, and withdrew out of the Kingdom; which they could not have compell'd him to have done. He said, "he was now again enter'd into the Kingdom by his Majesty's Command, and with his Authority: and what Success he might have pleas'd God to have given him, he would always have obeyed any commands he should have receiv'd from him. He advis'd them, "to consider well of the consequence before they proceeded against him, and that all his Actions might be examin'd, and judg'd by the Laws of the Land, or those of Nations.

AS SOON as he had ended his discourse, he was order'd to withdraw; and, after a short space, was again brought in; and told by the Chancellor, "that he was, on the Morrow, being the one and twentieth of May 1659, to be carried to *Edenborough* Crofs, and there to be hang'd upon a Gallows *against* him thirty foot high, for the space of three hours, and then to be taken down, and his head to be cut off upon a Scaffold, and hang'd on *Edenborough* Tolbooth; his Legs and Armes to be hang'd up in other publick Towns of the Kingdom, and his body to be buried at the place where he was to be executed, except the Kirk should take off his Execution; and then his body might be buried in the common place of burial. He desired, "that he might say somewhat to them; but was not suffer'd, and so was carried back to the Prison.

The Sentence

THAT he might not enjoy any ease or quiet during the short remainder of life, their Ministers came presently to insult over him with all the reproaches imaginable; pronounced *Protestations* his damnation; and assur'd him, "that the judgement he was the next day to suffer, was but an easy Prologue to that which he was to undergo afterwards. After many such barbarities, they offer'd to intercede for him to the Kirk upon his repentance, and to pray with him; but he too well understood the Form of Their Common Prayer, in those Cases, to be only the most virulent, and insolent imprecations upon the Persons of those they pray'd against. (Lord, vouchsafe Yet to touch the obdurate heart of this proud incorrigible *Sinner*, who refuses to hearken to the voice of thy Kirk, and the like charitable expressions) and therefore he desired them "to spare their pains, and to leave him to his own Devotion. He told

told them, "that they were a miserable, deluded, and deluding People; and would shortly bring that poor Nation under the most insupportable Servitude ever People had submitted to. He told them, "he was prouder to have his head set upon the pike, it was appointed to be, than he could have been to have had his Picture hang in the King's Bed-Chamber: that he was so far from being troubled that his four Limbs were to be hang'd in four Cities of the Kingdom, that he heartily wish'd that he had flesh enough to be sent to every City in *Chesfordens*, as a Testimony of the Cause for which he suffer'd.

His Execution.

THE next day, they executed every part and circumstance of that barbarous Sentence, with all the inhumanity imaginable; and he bore it with all the courage and magnanimity, and the greatest piety, that a good Christian could manifest. He magnified the virtue, courage, and Religion of the last King, exceedingly commended the justice, and goodness, and understanding of the present King; and prayed, "that they might not betray Him, as they had done his Father. When he had ended all he meant to say, and was expecting to expire, they had yet one Scene more to Act of their Tyranny. The Hangman brought the Book that had been publish'd of his truly Heroick Actions, which he had commanded in that Kingdom, which Book was tied in a small Cord that was put about his Neck. The Marquis smiled at this new instance of their Malice, and thanked them for it; and said, "he was pleas'd that it should be there; and was prouder of wearing it than ever he had been of the Garter; and so renewing some devout Ejaculations, he patiently endured the last Act of the Execution.

The Execution of his Officers.

SOON after, the Officers who had been taken with him, *St William Urry*, *St Francis Hay*, and many others, of as good Families as any in the Kingdom, were executed, to the number of thirty or forty, in several quarters of the Kingdom; many of them being justly to be beheaded. There was one whom they thought fit to save, one Colonel *Whitford*, who, when he was brought to dye, said "he knew the reason why he was put to death; which was only because he had killed *Dorlans* at the *Hedge*; who was one of those who had joy'd in the Murder of the last King. One of the Magistrates, who were present to see the Execution, caus'd it to be suspended, till he presently inform'd the Council what the Man had said, and they thought fit to avoid the reproach; and so preserv'd the Gentleman; who was not before known to have had a hand in that Action.

THUS died the gallant Marquis of *Montrose*, after he had

given as great a Testimony of Loyalty, and Courage, as a Subject can do, and perform'd as wonderful Actions in several Battles, upon as great inequality of Numbers, and as great disadvantages in respect of Armes, and other preparations for War, as have been perform'd in this Age. He was a Gentleman of a very ancient Extraction, many of whose Ancestors had excelled the highest Charges under the King in that Kingdom, and had been allied to the Crown itself. He was of very good parts, which were improv'd by a good Education: he had always a great emulation, or rather a great contempt of the Marquis of *Argyle* (as he was too apt to contempt those he did not love) who wanted nothing but honesty and courage to be a very extraordinary Man, having all other good Talents in a very great degree. *Montrose* was in his nature fearless of danger, and never declined any Enterprize for the difficulty of going through with it, but exceedingly affected those which fear'd desperate to other Men, and did believe somewhat to be in himself above other Men, which made him live more easily towards those who were, or were willing to be, inferior to him (towards whom he exercised wonderful civility, and generosity) than with his Superiors or Equals. He was naturally jealous, and suspected those who did not concur with him in the way, not to mean so well as he. He was not without Vanity, but his Virtues were much superior, and he well deserv'd to have his Memory preserv'd, and celebrated amongst the most illustrious Persons of the Age in which he liv'd.

THE King receiv'd an Account and Information of all these particulars, before he embark'd from *Holland*, without receiving any other Apology for the Affront and Indignity to himself, than that they assur'd him, "that the proceeding against the late Marquis of *Montrose* had been for his Services, who were most displeas'd with *Argyle* and his Faction. They not sorry for this inhuman, and monstrous prosecution; which at the same time must render him the more odious, and had rid them of an Enemy that they thought would have been more dangerous to them; and they perswaded the King, who was enough afflicted with the News, and all the circumstances of it, "that he might sooner take revenge upon that People by a temporary complying with them, and going to them, than staying away, and absenting himself, which would invest them in an absolute Dominion in that Kingdom, and give them power to corrupt or destroy all those who yet remain'd faithful to him, and were ready to spend their lives in his Service: and so his Majesty pursu'd his former resolution of embark'g for *Scotland*.

IN Ireland, after the Murther of that Body of English at
Tredagh, and the treacherous giving up the Towns in Mun-
ster, by the Officers of the Lord Inchiquin, there broke out
so implacable a jealousy amongst the Irish against all the Eng-
lish, that no Orders of the Marquis of Ormonde found any
obedience, nor could he draw an Army together. At the
making of the Peace, he had consented that the Confederate
Roman Catholics should name a Number of the Commis-
sioners, by whose Orders and Ministry all Levies of Men,
and all Collections of Money were to be made, according
to the directions of the Lord Lieutenant. And such Per-
sons were named, in whose Affections, for the most part,
the Lieutenant was well satisfied, and the rest were such as
were not like to be able to give any interruption. A cer-
tain Number of these were appointed to be always in the
Army, and near the Person of the Lord Lieutenant, and the
rest in their several Stations, where they were most like
to advance the Service. Many of these Commissioners were
of the Roman Catholic Nobility, Persons of Honour, and ve-
ry sensible of the weakness, willfulness, and wickedness of
that Rebellion; and did manifest all possible zeal and affec-
tion to the King's Service, engaging their Persons in all
Enterprises of danger, and using all possible industry to raise
Men and Money, whereby the Lord Lieutenant might be
enabled to carry on the War in the Spring. But many of
the other, after those misfortunes had fallen out, which are
mentioned before, either totally desponded, and rather thought
of providing for themselves than for the preservation of the
Publick; or fomented the jealousies which were amongst the
Irish, and incited them against the English, who were still
with the Lord Lieutenant; so that his Orders were not obey'd
at all, or not in time, which was as bad; and their Clergy
and Fryars publicly incited the People against the Articles
of the Peace, and desired to have an Army raised apart under
a General of their own.

THE Lord Lieutenant now discover'd the Reason, why
OWEN O'NEIL had refused to consent to the Peace which the
Confederate Roman Catholics had made with the King, and
kept his Army in Ulster from submitting thereunto, and
pretended to desire to treat apart with the Lord Lieutenant
for himself; which was then thought to proceed from the
jealousy that was between Him and PRESBYTER, and the Animi-
osity between those old Irish of Ulster, and the other of
the other Provinces. But the truth was, from the time of the
Marquis of Ormonde's transporting himself out of France, and
that the correspondence was discover'd to be between Him
and

and the Lord Inchiquin, and the Treaty begun with the Con-
federate Catholics, the close Committee at Westminster sent
secret Instructions to MONK, who Commanded part of their
Forces in Ireland, "that he should endeavour to treat with
OWEN O'NEIL, and so divide him from the rest of the Irish;
which MONK found opportunity to do: And it was no sooner
proposed than hearken'd unto by O'NEIL; who presently sent
a truly Messenger with such Propositions to MONK, as he de-
sired to have granted to him. He offer'd, "with his Army,
"which should always consist of such a Number of Horse
"and Foot, and Artillery, as should be agreed between them,
"to serve the Parliament; and not to separate from their In-
"terest; and proposed, "that he, and all his Party that should
adhere to him, should enjoy the Exercise of their Religion,
"without any prejudice or disadvantage: That himself might
"be restored to those Lands which his Ancestors had been
"possessed of in Tyrone, Londonderry, or any other parts of
Ireland; and that all those, who had or would adhere to
"him, should be likewise restored to their Estates; and that
"an Act of Oblivion might be granted. MONK receiv'd these
Propositions; and after he had perus'd them, he sent him
word, "that there were some particulars, which he doubted,
"would shock and offend the Parliament, and therefore de-
sired they might be alter'd; and proposed the alterations
he advis'd; which principally concern'd the Publick Exer-
cise of their Religion; which he so qualified, that they might
well enough satisfy; and proposed, "that, if O'NEIL would
"consent to those alterations, he would return the Treaty
sign'd by him; which he would immediately send over to
"the Parliament for their confirmation; and that, in the mean
"time, there might be a Cessation of Arms between them
"for three Months; in which time, and much less, he pre-
sum'd, he should receive a Ratification of the Treaty from
"the Parliament.

OWEN O'NEIL consented to the alterations, for his Hand
and Seal to the Treaty, and return'd it to MONK, with his
consent likewise to the Cessation for three Months. And at
this time it was, that he refused to agree with the Confede-
rate Council at KILKENNY in the Peace with the King. MONK
sent it presently to the Committee, which had given him
Authority to do what he had done. But their Affairs were
now better compos'd at home, and some preparations were
made towards sending relief for Ireland; besides, they had
not Authority to make any such Ratification, but presented it
to the Parliament, which could only give it. It was no sooner
reported there but the House was on fire; all Men imagin'd
against

Trialles on against. "the pretension of *Minsk*, who deserv'd to be dif-
 plac'd, and to have his Command taken from him, and to
 have exemplary punishment inflict on him. They re-
 ceiv'd a Treaty with *Owen O Neile* King of *Ireland*, who
 remember'd how Criminal they had declared it to be in the
 Name of *Neile*.

"King himself, to have treated, and made a Peace with the
 Irish Rebels: And what would the People think, and say,
 if any countenance should be given to the same transgre-
 sion by the Parliament? if they should Ratify a Treaty made
 "by the most notorious of the Rebels, and with that Peo-
 ple under his Command, who were the most notorious
 "Controversers of that Rebellion, and the most bloody Execu-
 tioners of it? for the most Merciless Massacres had been
 committed in *Ulster*, by that very People who now confi-
 duted that Army of which *Owen O Neile* was now General.
 After all the passion and choler which they thought neces-
 sary to express upon this subject, "they declared, "that they
 "had given no Authority to *Minsk* to enter into that Treaty;
 "and therefore, that it was void, and should never be con-
 sider'd by them; but that, since he had proceeded out of
 "the sincerity of his Heart, and as he thought (how erro-
 neously soever) for the good and benefit of the Common-
 wealth, he should be excus'd; and no farther question'd
 thereupon. For they knew well, that he could produce
 such a Warrant from those in Authority, as would well ju-
 stify his proceeding: And so the Treaty with *Owen O Neile*
 became void, though they had receiv'd a very considerable
 benefit by it; for though the Scots in *Ulster* had not yet sub-
 mitted to the Peace, and had not yet receiv'd Instructions from
Edinburgh to acknowledge the Authority of the Lord Lieu-
 tenant, which they ought to have had before that time, yet
 after the Murder of the late King, they had used all Acts of
 Hostility against the Parliament Forces, and had besieged
London-Derry; the only considerable place that yielded obedi-
 ence to the Parliament; which was defended by *St Charles*
Coster, and when it was brought to some extremity, by the
 Cellamain made with *Owen O Neile*, and by his countenance
 and assistance, *London-Derry* was reliev'd; and *O Neile* find-
 ing himself eluded by the Parliament, sent them to offer his
 Service and Conjunction to the Lord Lieutenant, with abund-
 ant professions of Fidelity, and Revenge.

Cromwell made notable use of this Animosity between
 the Irish amongst themselves, and of the jealousy they all ap-
 pear'd to have of the Marquis of *Ormond* and of those who
 adher'd to him; and used all the Endeavours he could, by
 some Prisoners who were taken, and by others who were in
 the Towns which were betray'd to him, and were well
 known

known to have affection for the Marquis, to procure a con-
 versation with him. He used to ask in such Company, "what
 "the Marquis of *Ormond* had to do with *Charles Stuart*, "and
 "what obligations he had ever receiv'd from him? And then
 "would mention the hard measure his Grand father had receiv'd
 from King *James*, and the many years Imprisonment he had
 sustain'd by him, for not submitting to an extrajudicial and
 private determination of his; which yet he was at last com-
 pell'd to do. He said "he was content, if the Marquis and
 "He could meet together, upon Conferences, they should
 "part very good Friends. And many of those with whom he
 held these discourses, by his permission and licence, inform'd
 the Marquis of all he said; who endeavour'd nothing but to
 put himself into such a Posture, as to be able to meet him as
 he desired to do.

When *Cromwell* saw that he should be able to do no-
 thing that way, and knew well enough that, besides the Ar-
 my that yet remain'd under *Owen O Neile* so much disoblige-
 d, which might be drawn together into several Armies, much greater
 the greater and superior in number to all his Forces, and that Irish
 they had several great Towns, and strong Holds in their
 power, he declared a full Liberty, and Authority to all the
 Officers with the Irish, and to all other Persons whatsoever, to
 raise what Men they would, and to Transport them for
 the Service of any Foreign Princes with whom they could
 make the best Conditions; and gave notice to the Spanish
 and French Ministers, and Agents at *London*, of the Liberty
 he had granted. Upon which many Officers who had serv'd
 the King, and remain'd in *London* in great poverty and want,
 made Conditions with *Don Alonso de Cardenas*, to raise Re-
 giments and Transport them into *Spain*; and many Officers,
 who were already in *Spain*, as well English as Irish, con-
 tracted with the Ministers in that Kingdom from *Ireland*;
 for which they receiv'd very great Sums of Money in hand;
 many Merchants joyning with them in the Contract, and
 undertaking the Transportation upon very good Conditions;
 there being no other danger but of the Sea in the under-
 taking; inasmuch that, in very few Months above a year
 there were Embarked in the Ports of *Ireland* above five and
 twenty thousand Men for the Kingdom of *Spain*; whereof
 one half were ever drawn into the Field there, and very few
 ever liv'd to return. For the Officers and Masters of Ships,
 who contracted, and were bound to deliver their Men at such
 Ports as were assign'd to them, and where care was taken for
 their

their reception, and conduct to the Quarters which were appointed, according to the Service to which they were design'd, either for *Catalonia*, or *Portugal* (after they had been long at Sea, by which the Soldiers, who were crowded more together into one Ship than was fit for so long Voyages, had contracted many diseases, and many were dead, and thrown over Board) as soon as they came upon the Coast made all haste to Land, how far soever from the place at which they stood bound to deliver their Men; by which, in those places that could make resistance, they were not suffer'd to Land, and in others no Provision was made for their reception or march, but very great Numbers were starv'd or knocked in the Head by the Country People, and few ever came up to the Armies, except Officers; who flock'd to *Madrid* for the remainder of their Monies; where the Ministers receiv'd them with reproaches for not observing their Conditions, and refus'd to pay either them, or the Masters of the Ships, what remain'd to be paid by them. This was the Case of too many; though the truth is, where the Articles were punctually observ'd, and the Ships arriv'd in the very Ports assign'd, by the defect in the Orders sent from the Court, or the negligent execution of them, the poor Men were often kept from disembarking, till some Officers went to *Madrid*, and return'd with more positive Orders, and afterwards so ill Provision was made for their refreshing and march, that rarely half of those who were shipp'd in *Ireland*, ever liv'd to do any Service in *Spain*; and nothing could be more wonderful, than that the Ministers there should issue out such vast Sums in Money for the raising of Soldiers, and bringing them into the Kingdom at very liberal and bountiful rates to the Officers, and take so very little care to cherish, and nourish them, when they came thither; which manifested how loose the Government was.

It is very true, that there was at that time a much greater inclination in the *Irish* for the Service of *Spain*, than of *France*; yet the Cardinal employ'd more active and dextrous Instruments to make use of the Liberty that was granted, and Shipping was more easily procur'd, the passage being shorter; inasmuch that there were not fewer than twenty thousand Men at the same time Transported out of *Ireland* into the Kingdom of *France*; of whose behaviour in the one Kingdom and the other, there will be abundant Argument hereafter to discourse at large. In the mean time, it is enough to observe that when the King's Lieutenants, notwithstanding all the promises, obligations, and contracts, which the Confederate Roman Catholics had made to, and with him, could not draw

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together a Body of five thousand Men (by which he might have been able to have given some stop to the current of *Cromwell's* success) *Cromwell* himself found a way to send above forty thousand Men out of that Kingdom for Service of Foreign Princes; which might have been enough to have driven him from thence, and to have restor'd it to the King's entire obedience.

In *England*, the Spirits of all the Loyal Party were so broken and subdued, that they could scarce breathe under the insupportable burthens which were laid upon them by Imprisonments, Compositions, and Sequestrations. Whatever Articles they had made in the War, and whatever Promises had been made of Pardon and Indemnity, they were now call'd upon to smilch their Composition for their Delinquency, and paid dear for the Credit they had given to the Professions and Declarations of the Army, when it seem'd to have pity, and complain'd of the severe and rigorous proceeding against the King's Party, and extorting unreasonable penalties from them; which then they desir'd might be moderated. But now the Mask was off they Sequester'd all their Estates, and left them nothing to live upon, till they should compound; which they were forced to do at so unreasonable rates, that many were compell'd to sell half, that they might enjoy the other towards the support of their Families; which remainder was still liable to whatever impositions they at any time thought fit to inflict upon them, as their Persons were to Imprisonment, when any unreasonable and groundless report was raised of some Plot, and Conspiracy against the State.

THE Parliament, which consisted only of those Members who had free in Judgement, and had solemnly Murder'd the King, and of those who as solemnly under their hands had approv'd, and commended what the others had done, met with no opposition or contradiction from any, but an entire submission from all to all they did, except only from that part of their own Army which had contributed most to the Grandeur and Empire of which they were possess'd, the *Level*. The *Level* had been enter into Cabals and Confederacies to corrupt, and dissolve the discipline of the Army, and by his Artifices had been employ'd to bring all his crooked designs to pass. By them he broke the strict Union between the Parliament and the *Scots*, and then took the King out of the hands of the Parliament, and kept him in the Army, with so many fair professions of intending better to his Majesty, and his Party, than the other did; by them the Presbyterians had been affronted, and trodden under foot, and the City of *London* expos'd to disgrace

The low condition of the Loyal Party in England.

The Level to enter into Cabals and Confederacies to corrupt, and dissolve the discipline of the Army, and by his Artifices had been employ'd to bring all his crooked designs to pass.

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and infamy; by them he had broken the Treaty of the life of *Wight*, driven out of the Parliament, by force of Armes, all those who desir'd Peace, and at last executed his barbarous Malice upon the Sacred Person of the King: And when he had apply'd them to all those uses, for which he thought them to be most fit, he hoped, and endeavour'd to have reduced them again, by a severe hand, into that order and obedience from whence he had leduced them, and which was now as necessary to his future purpose of Government. But they had tasted too much of the pleasure of laying their part, and share in it, to be willing to be stripped, and depriv'd of it; and made an unskillful computation of what they should be able to do for the future, by the great things they had done before in those Changes and Revolutions which are mention'd; not considering, that the superior Officers of the Army were now united with the Parliaments, and concurr'd entirely in the same designs. And therefore when they renew'd their former Expostulations and Demands from the Parliament, they were Calber'd, and Imprison'd, and some of them put to death. Yet about the time that *Cromwell*, who had prosecuted them with great fury, was going for *Ireland*, they recover'd their Courage, and resolv'd to obtain those Concessions by force, which were refused to be granted upon their request: And so they manny'd in several Parts, upon presumption that the rest of the Army, who would not joyn with them in publick, would yet never be prevailed with to oppose, and reduce them by force. But this confidence deceiv'd them; for the Parliament no sooner commanded their General *Fairfax* to suppress them, than he drew Troops together, and fell upon them at *Banbury*, *Burford*, and in other places; and by killing some upon the place, and executing others to terrify the rest, he totally suppress'd that Faction; and the Orders of those at *Witchminster* met with no more opposition.

THIS was the State and Condition of the three Kingdoms at the end of the year 1649, some few Months after the King Embarked himself in *Holland* for *Scotland*. And since the next year afforded great variety of unfortunate Actions, We will end this discourse, according to the method We have us'd, with this year; though hereafter We shall not continue the same method; but comprehend the occurrences of many years in less room, whilst the King rested in a patient Expectation of God's Blessing, and Deliverance.

