

It cannot be doubted, but, that by the preaching of the apostles and disciples of Christ in Greece and other parts of the Roman empire, full of these philosophers, many thousands of men were converted to the Christian faith, some really and some feignedly, for factious ends, or for need; (for Christians lived then in common, and were charitable :) And because most of these philosophers had better skill in disputing and oratory than the common people, and thereby were better qualified both to defend and propagate the gospel, there is no doubt (I say) but most of the pastors of the primitive church were for that reason chosen out of the number of these philosophers; who retaining still many doctrines, which they had taken up on the authority of their former masters, whom they had in reverence, endeavoured many of them to draw the scriptures every one to his own heresy; and thus at first entered heresy into the church of Christ. Yet these men were all of them Christians, as they were when they were first baptized; nor did they deny the authority of those writings which were left them by the apostles and evangelists, but interpreted them many times with a bias to their former philosophy. And this dissention amongst themselves was a great scandal to the unbelievers, and which not only obstructed the way of the gospel, but also drew scorn and greater persecution upon the church.

For remedy whereof, the chief pastors of churches did use, at the rising of any new opinion, to assemble themselves for the examining and determining of the same; wherein, if the author of the opinion was convinced of his error, and subscribed to the sentence of the church assembled, then all was well again; but if he still persisted in it, they laid him aside, and considered him but as an heathen man; which, to an unfeigned Christian, was a great ignominy, and of force to make him consider better of his own doctrine; and sometimes brought him to the acknowledgment of the truth. But other punishment they could inflict none, that being a right appropriated to the civil power. So that all the punishment the church could inflict was only ignominy; and that among the faithful, consisting in this, that his company was by all the godly avoided, and he himself branded with the name of heretick in opposition to the whole church that condemned his doctrine: So that catholick and heretick were terms relative; and here it was that heretick became to be a name, and a name of disgrace, both together.

The first and most troublesome heresies in the primitive church were about the Trinity; for (according to the usual curiosity of natural philosophers) they could not abstain from disputing the very principles of Christianity, into which they were baptized "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." Some there were that made them allegorical; others would make one creator of good, and another of evil; which was in effect to set up two Gods, one contrary to another; supposing that causation of evil could not be attributed to God without impiety. From which doctrine they are not far distant, that now make the first cause of sinful actions to be every man as to his own sin. Others there were that would have God to be a body with parts organical, as face, hands, fore-parts and back-parts. Others, that Christ had no real body, but was a meer phantasm: (for phantasms were taken then, and have been ever since, by unlearned and superstitious men, for things real and subsistent.) Others denied the divinity of Christ. Others, that Christ, being God and man, was two persons. Others confessed he was one person, and withal that he had but one nature. And a great many other heresies arose from the too much adherence to the philosophy of those times, whereof some were suppress for a time by St John's publishing his gospel, and some by their own unreasonableness vanished, and some lasted till the time of Constantine the Great, and after.

When Constantine the Great (made so by the assistance and valour of the Christian soldiers) had attained to be the only Roman emperor, he also himself became a Christian, and caused the temples of the heathen gods to be demolished, and authorized

Christian religion only to be publick. But in the latter end of his time there arose a dispute in the city of Alexandria between Alexander the bishop and Arius a presbyter of the same city; wherein Arius maintained, first, that Christ was inferior to the Father; and afterwards, that he was no God, alledging the words of Christ, "My Father is greater than I." The bishop on the contrary alledging the words of St John, "And the word was God;" and the words of St Thomas, "My Lord and my God." This controversy presently, amongst the inhabitants and soldiers of Alexandria, became a quarrel, and was the cause of much bloodshed in and about the city; and was likely then to spread further, as afterwards it did. This so far concerned the emperor's civil government, that he thought it necessary to call a general council of all the bishops and other eminent divines throughout the Roman empire, to meet at the city of Nice. When they were assembled, they presented the emperor with libels of accusation one against another. When he had received these libels into his hands, he made an oration to the fathers assembled, exhorting them to agree, and to fall in hand with the settlement of the articles of faith, for which cause he had assembled them, saying, "Whatsoever they should decree therein, he would cause to be observed." This may perhaps seem a greater indifferency than would in these days be approved of; but so it is in history; and the articles of faith necessary to salvation were not thought then to be so many as afterwards they were defined to be by the church of Rome.

When Constantine had ended his oration, he caused the aforesaid libels to be cast into the fire, as became a wise king and a charitable Christian. This done, the fathers fell in hand with their business, and following the method of a former creed, called now the Apostles Creed, made a confession of faith, viz. "I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible, (in which is condemned the polytheism of the Gentiles.) And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, (against the many sons of the many gods of the Heathens.) Begotten of his Father before all worlds, God of God, (against the Arians) very God of very God, (against the Valentinians, and against the heresy of Apelles, and others, who made Christ a mere phantasm.) Light of Light, [this was put in for explication, and used before to that purpose by Tertullian.] Begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father." In this again they condemn the doctrine of Arius; for this word "of one substance," in Latin *consubstantialis*, but in Greek *ὁμοούσιος*, that is of one essence, was put as a touchstone to discern an Arian from a catholick: And much ado there was about it. Constantine himself, at the passing of this creed, took notice of it for a hard word; but yet approved of it, saying, "That in a divine mystery, it was fit to use *divina et arcana verba*;" that is, divine words, and hidden from human understanding; calling that word *ὁμοούσιος* divine, not because it was in the divine scripture, (for it is not there) but because it was to him *arcanum*, that is, not sufficiently understood. And in this again appeared the indifferency of the emperor, and that he had for his end, in the calling of the synod, not so much the truth as the uniformity of the doctrine, and peace of his people that depended on it. The cause of the obscurity of this word *ὁμοούσιος* proceeded chiefly from the difference between the Greek and Roman dialect in the philosophy of the Peripateticks. The first principle of religion in all nations is, that God is, that is to say, that God really is something, and not a meer fancy; but that which is really something is considerable alone by itself, as being somewhere. In which sense a man is a thing real; for I can consider him to be without considering any other thing to be besides him. And for the same reason, the earth, the air, the stars, heaven, and their parts, are all of them things real. And because whatsoever is real here, or there, or in any place, has dimensions, that is to say, magnitude; and that which hath magnitude, whether it be visible or invisible, is called by all the learned a body, if it be finite; and body or corporeal, if it be infinite: It followeth that all real things, in that they are somewhere, are corporeal. On the con-

trary, essence, deity, humanity, and such-like names, signify nothing that can be considered, without first considering there is an *ens*, a God, a man, &c. So also, if there be any real thing that is white or black, hot or cold, the same may be considered by itself; but whiteness, blackness, heat, coldness, cannot be considered, unless it be first supposed that there is some real thing to which they are attributed. These real things are called by the Latin philosophers, *entia subjecta, substantiæ*; and by the Greek philosophers, τὰ ὄντα, ὑποκείμενα ὑποσάμενα. The other, which are incorporeal, are called by the Greek philosophers, νοία συμβεληχότα, φαντάσματα; but most of the Latin philosophers use to convert *νοία* into *substantia*, and so confound real and corporeal things with incorporeal, which is not well; for essence and substance signify divers things. And this mistake is received, and continues still in these parts, in all disputes both of philosophy and divinity; for, in truth, *essentia* signifies no more than if we should talk ridiculously of the isness of the thing that is. [By whom all things were made.] This is proved out of St John, cap. i. ver. 1, 2, 3. and Heb. cap. i. ver. 3. and that again out of Gen. i. where God is said to create every thing by his sole word, as when he said, "Let there be light, and there was light." And then, that Christ was that word, and in the beginning with God, may be gathered out of divers places of Moses, David, and others of the prophets. Nor was it ever questioned amongst Christians (except by the Arians) but that Christ was God eternal, and his incarnation eternally decreed. But the fathers, all that write expositions on this creed, could not forbear to philosophize upon it, and most of them out of the principles of Aristotle: Which are the same the school-men now use, as may partly appear by this, that many of them, amongst their treatises of religion, have affected to publish logick and physick principles according to the sense of Aristotle; as Athanasius and Damascene. And so some later divines of note, as Zanchius, still confounding the concrete with the abstract, *Deus* with *Deitas*, *ens* with *essentia*, *sapiens* with *sapientia*, *æternus* with *æternitas*. If it be for exact and rigid truth-sake, why do they not say also, that holiness is a holy man, covetousness a covetous man, hypocrisy an hypocrite, and drunkenness a drunkard, and the like, but that it is an error? The fathers agree that the wisdom of God is the eternal Son of God, by whom all things were made, and that he was incarnate by the Holy Ghost, if they meant it in the abstract; for if *Deitas* abstracted be *Deus*, we make two Gods of one. This was well understood by Damascene, in his treatise *De Fide Orthodoxa*, (which is an exposition of the Nicene creed) where he denies absolutely that *Deitas* is *Deus*, lest (seeing God was made man) it should follow, the Deity was made man; which is contrary to the doctrine of all the Nicene fathers. The attributes therefore of God in the abstract, when they are put for God, are put metonymically; which is a common thing in scripture; for example, Prov. viii. 28. where it is said, "Before the mountains were settled, before the hills was I brought forth;" the wisdom there spoken of being the wisdom of God, signifies the same with the wise God. This kind of speaking is also ordinary in all languages: This considered, such abstracted words ought not to be used in arguing, and especially in the deducing the articles of our faith; though in the language of God's eternal worship, and in all godly discourses, they cannot be avoided; and the creed itself is less difficult to be assented to in its own words, than in all such expositions of the fathers. "Who for us men and our salvation came down from Heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man." I have not read of any exception to this; for where Athanasius in his creed says of the Son, "He was not made, but begotten," it is to be understood of the Son as he was God eternal; whereas here it is spoken of the Son as he is man. And of the Son also as he was man, it may be said he was begotten of the Holy Ghost; for a woman conceiveth not but of him that begetteth; which is also confirmed, Matt. i. 20. "That which is begotten in her (*γινώσκω*) is of the Holy Ghost. And was also crucified for us under Pontius Pilate: he suffered and was

buried; and the third day he rose again according to the scriptures, and ascended into heaven; and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and he shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead. Whose kingdom shall have no end." [Of this part of the Creed I have not met with any doubt made by any Christian.] Hither the council of Nice proceeded in their general confession of faith, and no further.

This finished, some of the bishops present at the council, (seventeen or eighteen, whereof Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, was one,) not sufficiently satisfied, refused to subscribe till this doctrine of *ὁμοούσιος* should be better explained. Thereupon the council decreed, whosoever shall say that God hath parts shall be anathematized; to which the said bishops subscribed. And Eusebius, by order of the council, wrote a letter, the copies whereof were sent to every absent bishop, that, being satisfied with the reason of their subscribing, they also should subscribe. The reason they gave of their subscription was this, that they had now a form of words prescribed, by which, as a rule, they might guide themselves so as not to violate the peace of the church. By this it is manifest that no man was an heretick but he that in plain and direct words contradicted that form by the church prescribed; and that no man could be made an heretick by consequence. And because the said form was not put into the body of the creed, but directed only to the bishops, there was no reason to punish any lay-person that should speak to the contrary.

But what was the meaning of this doctrine, that God has no parts? Was it made heresy to say that God, who is a real substance, cannot be considered or spoken of as here, or there, or any where, which are parts of places? Or that there is any real thing without length every way; that is to say, which hath no magnitude at all, finite or infinite? Or is there any whole substance whose two halves, or three thirds, are not the same with that whole? Or did they mean to condemn the argument of Tertullian, by which he confuted Apelles and other hereticks of his time, namely, whatsoever was not corporeal, was nothing but fantasm, and not corporeal, for heretical? No, certainly, no divines say that. They went to establish the doctrine of one individual God in Trinity; to abolish the diversity of species in God, not the distinction of here and there in substance. When St Paul asked the Corinthians, Is Christ divided? he did not think they thought him impossible to be considered as having hands and feet, but that they might think him (according to the manner of the Gentiles) one of the sons of God, as Arius did; but not the only begotten son of God. And thus also it is expounded in the creed of Athanasius, who was present in that council, by these words, Not confounding the persons, nor dividing the substances; that is to say, that God is not divided into three persons, as man is divided into Peter, James, and John; nor are the three persons one and the same person. But Aristotle, and from him all the Greek fathers and other learned men, when they distinguish the general latitude of a word, they call it division; as when they divide *animal* into man and beast, they call these *ἔδη*, species; and when they again divide the species, man, into Peter and John, they call these *μέρη*, *partes individuae*. And by thus confounding the division of the substance with the distinction of words, divers men have been led into error of attributing to God a name, which is not the name of any substance at all, viz. Incorporeal.

By these words, "God has no parts," thus explained, together with the part of the Creed, which was at that time agreed on, many of those heresies which were antecedent to that first general council were condemned; as that of Menes, who appeared about thirty years before the reign of Constantine, by the first article, I believe in one God; though, in other words, it seems to me to remain still in the doctrine of the church of Rome, which so ascribeth a liberty of the will to men, as that their will and purpose to commit sin should not proceed from the cause of all things, God, but originally from themselves, or from the devil. It may seem perhaps to some, that by the same words the Anthropomorphites also were then condemned: And certainly, if by parts

were meant not persons individual, but pieces, they were condemned ; for face, arms, feet, and the like, are pieces. But this cannot be, for the Anthropomorphites appeared not till the time of Valens the emperor, which was after the council of Nice between forty and fifty years, and was not condemned till the second general council at Constantinople.

Now for the punishment of hereticks ordained by Constantine, we read of none ; but that ecclesiastical officers, bishops, and other preachers, if they refused to subscribe to this faith, or taught the contrary doctrine, were, for the first fault, deprived of their officers, and for the second banished. And thus did heresy, which, at first, was the name of private opinion, and no crime, by vertue of a law of the emperor, made only for the peace of the church, become a crime in a pastor, and punishable with deprivation first, and next banishment.

After this part of the Creed was thus established, there arose presently many new heresies, partly about the interpretation of it, and partly about the Holy Ghost, of which the Nicene council had not determined. Concerning the part established, there arose disputes about the nature of Christ, and the word *hypostasis*, *id est*, substance ; for of persons there was yet no mention made, the Creed being written in Greek, in which language there is no word that answereth to the Latin word *persona*. And the union, as the fathers called it, of the human and divine nature in Christ, hypostatical, caused Eutyches, and after him Dioscorus, to affirm there was but one nature in Christ ; thinking that, whensoever two things are united, they are one ; and this was condemned as Arianism in the councils of Constantinople and Ephesus. Others, because they thought two living and rational substances, such as are God and man, must needs be also two hypostases : But these were two heresies condemned together. Then, concerning the Holy Ghost, Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, and some others, denied the divinity thereof. And whereas, about seventy years before the Nicene council, there had been holden a provincial council at Carthage, wherein it was decreed, that those Christians which in the persecutions had denied the faith of Christ, should not be received again into the church, unless they were again baptized : This also was condemned, though the president in that council was that most sincere and pious Christian, Cyprian. But at last the Creed was made up entire as we have it, in the Calcedonian council, by addition of these words, " And I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of Life, who proceedeth from the Father and Son. Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified. Who spake by the prophets. And I believe one catholick and apostolick church. I acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins. And I look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life to come." In this addition are condemned, first, the Nestorians and others, in these words, " Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified ;" and, secondly, the doctrine of the council of Carthage, in these words, " I believe one baptism for the remission of sins : " For one baptism is not there put as opposite to several sorts or manners of baptism, but to the iteration of it. St Cyprian was a better Christian than to allow any baptism that was not in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. In the general confession of faith contained in the Creed, called the Nicene creed, there is no mention of hypostasis, nor of hypostatical union, nor of corporeal, nor of incorporeal, nor of parts ; the understanding of which words being not required of the vulgar, but only of the pastors, whose disagreement else might trouble the church ; nor were such points necessary to salvation, but set abroad for ostentation of learning, or else to dazzle men, with design to lead them towards some ends of their own. The changes of prevalence in the empire between the Catholics and the Arians, and how the great Athanasius, the most fierce of the Catholics, was banished by Constantine, and afterwards restored, and again banished, I let pass ; only it is to be remembered, that Athanasius composed his creed then, when (banished) he was in

Rome, Liberius being pope, by whom, it is most likely, the word hypostasis, as it was in Athanasius's creed, was disliked: For the Roman church could never be brought to receive it, but instead thereof used their own word *persona*. But the first and last words of that creed the church of Rome refused not; for they make every article, not only those of the body of the creed, but all the definitions of the Nicene fathers, to be such as a man cannot be saved unless he believes them all stedfastly; though made only for peace-sake, and to unite the minds of the clergy, whose disputes were like to trouble the peace of the empire. After these four first general councils, the power of the Roman church grew up apace; and either by the negligence or weakness of the succeeding emperors, the pope did what he pleased in religion. There was no doctrine which tended to the power ecclesiastical, or to the reverence of the clergy, the contradiction whereof was not by one council or another made heresy, and punished arbitrarily by the emperors with banishment or death. And at last kings themselves, and commonwealths, unless they purged their dominions of hereticks, were excommunicated, interdicted, and their subjects let loose upon them by the pope; insomuch as, to an ingenuous and serious Christian, there was nothing so dangerous as to enquire concerning his own salvation of the Holy Scripture; the careless cold Christian was safe, and the skilful hypocrite a saint. But this is a story so well known, as I need not insist upon it any longer, but proceed to the hereticks here in England, and what punishments were ordained for them by acts of parliament. All this while the penal laws against hereticks were such as the several princes and states, in their own dominions, thought fit to enact. The edicts of the emperors made their punishments capital; but for the manner of the execution, left it to the prefects of provinces: And when other kings and states intended (according to the laws of the Roman church) to extirpate hereticks, they ordained such punishment as they pleased. And the first law that was here made for the punishments of hereticks, called Lollards, and mentioned in the statutes, was in the fifth year of the reign of Richard the Second, occasioned by the doctrine of John Wickliff and his followers; which Wickliff, because no law was yet ordained for his punishment in parliament, by the favour of John of Gaunt, the king's son, escaped. But in the fifth year of the next king, which was Richard the Second, there passed an act of parliament to this effect, That sheriffs and some others should have commissions to apprehend such as were certified by the prelates to be preachers of heresy, their fautors, maintainers, and abettors, and to hold them in strong prison till they should justify themselves, according to the law of holy church. So that hitherto there was no law in England by which a heretick could be put to death, or otherways punished, than by imprisoning him till he was reconciled to the church. After this, in the next king's reign, which was Henry the Fourth, son of John of Gaunt, by whom Wickliff had been favoured, and who, in his aspiring to the crown, had needed the good-will of the bishops, was made a law, in the second year of his reign, wherein it was enacted, That every ordinary may convene before him, and imprison any person suspected of heresy; and that an obstinate heretick shall be burnt before the people.

In the next king's reign, which was Henry the Fifth, in his second year, was made an act of parliament, wherein it is declared, that the intent of the hereticks, called Lollards, was to subvert the Christian faith, the law of God, the church, and the realm: And that an heretick convict should forfeit all his fee-simple lands, goods, and chattels, besides the punishment of burning. Again, in the five and twentieth year of King Henry the Eighth, it was enacted, That an heretick convict should abjure his heresies, and refusing so to do, or relapsing, shall be burnt in open place, for example of others. This act was made after the putting down of the pope's authority: And by this it appears, that King Henry the Eighth intended no farther alteration in religion than the recovering of his own right ecclesiastical. But in the first year of his

son, King Edward the Sixth, was made an act, by which were repealed not only this act, but also all former acts concerning doctrines, or matters of religion; so that at this time there was no law at all for the punishment of hereticks.

Again, in the parliament of the first and second year of Queen Mary, this act of 1 Edw. 6. was not repealed, but made useless by reviving the statute of 25 Hen. 8. and freely put it to execution, insomuch as it was debated, Whether or no they should proceed upon that statute against the Lady Elizabeth, the queen's sister.

The Lady Elizabeth, not long after (by the death of Queen Mary) coming to the crown, in the fifth year of her reign, by act of parliament, repealed, in the first place, all the laws ecclesiastical of Queen Mary, with all other former laws concerning the punishments of hereticks, nor did she exact any other punishments in their place. In the second place it was enacted, That the queen, by her letters patent, should give a commission to the bishops, with certain other persons, in her majesty's name, to execute the power ecclesiastical; in which commission the commissioners were forbidden to adjudge any thing to be heresy which was not declared to be heresy by some of the first four general councils: But there was no mention made of general councils, but only in that branch of the act which authorized that commission, commonly called The High Commission; nor was there in that commission any thing concerning how hereticks were to be punished, but it was granted to them, that they might declare or not declare, as they pleased, to be heresy or not heresy, any of those doctrines which had been condemned for heresy in the first four general councils. So that during the time that the said High Commission was in being, there was no statute by which a heretick could be punished otherways than by the ordinary censures of the church, nor doctrine accounted heresy, unless the commissioners had actually declared and published, That all that which was made heresy by those four councils, should be heresy also now: But I never heard that any such declaration was made, either by proclamation, or by recording it in churches, or by publick printing, as in penal laws is necessary; the breachers of it are excused by ignorance; besides, if heresy had been made capital, or otherwise civilly punishable, either the four general councils themselves, or at least the points condemned in them, ought to have been printed, or put into parish-churches in English, because without it no man could know how to beware of offending against them.

Some man may perhaps ask, whether no body were condemned and burnt for heresy during the time of the High Commission?

I have heard there were; but they which approve such executions may peradventure know better grounds for them than I do; but those grounds are very well worthy to be enquired after.

Lastly, in the seventeenth year of the reign of King Charles the First, shortly after that the Scots had rebelliously put down the episcopal government in Scotland, the presbyterians of England endeavoured the same here. The king, though he saw the rebels ready to take the field, would not condescend to that; but yet, in hope to appease them, was content to pass an act of parliament for the abolishing the High Commission. But though the High Commission were taken away, yet the parliament, having other ends besides the setting up of the presbyterate, pursued the rebellion, and put down both episcopacy and monarchy, erecting a power by them called the Commonwealth, by others the Rump, which men obeyed not out of duty, but for fear; nor was there any human laws left in force to restrain any man from preaching or writing any doctrine concerning religion that he pleased; and in this heat of the war it was impossible to disturb the peace of the state, which then was none.

And in this time it was that a book, called *Leviathan*, was written in defence of the king's power, temporal and spiritual, without any word against episcopacy, or against any bishop, or against the publick doctrine of the church. It pleased God, about

twelve years after the usurpation of this Rump, to restore his most gracious majesty that now is, to his father's throne, and presently his majesty restored the bishops, and pardoned the presbyterians; but then both the one and the other accused in parliament this book of heresy, when neither the bishops before the war had declared what was heresy, when, if they had, it had been made void by the putting down of the High Commission at the importunity of the presbyterians: So fierce are men, for the most part, in dispute where either their learning or power is debated, that they never think of the laws, but as soon as they are offended they cry out, "Crucifige," forgetting what St Paul saith, even in cause of obstinate holding of an error, 2 Tim. ii. 24, 25. "The servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all men; apt to teach, patient, in meekness instructing those that oppose, if God peradventure may give them repentance, to the acknowledging of the truth." Of which counsel such fierceness as hath appeared in the disputation of divines, down from before the council of Nice to this present time, is a violation.

TRACTS

DURING

THE REIGN OF KING CHARLES II.

SECOND CLASS.

HISTORICAL TRACTS.

KING CHARLES II.

SECOND CLASS.

HISTORICAL TRACTS:

The Three Royal Cedars, or Great Britain's glorious Diamonds ; being a Royal Court Narrative of the Proceedings, Travels, Letters, Conferences, Speeches, and conspicuous Resolutions of the most High and Renowned King Charles, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, his Highness Prince James, Duke of York, and the most Illustrious Prince Henry, Duke of Gloucester. With a brief History of their memorable Transactions, Results, and judicious Councils, since their too-much lamented Exile in Flanders, and the Lord Chancellor Hyde, the Marquess of Ormond, the Earl of Norwich, the Lord Wentworth, the Lord Digby, and many other Nobles and Gentlemen created Lords of his Majesty's Privy-Council. Also, the resplendent Vertues appearing in these Princely Pearls, to the great Joy of all Loyal Subjects, who have for their Sovereign a just King to govern, a valiant Duke to defend, and a wise Counsellor to advise. 1660. By E. Sanders, Esq. a Lover of his Country's Liberty, and a Loyal Subject and Servant to his Sacred Majesty.

This is one of the pamphlets industriously circulated to enforce a favourable impression of the character of the monarch, who was now about to resume the throne of his ancestors. Charles II. really deserved much of the praise here bestowed upon his disposition and talents, but unfortunately his disposition to profligate pleasures prevented his subjects from profiting much by them. Baxter has given us an account of the doubts entertained by the presbyterians on the subject of Charles's religious principles, and the pains taken to remove them by those disposed to the royal cause.

For many gentlemen, who had been with the king in Scotland, especially the Earl of Lauderdale, and Colonel Greaves, who was of reputation with the people, did spread abroad mighty commendations of the king, both as to his temper and piety; whereby the fears of many at that time were much quieted.

And for the quieting people's minds, that were in no small commotion through clandestine rumours, he [the Earl of Lauderdale] by means of Sir Robert Murray, and the Countess of Balcarres, then in France, procured several letters to be written from thence, full of high eulogiums of the king, and assurances of his firmness in the protestant religion, which he got translated and publisht. Among others, one was sent to me from Monsieur Gaches, a famous pious

preacher at Charenton, wherein, after an high strain of complements to myself; he gave a pompous character of the king, and assured me that, during his exile, he never forebore the publick profession of the protestant religion, no not even in those places where it seemed to be prejudicial to his affairs. That he was present at divine worship in the French churches at Roan and Rochel, though not at Charenton, during his stay at Paris; and earnestly pressed me to use my utmost interest, that the king might be restored by means of the presbyterians, &c."—*Life of BAXTER*, p. 215.

DIVINE Providence having been pleased to return the subject to his due allegiance, and to give encouragement to those who have constantly continued loyal, that they may at length once more enjoy happiness, and every man sit under his own vine, and under his own fig tree, which the God of Heaven be praised we have now greater hopes of than ever: Moderation and impartiality are the chiefest virtues of a loyal pen; 'tis such a task I chiefly aim at, no less than the difficult travels of our most high and renowned king, with his exiled nobles, Charles the Second, heir apparent to the crown of Great Britain and Ireland, and crowned King of Scots, touching whom I intend to treat. He was born on the 29th of May, 1630, to the great joy of the king, queen, and indeed the whole kingdom; for never yet had England a prince born of so noble an extract and grand alliance; his father, by lineal right and descent, King of Great Britain and Ireland; his mother, daughter to that thrice illustrious prince Henry IV., King of France, and worthily surnamed the Great, and Isabella, Infanta of Spain. By his grandmother's side was he nearly allied to the kings of Denmark, by the marriage of his aunt, the noble Princess Elizabeth, to the Elector Palatine of the Rhine, and King of Bohemia; and afterwards, by the marriage of his royal sister the Princess Mary, to the Prince of Orange. Thus was he allied to most of the potent princes in Christendom. And happy might this nation have been under his government, if we may believe the vogue of that wisest of men, Solomon, who pronounces that kingdom blessed, whose prince is the son of nobles.

But to return to his majesty in Flanders; of whose itinerary life we have already given you a particular account, it will not be impertinent to say somewhat of his sedentary and retired living, that by his œconomy we may judge of his monarchy, and of the government of those few subjects in his family, of that of his three kingdoms.

His majesty hath spent most of his time, wherein he hath been out of his dominions, in Flanders, under the protection of the catholick King of Spain, nor had he ever any where else so settled a court and habitation as here, where his chief attendants are the Lord Chancellor Hide, the Marquis of Ormond, the Earl of Norwich, the Lord Wentworth, the Lord Digby, and many others, nobles and gentlemen, whose loyalty to his sacred majesty and his royal father hath made exiles to their country; a particular number of which he makes use of for his council, doing nothing without serious and mature advice; and yet being of so sagacious a judgment, that whatever he says is seldom contradicted by the most judicious of his counsellors, not out of fear or flattery, but out of a real assent to and concurrence with his judgment.

And indeed those great opportunities which he hath had, by his so long being abroad, of diving into the great counsels of foreign princes and states, must necessarily make him a person of a very perspicuous understanding, endow him with all those qualities which may deservedly attain the name of great, and render him as well an able statish, as a king; he having during his expulsion travelled through and lived in the countries of three the most potent princes in Christendom, *vis.* the emperors of Germany, and the kings of Spain and France; and so to the German resolution added the Spaniard's prudence and the Frenchman's expedition.

To these extraordinary helps, which never prince in Christendom can boast of, we may yet add those more than ordinary gifts wherewith Nature hath been pleased to endow him, which being so extremely improved, we can hardly now discern; but that it may be known what they were, take the character of an honourable lord upon his death-bed, who, speaking of him when about fifteen or sixteen years of age, hath these words: "Truly I never saw greater hopes of virtue in any young person, than in him: Great judgment, great understanding, strong apprehension, much of honour in his inclinations." So that both nature and industry have seemed to use their utmost endeavours to make him a perfect prince, his very affliction turning in this benefit, and making him in knowledge and sufferings (the refiner of knowledge) unparallel'd. Some foreign princes as well envying as pitying his expulsion.

This perfect knowledge of his he hath indeed had but small occasion to practise, except a little in Scotland; where, I think, he demonstrated himself a person so prudent and careful in his affairs, that it is beyond my pen's expression.

His subjects good was his only care; nor did he ever act any thing but what might tend more to theirs than his own interest; still consulting whether it might benefit them, not himself.

His letter to Col. Mackworth, the governor of Shrewsbury, sufficiently demonstrates his affection to his very enemies; he would win, not conquer the hearts of those, who though they have broke their allegiance to him, yet he would esteem still his subjects.

He would not conquer with blood, lest he should be thought a tyrant. He endeavours by fair means to attain the love of his subjects, that (whatever his very enemies think of him) he may approve himself to be a just prince.

And did fortune give him power, yet would he rather attempt blandishments than force. He knows that whilst he kills a subject he weakens his kingdom. Rebels themselves may be found useful, and though justice cannot, yet his majesty's clemency will admit their pardon; but if they resist to the utmost, their blood is on their own heads. What man is not willing to destroy him who he knows would be his murderer?

Thus is his justice and his clemency mix'd together; he would not kill, where he might with safety save. Nor does his unspotted innocency raise fancies or fears in him. As he is guilty of nothing, so there's nothing he fears. Whilst he endeavours to be true to his subjects, those endeavours force a belief in him that his subjects will be true to him.

His very nature inclines him to compassion. He pities those that will not pity themselves; and whilst they are conspiring his destruction, his prayers procure their safety. Nor can the utmost of their injuries provoke him to a retaliation. He hath learned not only of God, but of the king his father, to forgive his enemies.

Nor is it his desire to obtain his kingdoms that makes him willing to forgive his enemies, but his desire to forgive his enemies that makes him willing to obtain his kingdoms: He counts the possession of his royalties but as a transitory dignity, the pardon of his enemies a divine and lasting one.

Neither is his pity less than his justice; they are both in the superlative degree; he hates wickedness, not because the world should see him glory, (that would make him an hypocrite) but because God abhors it; 'tis love, not fear, makes him religious; he fears God only because he loves him.

He hates not the vicious, but abominates their vices, his hatred extends not to persons, but to things: He dislikes not the swearer, 'tis his oaths he abhors; he hates not the drunkard, but his drunkenness.

Yet does his mercy extend beyond their sins, as he is a king, so he is a god, he is gracious to pardon, as well as just to punish; nor can a submission or reformation but overtake his remission.

His constant service of God excites others to live by his example; he sleeps not without invoking the blessing of the Almighty, nor do his eyes open without a returned thanks. He knows 'tis God alone which can restore and protect him; nor can the wickedness of man prevail against him.

Nor does his publick devotion shew him less zealous than his private; the one demonstrates him full of zeal, the other void of hypocrisy; he would have others holy as well as himself; he knows that saying concerns him, being a king, above all private men, *Non nobis solis nati sumus*.

Private persons are not alone born for themselves, much less kings, the publick concern is their duty: 'Tis not enough for the master of the house that he be godly, whilst his family is wicked. There must be precept as well as example; and, if need be, correction as well as instruction.

This makes his majesty deservedly famous; he counts it as great a fault to suffer a sin in another, whilst he hath power to correct it, as to commit it himself. He knows that what crimes soever a magistrate suffers willingly to be committed, he brings upon his own head.

He is therefore above all things careful not to farther vice, lest he should be accounted vicious; he detests that in another which did he commit, he knows he might justly detest himself for; and endeavours by example to reform that in others, which he knows were it in him would seem odious.

He abhors vice, as well because it is so, as because God abhors it. His nature inclines him to vertue, and as he cannot admit it contrary in himself, so he cannot endure it in another.

His constancy in religion is no less conspicuous than his piety. His discerning judgment knows what is truth, and that truth is followed by his settled will: Yet he hates not the popish religion, but their idolatry; he abhors not them, but their false worship. He loves all that know Christ at all, but wishes that they might know him more.

His stedfastness in religion proceeds not from self-interest; he sticks not so much to the true protestants, because he knows the English to be addicted to that religion, because he thinks it for his benefit, because he imagines that it would prove very difficult to obtain his crown and leave it, but because he knows it to be true.

He knows the prince is born for the people, as well as the people for the prince. He knows their interests to be interwoven. He knows that without them he cannot stand; yet will he sooner lose them than relinquish verity.

He is the perfect pattern of piety, but more of patience; his afflictions have not made him repine, he knows God to be just: He believes that as God restored Job twofold, so will he likewise restore unto him his kingdoms: Yet he thinks it just in God to suffer them to be detained from him.

He laments more his subjects slavery than his own exile; he grieves that they have been so long blind, yet rejoices for their sakes that they have now a glimmering; he constantly prays for the restoring of their sight, not so much because they should restore his, as their own rights and privileges.

He is inwardly troubled and perplexed at the many schisms, sects, and heresies, that are raised in the church of England; he is sorry that their rise is from some men's envy towards him; he pities, and his pity produces his prayers for them: He is willing that though they will not obey him, yet that they may serve God.

He was never heard to curse his enemies, many times to pray for them, and desire God to forgive even his father's murderers; his good will surpasses their cruelty; and whilst they are conspiring his destruction, he is praying for their salvation.

He is a perfect enemy to all debauchedness; he is sorry those who pretend themselves his friends in England are so great a scandal to him; he wishes that they would so carry themselves, that he might adventure to own them as his friends; for he un-

derstands not the good will of those who drink his health for the liquor's sake, nor wishes for their help, who over their sack only swear they will fight for him.

He is no greater a hater of vice than a cherisher of vertuous actions; he loves them in his very enemies, and oft he grieves when he finds occasion to think that many of them will rise up in judgment against his most pretended friends.

He is most exactly just in all his commands, and faithful in performance of all his promises. Take the character given him by the dying Marquess of Montrose: For his majesty now living (saith he) never people I believe may be more happy in a king; his commands to me were most just; in nothing that he promiseth will he fail: He deals justly with all men, &c. So punctual is he, that when a word is once gone out of his mouth, he will rather suffer by it than break it.

To conclude, he is the pattern of patience and piety; the most righteous and justest of kings; the most knowing and experienced of princes; the holiest and the best of men; the severest punisher of vice; the strictest rewarder of virtue; the constantest perseverer in religion; and the truest lover of his subjects.

This is a short character of his illustrious majesty, which I fear those that know him will rather think to come short of, than reach his due praise; so sweetly vertuous is he in all his carriages, so affable in his discourse, so void of passion and anger, that he was never yet heard or seen in choler; the utmost extent of any passion that ever was discerned in him being towards one of his menial servants, who, justifying himself in what he had done amiss, his majesty with some motion told him, that he was an insolent fellow.

Yet this is that prince whose virtues we have given leave to foreign nations to admire, whilst we ourselves have rested as well ignorant of his deserts, as destitute of our own liberty; whilst, either infatuated or blinded by those who have tyrannically usurped governments over us, we have been contented to sit still, and see him expulsed and exiled from his due rights and royalties, and ourselves from our freedom and privileges.

Nor hath God alone been merciful to us in endowing his sacred majesty with such heroic virtues, but he hath given us a stock of noble princes, who seem to emulate virtue in one another, and grow up like royal oaks, to maintain the honour and glory of this nation, but are yet, and have a long time been the disgrace of it, all the nations in Europe laughing at the English folly, who slight that happiness which they might enjoy.

As for the illustrious duke of York, his fame is spread so far over the world, that myself have heard the very Turks commend and applaud his valour, which was so esteemed among the French, that before he arrived at twenty-one years of age he was by that king thought worthy the command of lieutenant-general of his armies; which he managed with such care and prudence, that seldom an affair he took in hand produced not its desired success; and since his being in requital of his services complemented out of that kingdom of France, though he hath not had such eminent commands conferr'd on him by the Spaniard, yet they have always thought him worth the highest employment and respect.

As for the Duke of Gloucester, he is esteemed by most to be fitter for a counsellor than a soldier. His carriage is grave, and somewhat severe; of a sagace genius and understanding; and very much prying into state affairs, which have made most judge him fitter for a council-board.

These three princes are like three diamonds or pearls, which we have ignorantly cast away, and not come to know the worth of them till we come to want them: Their virtues having made them resplendent throughout all the world, and render'd them, if we justly consider it, the only means whereby we can attain to happiness; for what nation can be more blessed than that which hath for her prince a just king to govern, a valiant duke to defend, and a wise counsellor to advise.

News from Brussels: In a Letter from a near Attendant on His Majesty's Person, to a Person of Honour here; which casually became thus publick. 1660.

This singular tract was one of the last efforts of the expiring commonwealth interest. It is a supposed letter from the exiled court of Charles to a cavalier in London, which is calculated to press upon the key most likely to interrupt the general disposition in favour of the restoration. It represents the temper of Charles and his little court, as exasperated by the long injuries they had sustained, and preparing themselves to avenge them on the present opportunity. It is calculated also to excite the terrors of the presbyterians, who were at this time anxious to co-operate in the restoration, by representing the cavaliers as equally profligate and unforgiving. But the purpose of this stratagem was counter-acted by the public declarations of the leading royalists, that they reflected upon their past sufferings, as coming from the hand of God, and entertained no thoughts of revenge against the immediate agents, but were satisfied to bury all past injuries in the joy of the happy restoration of the king, laws, and constitution.—See the subsequent Tract.

Honest Jack,

THINE, by T. L. our true post pigeon, and (I would I could not say) only expeditious person, was mine before the morning; and our masters the same minute, who took no small delight therein: For he read it thrice, and is resolved, (and swore to boot) thou art the first shall kneel under his sacred sword. Sir C. C. has his heart, and at first view he thought of wafting thither, lest he should think his loyalty was slighted; but H. I. and I advised otherwise, and with some ado diverted that intent, and got him to signify his royal pleasure in the inclosed; which instantly dispatch by Minyard way: F. H. has always passage ready. Sir M. M. two hours after brought good news from his cold country, but Calvin smells too rank for us to venture thither; they first betrayed his royal father, and after that his sacred self: Nor are our fortunes now at that low ebb, to reimbarc our all in that old leaky bottom. Prithee perswade Sam. to be silent, tell him it is our master's pleasure. Thinkest thou none knows as well as he who first conjured up this devil, and cursed them that would not curse and fight against his majesty, in Meroz name: yes, we can look, tho' through our fingers: This rebellion first bubbled up in presbyterian pulpits; yet it's impolitick to say so much: We also know, 'tis more for fear of the fanaticks, than for love to us, they now are loyal; so also it is our necessity, not choice, that makes us court them: Hug them you cannot hang, at least until you can: Would Lall. had longer lips; I hate to shew the teeth before we bite: We choak our dogs with crusts as well as pins; no cur will eat a pin alone: A blue ribbon and a star we know will unbecome a rebel's shoulder, but fishes bite at baits; he is an ass that angles, and hides not his hook: How most unhappy is my sovereign lord, that the impatience of his friends should be as perilous to his fortunes as the pikes of his enemies! we never yet well minded our next work; he's a fool that thinks when the needle's in the thread won't follow: Set then your helping hand to this, let that alone; procure the cause, and 'tis impossible to separate the effect. But he comes in on terms? and is bound up? Tush! remember that bless-

ed line I marked in Machiavel; he's an oafe that thinks an oath, or any tender, can tame a prince beyond his pleasure. Zeruiah's sons lived to David's great dislike, but 'twas but till he could kill them more conveniently; and prithee what did Shimei's pardon do but planch him up? They can't abide to see his house a round-head hive; 'tis true, 'tis much that any can: Are you yet to learn to make necessity a virtue? Who doubts but that C. Borgia did his business better, by lulling Vitelloz asleep, than to have hazarded all by the uncertain chance of fortune? 'Tis a romance to think revenge can sleep, but like a dog, to wake at will: 'Tis true, served we a prince that needed spurs, this humour might be cherished; but alas, we rather use all the art and arguments we can to rein him in: Hadst thou but seen his passion when Ms. Pedigree came over, thou wouldest have said he had steel enough—Seal, Rob. lips, I pray thee, for fear it may disserve him at dinner; 'twas, and in some degree is, too publick. There need no record for a rival; yet is it laid (by strict command) next Murrye's manuscript, and will one day be reviewed; till then Plantaganet's in pickle.¹ But I'll retain our (most absolutely necessary) discourse for thy farther satisfaction: Canst fancy that our master can forget he had a father, how he liv'd and dy'd, how he lost both crown and life, and who the cause thereof? Never monarch yet had a memory half so bad. Ne'er fear it, there's fire enough in his father's ashes, (though yet invisible) to burn up every adversary; only our clamorous impatience would have all at once: Give time, he ascends most safe that does it *gradatim*; overstraining not only spends the strength too fast, but does endanger falling more: Remember our dread liege lord (if ever guilty of an error) miscarried here; from what a hope fell he and we, for want of following S. S. advice: All or none is a game not for a prince to play, but desperadoes, whose fortunes rise and set with every sun. The presbyter will give up the fanatick, a handsome bone to pick at first: I like it better far than all at once; excess brings surfeits: Thus half the beard they shave themselves, let us alone with t'other: Drown first the kitlings, let the dam that littered them alone a little longer: They glory they are orthodox; hear, and hold still thy head, let us alone to find out fresh fanaticks, and beat them back into King Harry's cod-piece. We know the sectaries had a sire, and whose spurious brood they are; even as the puritan was the off-set of the protestant: Spain's attack revive as oft as well thou canst; 'tis a good blind, and propagates our master's interest. Wat came since my last, and will not let our lord alone, till he sees a lecture up in court, and chaplains preach before him, ordained by the presbytery; and one Waldense is come already. O Jesu! Jack, I want an iron hoop to keep my sides from splitting, to see my poor prince bite's lips for half an hour long, while that Dulmano begs a blessing, (as he calls it) as our mech-beggars do their bacon at the farmer's doors: G. got behind him yesterday, and made mouths, which the puppy by an unhappy turn of his head perceived; but his majesty seeing all, prudently anticipated his complaint, and with a royal gravity, not only rebuked G., but immediately dismissed him his service.²

We all made application to the parson, to mediate to our master for G. his restoration, which he did; and after much intreaty, his request was graciously granted; but not for G. his sake, but for his; and but on future good behaviour neither: M. H. and I were in the presence at night, but I thought we should have split our spleens with laughing: But by these means all was healed; and henceforward we are all commanded to be plaguy godly. H. bid me haud his service to thee; he swears he hath horn'd

¹ Monk seems to be meant, who was flattered at this period with a pedigree, deriving his birth from the royal family of Plantagenet. The intimation is obvious, that the king intended to regard him rather as a rival than benefactor.

² Reynolds, Calamy, Manson, and eight or ten of the presbyterian clergy, came to wait upon Charles at Breda, and were received with distinguished civility. It is not improbable that something of the kind here hinted may have actually taken place, at least it is much in the spirit of the merry monarch and his courtiers.

15 cuckolds within these 14 days.—Mind the militia most, talk not of disbanding, one pin naturally drives out another. A. B. at parting swore he would see that execrable exit rased out; whom so assist he may not suffer. Let Th continue his caresses, and bid him not jeopard such broad jokes no more; he says she stinks of piss and horse-spice. D. F. C. and —— court upon all occasions: If M. M. and —— stand right, we ask no more; city, land, and sea is our own: That reformation likes us rarely well, though we wonder he would hazard all upon such a rash adventure. Bid Phil. and his brother both be close, they now may list and none the wiser: we dared not let the Nuntio see the sun. We hope our friends droop still, and curse him whom most they covet. —Let not thy lady know our Italian tye: The devil can't track us if we three keep our tongue within our teeth. Fret not, nor afflict thyself nor friend, for we resolve the rogues that left the Rump shall feel the scourge that loyal hearts lash rebels with, as well as others; a roundhead is a roundhead; black and white devils all alike to us. —Thinkest thou that we can breathe in peace while we see a little finger left alive that hath been dipt in royal blood? or his adherents? No, a thought of mercy more hateful is than hell: But cooks may be conquerors, and a plate perform equal execution with a pistol, and with less report. Be quiet then, let's use all art to make them take the halter tamely. Press the speedy raising of the city regiments—and out the rogue at stern; what folly is't to think we can safely ferry while the fleet's fanatic! This done, let our cause miscarry if it can. Maz. met Wat, and gave him sound advice.—Get arms, but buy them not in such suspicious numbers; that if all fails, we may repair to them, and cut our passage to the throne through traitors blood. Farewell.

Brussels, O. S. March 10, 1659.

A Declaration of the Nobility, Knights, and Gentry of the County of Oxon, which have adhered to the late King.

Printed in the Year 1660.

The evil consequences of such apprehensions as the foregoing tract was calculated to excite, were immediately seen by the royalists, the chief of whom, in order to avert them, published such declarations as that which follows, disowning all purposes of private revenge in case of the king's restoration.

SINCE, after a bloody war, followed by its worst effects, confusion, violence, and fanatic fury, it hath pleased Almighty God, by unexpected methods, to bring us not only within hope, but even in view of settlement: And that his excellency the Lord General Monck, the glorious and immediate instrument of Providence in this great work, through his heroic courage, conduct, and moderation, hath brought affairs to that pass that there is scarce any thing left for other hands but to lay hold of, and receive their happiness: Unless we had been misrepresented as bars to this felicity by

false apprehensions, we should not, at this instant, have appeared in public : So that the enemies of this nation's peace, traducing us as persons implacable and studious of revenge, have at once laid an obligation upon us to vindicate ourselves by renouncing so unworthy a suggestion, and an opportunity of serving the public, by removing those pretensions for diffidence and jealousy, which (as things now stand) are the only hinderance of that perfect union which cannot fail to bring the nation to a happy settlement.

Upon which ground we have thought it fitting to declare, that we do disclaim, and with perfect detestation disown all purpose of revenge, or partial remembrance of things past.

Likewise we desire, that in whatsoever any of us have disoblged either the public, or any private person, we may partake from them that oblivion which we so readily dispense.

Moreover, we promise and engage to acquiesce in the determinations of ensuing parliaments ; resolving, in our several stations, to compose ourselves thereunto with chearful vigorous obedience.

Lastly, we are resolved perfectly to forget all names of difference, excepting those which the more active endeavours of charity and peace shall give unto us, who have this strife alone to manage, the being outdone by none in friendship, love, and concension.

Subscribed by

Earl of Lyndsey,
Earl of Downe,
Lord John Lovelace,
Sir Baniham Throgmorton, Knight
and Baronet,
Thomas Pope, Knight,
William Walter, Baronet,
Sir Chichester Wrey, Knight,
Sir Timothy Tyril, Knight,
Samuel Sandys, Colonel,
Brome Whorwood, Esquire,
Thomas Whorwood, Esquire,
Captain William Whorwood,
Colonel Francis Lovelace,
Colonel Henry Heylyn,
William Sheppard, Esquire,
Major Francis Moore,
Captam John Peacocke,
Captain Peter Langston,
Francis Langston, Esquire,

Samuel Walbanck, Esquire,
Captain William Gannocke,
Richard Baily, D. D.
Richard Gardner, D. D.
Thomas James, Gent.
H. H. Corney, Gent.
Richard Powel, Esquire,
William Hopton, Gent.
Captain James Aston,
Samuel Jackson, M. D.
John Fell, M. A.
John Machin, Gent.
Thomas Lodge, Gent.
John Lamphire, M. D.
Captain John Smith,
William Wickham, Esquire,
William Knowles, Esquire,
John Dolben, Gent.
John Parsons, Gent.
Captain Walter Jones.

King Charles II. his Declaration to all his loving Subjects of the Kingdom of England, dated from his Court at Breda, in Holland, the 4th of April, 1660, and read in Parliament May 1, 1660. Together with his Majesty's Letter, of the same Date, to his Excellence the Lord General Monck, to be communicated to the Lord President of the Council of State, and to the Officers of the Army under his Command.

When Monk opened his negotiation with Charles II., he dispatched Sir John Greenville and Mr Mordaunt to the court of the exiled monarch, with hints and directions for drawing up an address to the people of England, and a letter to the general himself. Clarendon gives the following account of the principles upon which these celebrated papers were drawn up:—

“When Sir John Greenville had at large informed his majesty of the affairs of England, of the manner of the general's conference with him, and the good affection of Mr Morrice, and had communicated the instructions and advices he had received, as his majesty was very glad that the general had thus far discovered himself, and that he had opened a door for correspondence, so he was not without great perplexity upon many particulars which were recommended to be done, some of which he believed impossible and unpracticable, as the leaving every body in the state they were in, and confirming their possession in all the lands which they held in England, Scotland, or Ireland, by purchase or donation, whether of lands belonging to the crown and church, or such who, for adhering to his father and himself, were declared delinquents, and had their lands confiscated and disposed of as their enemies thought fit. Then the complying with all humours in religion, and the granting a general liberty of conscience, was a violation of all the laws in force, and could not be apprehended to consist with the peace of the kingdom. No man was more disposed to a general act of indemnity and oblivion than his majesty was, which he knew, in so long and universal a guilt, was absolutely necessary; but he thought it neither consistent with his honour nor his conscience, that those who had sate as judges, and condemned his father to be murdered, should be comprehended in that act of parliament: yet it was advised that there might be no exception, or that not above four might be excepted; because it was alledged, that some of them had facilitated the general's march by falling from Lambert, and others had barefaced advanced the king's service very much.

“After great deliberation upon all the particulars, and weighing the importance of complying with the general's advice in all things which his conscience and honour would permit, his majesty directed such letters and declarations to be prepared as should be in a good degree suitable to the wishes and counsel of the general, and yet make the transaction of those things which he did not like the effect of the parliament, rather than of his majesty's approbation. And the confidence he had upon the general election of honest and prudent men, and in some particular persons, who he heard were already chosen, disposed him to make a general reference of all things which he could not reserve to himself to the wisdom of the parliament; upon presumption that they would not exact more from him than he was willing to consent to, since he well knew that whatever title they assumed, or he gave them, they must have another kind of parliament to confirm all that was done by them, without which they could not be safe and contented, nor his majesty obliged.”—CLARENDON, III. p. 576.

The Declaration.

CHARLES, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith. To all our loving subjects of what degree or quality soever,

greeting. If the general distraction and confusion which is spread over the whole kingdom doth not awaken all men to a desire and longing that these wounds, which have so many years together been kept bleeding, may be bound up, all we can say will be to no purpose. However, after this long silence, we have thought it our duty to declare how much we desire to contribute thereunto. And that as we can never give over hope in good time to obtain the possession of that right which God and nature hath made our due, so we do make it our daily suit to the Divine Providence that he will, in compassion to us and our subjects, (after so long misery and sufferings,) remit us, and put us into a quiet and peaceable possession of that our right, with as little blood and damage to our people as is possible: Nor do we desire more to enjoy what is ours, than that all our subjects may enjoy what by law is theirs, by a full and entire administration of justice throughout the land, and by extending our mercy where it is wanting and deserved.

And to the end that the fear of punishment may not engage any, conscious to themselves of what is past, to a perseverance in guilt for the future, by opposing the quiet and happiness of their country in the restoration both of king, peers, and people, to their just ancient and fundamental rights: We do by these presents declare, That we do grant a full and general pardon, which we are ready to pass under our great seal of England, to all our subjects of what degree or quality soever, who, within forty days after the publication hereof, shall lay hold upon this our grace and favour, and shall by any publick act declare their doing so; and that they return to the loyalty and obedience of good subjects, excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by parliament, those only excepted: Let our subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the word of a king, solemnly given by this present declaration, That no crime whatsoever committed against us or our royal father, before the publication of this, shall ever rise in judgment, or be brought in question against any of them, to the least indamagement either in their lives, liberties, or estate; or (as far forth lies in our power) so much as to the prejudice of their reputation, by any reproach or term of distinction from the rest of our best subjects. We desiring and ordaining that henceforward all notes of discord, separation, and difference of parties be utterly abolished among all our subjects, whom we unite and conjure to a perfect union among themselves under our protection, for the re-settlement of our just rights and theirs in a free parliament; by which, upon the word of a king, we will be advised.

And because the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other, which, when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conversation, will be composed or better understood: We do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom: And that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of parliament, as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to us, for the full granting that indulgence: And, because in the continued distractions

* Charles was too justly accused of breaking this promise, in his conduct to the presbyterians, who had reason to have expected a greater measure of royal favour at the Restoration than it was their fortune to meet with. The king's declaration from Breda held out the hope of unlimited toleration at least, if not of some such modification of the ceremonies of the church of England, as might enable many of the presbyterian clergy to enter her pale. The celebrated conference at the Savoy, between the leading divines on each side, soon shewed the impossibility of any comprehensive model; and at length the act of uniformity was passed, which destroyed the presbyterians' hopes even of a toleration.—By the act of uniformity every minister was obliged, on pain of losing all his ecclesiastical preferments, to conform to the worship of the church of England, according to the new book of Common Prayer, before the feast of St Bartholomew next, from which it was called the Bartholomew-Act. Every minister was also obliged to sign the following declaration:—‘I do here declare my unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing contained and prescribed in and by the book entitled the Book of Common Prayer,’ &c. Besides this, every person was obliged to sign a declaration contained in the Militia

of so many years, and so many great revolutions, many grants and purchases of estates have been made to, and by, many officers and soldiers, and others who are now possessed of the same, and who may be hable to actions at law upon several titles, We are likewise willing that all such differences, and all things relating to such grants, sales, and purchasers, shall be determined in parliament, which can best provide for the just satisfaction of all men who are concerned.

And we do further declare, That we will be ready to consent to any act or acts of parliament to the purposes aforesaid, and for the full satisfaction of all arrears due to the officers and soldiers of the army, under the command of General Monck : And that they shall be received into our service upon as good pay and conditions as they now enjoy.

Given under our sign manual and privy signet, at our court at Breda, this fourteenth day of April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.

Received the first of May, 1660.

His Majesty's Letter to his Excellency General Monck.

CHARLES R.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well : It cannot be believed but that we have been, are, and ever must be as solicitous as we can, by all endeavours, to improve the affection of our good subjects at home, and to procure the assistance of our friends and allies abroad for the recovery of that right which, by the laws of God and man, is unquestionable ; and of which we have been so long dispossessed by such force, and with those circumstances as we do not desire to aggravate by any sharp expressions, but rather wish, That the memory of what is passed may be buried to the world. That we have more endeavoured to prepare and to improve the affections of our subjects at home for our restoration, than to procure assistance from abroad to invade either of our kingdoms, is as manifest to the world : And we cannot give a better evidence that we are still of the same mind than in this conjuncture, when common reason must satisfy all men that we cannot be without assistance from abroad, We chuse rather to send to you, who have it in your own power to prevent that ruin and desolation which a war would bring upon the nation, and to make the whole kingdom owe the peace, happiness, security, and glory it shall enjoy to your virtue ; and to acknowledge that your armies have complied with their obligations for which they were first raised, for the preservation of the protestant religion, the honour and dignity of the king, the privileges of parliament, the liberty and property of the subject, and the fundamental laws of the land ; and that you have vindicated that trust which others most perfidiously abused and betrayed. How much we desire and resolve to contribute to those good ends will appear to you by our inclosed Declaration, which we desire you to cause to be published for the information and satisfaction of all good subjects who do not desire a further effusion of precious Christian blood, but to have their

Act, in which declaration he was not only to promise to conform to the liturgy of the church of England, but likewise to renounce the solemn League and Covenant, declaring it to be an unlawful oath, and imposed upon the subjects of this realm against the known laws and liberties of the kingdom. The penalties annexed to this act were many, particularly—No person should be capable of any benefice, or presume to consecrate and administer the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper, before he be ordained priest by episcopal ordination, upon pain to forfeit for every offence the sum of one hundred pounds.

It is saying too little to affirm, that in this severe measure the share which the presbyterians had in exciting the civil war in 1641, was vindictively remembered ; while their merits in forwarding the Restoration in 1660, were ungenerously forgotten. Two thousand ministers are said to have been ejected in consequence of the Non-Conformity Act. The number is however probably exaggerated, and many of them afterwards conformed.

peace and security founded upon that which can only support it—an unity of affections amongst our selves, an equal administration of justice to men, restoring parliaments to a full capacity of providing for all that is amiss, and the laws of the land to their due veneration. You have been yourselves witnesses of so many revolutions, and have had so much experience how far any power and authority that is only assumed by passion and appetite, and not supported by justice, is from providing for the happiness and peace of the people, or from receiving any obedience from them, without which no government can provide for them, that you may very reasonably believe that God hath not been well pleased with the attempts that have been made, since he hath usually increased the confusion by giving all the success that hath been desired, and brought that to pass without effect which the designers have proposed, as the best means to settle and compose the nation; and therefore we cannot but hope and believe that you will concur with us in the remedy we have applied, which to human understanding is only proper for the ills we all groan under; and that you will make yourselves the blessed instruments to bring this blessing of peace and reconciliation upon king and people, it being the usual method in which Divine Providence delighteth it self to use and sanctify those very means which ill men design for the satisfaction of private and particular ends and ambition, and other wicked purposes, to wholesome and publick ends, and to establish that good which is most contrary to the designers; which is the greatest manifestation of God's peculiar kindness to a nation that can be given in this world. How far we resolve to preserve your interests, and reward your services, we refer to our Declaration; and we hope God will inspire you to perform your duty to us and to your native country, whose happiness cannot be separated from each other.

We have entrusted our well-beloved servant, Sir John Greenville, one of the gentlemen of our bed-chamber, to deliver this unto you, and to give us an account of your reception of it, and to desire you in our name that it may be published. And so we bid you farewell.

Given at our court at Breda, 4th of April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign,
Received May 1, 1660.

To our trusty and well beloved General Monck, to be by him communicated to the president and council of state, and to the officers of the army under his command.

A scandalous, libellous, and seditious Pamphlet, intituled, The Valley of Baca; or, The Army's Interest pleaded, the Purchasers seconded, the Danger of the Nation demonstrated in Thirty-four Quæries, answered: And the present State of Affairs briefly vindicated. 1660. By a true Lover to the Peace and Welfare of his Country.

The first steps of the government, after the king's restoration, were gradually and by degrees to remove from their command the officers whom they suspected, and to disband that army which had accomplished such wonderful revolutions in the state. The presbyterians seemed to have been alarmed by the advances towards these measures, for they foresaw that their own influence rested entirely on the army's continuing embodied, and that, if the militia were to pass into the

hands of cavalier officers, the power of the sword would be entirely with the king, who might then no longer see any reason for temporising with a party whom, notwithstanding their recent exertions in his behalf, he had some reasons both to dread and dislike. "The Valley of Baca" seems to have been composed for the purpose of exciting the jealousy and fears of this powerful sect. It harped upon the danger of bringing in the king without conditions; and notwithstanding the triumphant manner in which the thirty-six queries of the pamphleteer are answered by the following treatise, it may be noticed that many of them proved to be prophetic.

1. WHETHER, seeing it was the parliament's army that brought in his majesty, when his own party and armies could not do it, they deserve not all due respect and tenderness? And whether proportionable encouragement ought not to be given to such who shall be found to merit it, according to his majesty's late declarations?

Ans. His majesty hath given assurance to confer a character of favour upon those persons of the army who were instrumental in his restauration; and in order thereunto there is care taken that those lands purchased by them, or received for service, in their possession, to be secured to them and their posterity.

2. Whether it can be called tenderness or encouragement to turn out so many of the old officers and soldiers of the army and garrisons, contrary to the known laws martial, and contrary to his majesty's royal promise and engagement, not paying their arrears before disbanding, nor letting them know any cause for which they are outed, only to make way for such who have been known enemies to parliament and army, not having left above one commissioned officer in many regiments? And whether the rest of the army, who engaged for the parliament, are not like speedily to follow, if not prevented? And whether the nations are not insensibly brought hereby to ruin and slavery before they see it.

Ans. To the second, let the querist inform himself aright, and he shall find those only of the old army divested of their employments that have been instruments actively or passively under all changes, and are persons tempered fit for the swallowing down of any change whatsoever: And those continued are either persons that have given testimony of their dislike of those grand inconveniences that were daily practised upon these nations by a giddy, unconstant, proud, insolent, ignorant, and unprincipled generation; or else such who were wearied out with the often changes, abhorred to be instruments longer in using their arms to defend faction, and therefore they did readily adhere to that noble northern conductor. The querist, in these words, viz. "Turning out many of the officers of the army, to make way for known enemies," discovereth his spirit to be turbulent and factious, to keep up distinctions of parties; a thing dangerous and unprofitable, and not permitted by any wise princes or states. But as the case now standeth, it is the most wise and adviseable course that can be taken, to put arms in the hands of such persons of both parties as really deserve settlement. If the arms of the nation were not so disposed of, there would be new matter for jealousy, which is endeavoured to be fomented by the author of these queries.

3. Whether the justice of the Long Parliament's cause hath not been sufficiently owned by the late king his concessions at the Isle of Wight? And by the solemn covenant and declaration of this king, made and taken at his coronation in Scotland.

Ans. No doubt but what publick or sacred act or thing was done either by his late majesty, or his now majesty, due respect will be had thereunto. However, the scene of affairs are altered; his late majesty was under restraint, and a powerful army in being; his majesty present had a crown offered him upon terms; it is not to be believed or supposed (otherwise than enviously) that what his father did, or what he did himself, will be by him disowned; although peradventure not in the sense of the author of these queries. His majesty now was called in out of a perfect necessity to bring the

nation to some kind of settlement, and the security the nation hath is his own interest; that is, it is his interest to do all, or more than what justly or legally could have been expected by the undertakers of the late war: It is evident, for that by any thing his majesty hath already done; and will be led by his principles of just preserving policy, his deep judgment and skill in government, that he will be a king of virtue, a rectifier of abuses, a ballance to justice, a prevention of exorbitancies in ministers of state and justice, an expeller of bad and grievous laws, a discountenancer of debauchery and vice, an encourager of those that do well; by which he will find favour of God and man.

4. Whether this convention now sitting are not like to endanger the cause of the Long Parliament, our religion and liberties, by bringing the guilt of the blood-shed in the late war upon their heads, and all who adhered to them, if the bold and saucy encroachments of prelatical and other intruders be not timely prevented?

Answ. I shall answer this quære with another, Whether that the Long Parliament did not suffer their cause to be overthrown by Cromwell the usurper and his accomplices, in the secluding of members, putting to death of the king, and other actions that made the nation to loath them, and weeded them out of an interest to back them in carrying on of what they undertook.

5. Whether the old parliament may not yet have another resurrection, seeing they could not be dissolved without the joint consent of both houses, which hitherto hath not been done according to the legal intent of the act for that purpose?

Answ. To the first part I answer, Yes, 19,000 years hence, if the doctrine of that philosopher be true, that once in 19,000 years all beings shall act the same part over again they have already acted here upon earth. In this age it is not likely they shall have a resurrection, in regard they preserved not their authority free from those violations and alterations that passed upon them. To the other, or last part of this quære, I answer, as the sailor cannot sail by the compass in a storm, and that it is convenient to restrain the sick from food, and to give him physick, laws that are made to respect such and such reasons of state are in force as long as the occasion lasteth. Affairs have changed themselves into many forms and shapes, since insomuch that that act will not at all fit or sort with affairs now; it is become null and void of it self. If they had continued without those vicissitudes and changes, and the same reasons of state on foot, and the same interest able to support it self, in that case the act had been pleadable. Bracton, Fleta, Horn, and Littleton agree, that if the Lord shall fail to protect his vassal, the vassal's oaths dissolved, for that the law intendeth a condition, and the law freeth him from his obedience: Even so is it that parliament ceased to be a parliament, by being not able to protect the people from those frequent violations and outrages, irregularities and disorders that were daily committed upon the subject; and as the vassal's service in the aforementioned case, and the like cases might be attuned and assigned to another Lord, so doubtless the subject may be attuned and assigned to sit under the council and determinations of another parliament.

6. Whether, seeing there is like to be so great a difference in the complexion of parliaments, one being ready to give away that which the other hath obtained by conquest, and the next succeeding ready to condemn the former for so doing, it be not most safe for his majesty and this convention to grant and confirm his father's concessions in the Isle of Wight?

Answ. To this let the author look back, and he shall find that parliaments speak the language of the interest of state, that is most predominate at the time of their sitting: If the factions of the people be predominate, it speaketh loudest in their behalf; and so of the prince, the like of the nobility or clergy. So that if it were necessary for the beginning of the Long Parliament, to adhere to the people, it is now more necessary for this parliament to adhere to his majesty, to ballance the extremity of the humour of state, that did swell itself up to inconsistency on the behalf of the people, insomuch,

that nothing but ruin and confusion could have been expected.' Who is it that doth not see, that if this parliament should, out of their affection to his majesty, give away all the people's rights, that his majesty himself, out of his wisdom, and justness, and nobleness of mind, will be a good allay, he knowing, like a good physician of state, that it is necessary, in the constitution of a body, to keep the humours equal by proportion, that one do not predominate over the other, which produceth a healthy constitution; the contrary, diseases? As for his granting of the concessions of the Isle of Wight, as the case now standeth, it would not be safe to posterity to insist upon that, but rather, as it is said before, to account it sufficient to receive no other security than what his majesty's interest will produce, the which, by the operations of time, will reduce all other interests to a condition of security.

7. Whether any thing done by this convention can be obliging to the nation, seeing they have not the right constitution of a parliament, according to the fundamental laws of the kingdom: And whether any parliament can be so called for the future, till the Long Parliament, consisting of lords and commons, be actually dissolved by joint consent?

Ans. That which they do is obliging to the nation. If the nation submit to it, a part discontented in the nation is not to be taken for the nation; but the interest that is uppermost is to be taken for the nation: So it is where there is factions in states; as in Italy, the Gulfes, and Gibelesons. If one state should have two factions in it, another state sendeth embassage, they send to the uppermost, who are able to give laws; and not to that which must receive laws. Besides, what this parliament doth must needs oblige, because what they do suiteth and agreeth with the minds of most of the nation. And as Sir Edward Cooke saith, part 4. Instit. Chap. of high courts of parliament, that in some cases the members may answer, that they must go and consult with their counties for which they serve. The original of all law and power rise from the people actively or passively, let them be just or unjust. A good prince that is absolute, respects what will best suit, secure, and content the people: A tyrant consults what he may (having opportunity) inforce upon them. If these three nations should be consulted, there would, no doubt, be three to one to give their approbation of what is done; therefore it must be obliging to the nation. In such times, rules by mode and figure cannot be observed. You cannot sail by the compass in a storm, as is said before. For dissolution of the Long Parliament by joint consent, that need not to be, unless that the Long Parliament had kept their interest and themselves in the same form, without alteration, and power to be able to give laws together with the king, as they did at the time of passing that act. If that parliament, at the time of sitting down of this, had undertaken to deal in the government as formerly, I pray what obedience would the nation have given to them? So that the act in that case became void of itself. There be many acts of parliament that become void by time, and need no other repealing than that which they provide against, growing up to use. As for example, there is an act yet unrepealed, that no hops shall be brewed in beer; and another, that no sea-coal shall be burned in London; is there any need of repealing these acts? None surely. The case is the same in the matter in hand: For there is now no interest that is able to strengthen it to be observed; nor is there need to repeal it, for that it is repealed by several concurring accidents and affairs of state, that are considerable in opposition of that, able to render it useless and void, as it is.

8. Whether if the king, by his power, can make this a legal parliament, before such a dissolution of the other, his father could not do the like? And whether the mungrel parliament, which he chose at Oxford, was not as just and legal as this?

Ans. This parliament had a legal being and power from the people, as is before expressed: Their election demonstrated the people's consent and approbation, which is a sufficient stamp of authority. His majesty's consent being added thereunto, ma-

keth it unquestionable. If the king by his arms, and if that parliament at Oxford by their counsel, had prevailed, their success had given it a sufficient sanction for its legality.

9. Whether by the late vote past by this convention, to dispossess all soldiers and purchasers, of their interests in crown land, when they might by long leases have secured his majesty's title, increased his revenue beyond his predecessors, and have also satisfied thousands of families that are now undone, it doth not evidently appear, that they have designed and resolved to ruin and destroy all those that ever served and adhered to the interest of the Long Parliament?

Ans. If the counsel, arms, or interest of the possessors of these lands, had been able to have held them, their title had been made good by the same means they held by, so long as it lasted; but that failing, their title is void; and now it must be in his majesty's royal breast what he will do in that case: No doubt but he will be moderate, because he will not leave too great an impression of discontent upon so considerable a part of the nation. Other than this, the purchasers of those lands cannot in justice expect, as the case standeth.

10. Whether it be not therefore the best way for his majesty speedily to dissolve this convention, and not confirm any thing they shall enact, but rather forthwith to recall the old members to settle the nations?

Ans. Whether that be not as much as to say, let there be a foundation laid for a new war: Whether is it convenient to do any thing that should give cause of jealousy to his majesty, of his state and dignity, if he should meet with opposition; it would but put a necessity upon him to fortify himself by such reasons of state as would be remote from the good of the publick: Whereas otherwise, he meeting with no opposition, will be led by natural consequences to do all that may be obliging: His majesty, by his long deprivation, hath learned the temper of the English nation; well observed by Sir John Suckling, in his letter to the Lord Jermyn, 1640, saith, the king may preserve his power, by giving it away; for the people of England have ever been like wantons, which pull and tugg as long as the kings have pulled with them, as you may see in Henry III. King John, and Edward II. and indeed by all the troublesome and unfortunate reigns: but those kings as have let it go to oblige the people, the people have put it into their hands again with addition; as you may see by Queen Elizabeth, and others, kings of this realm. Those have been most powerful abroad, and at home in their own dominions, who obliged their people most: That this is the disposition of his present majesty is certain; and envy itself cannot truly say otherwise.

11. Whether it be not as dangerous for his majesty to cast aside his old parliament, to follow the counsel of these young conventioners, who can neither secure him, themselves, nor the people, as it was for Rehoboam, in a parallel case, seeing the spirit of the nation is ragingly discontented?

Ans. Whether that if his majesty should do such a thing, it would not discontent the nation, much more than it is at present, as the author supposeth, or then can be imagined by the author: It is to be admired, that the parliament, whom he maliciously calleth a convention, are not more severe; it is an argument that they are deliberate and grave. If it were so, as he wickedly suggesteth, his majesty's inexpressible temper and inclination to moderation will be a good allay, as is said before. Indeed it hath been usual in such vicissitudes, that when one part of a nation hath made war upon another, that the predominate party hath been tainted with revenge: But this present parliament make no other use of their power than becometh them, and demonstrateth their undertaking to be the effect of counsel, and not of arms. Besides, his majesty is endowed with a spirit of discerning, not to incline to such counsels

as shall tend to the detriment of the publick, which is our greatest happiness and security.

12. Whether if our religion and liberties, contended for by the Long Parliament, with the expence of so much blood and treasure, should be now lost, we are not like to be brought to the French mode of government, and all persons deterr'd ever to appear for a parliament in *futuro*?

Ans. This need not be feared at all: Philip de Commynes observeth well of the English nation, that they cannot endure too much slavery, or too much liberty. This his majesty well knoweth; and that if it were at his majesty's choice to be king of England, as the king of France is king of France, he would rather chuse to be king of England upon the terms his predecessors were kings of England; for that it is more honourable for to be king of princes or freemen, than to be king of slaves and peasants: He who ruleth a free people is much more powerful, for that his arms and treasure he can employ against a common enemy, and be able to give laws to foreign princes, either by council or arms; whereas if he ruleth slaves, his council and arms are always employed in his own defence against his own people, whom he should defend and protect.

13. Whether, seeing the design is now visible to debauch the army, by casting out the parliament's friends, thereby to intrude their enemies, by which means contentions and discords may arise, seeing the greatest part of the army, and others, who are engaged for the parliament, are still in being, who cannot but retain affections to their old principles and masters, it be not therefore most safe speedily to disband the army, seeing also it was the expectation of the nation, upon the return of his majesty to his government,—the militia being sufficient to secure the peace of the kingdom?

Ans. For the answer to this you are referred to the answer to the second quære, only to the last part of this quære, *viz.* the disbanding of the army, and trusting to the militia: If that were effected, immediately the author would arrive to his aim and end, which would be dangerous; for if the militia should be settled in the hands of one party, it would be cause of jealousy in the other; if you should settle the militia in the hands of all parties, it would be useless: So that it is better to wave trusting to the militia, until that the minds of all are more quiet and settled, and to keep up a considerable party of the army, which being conducted as is expressed in the answer to the second quære, will be in his majesty's hands an equal arbitrator of differences, and of much more use and less charge to the nation, than the militia will be; for that he who payeth 5s. per annum to the assessments for the army, will be at 20s. per annum charges at the least in finding arms, and other expences and loss of time, by attending at muster, and infinitely much more in case of service; the like of his estate proportionably, that shall by the act for the militia find horse and arms, and pay to a rider: The militia will be of use when the minds of people are united into one, which (no doubt) will be by the endeavours of his majesty, and with the blessing of God, in a short time, if not anticipated by the wicked practices of the jesuits, and the ungratefulness of unquiet spirits.

14. Whether it be safe for his majesty to enforce a superstitious form of worship, when covenanted against; and whether, if according to the covenant, the nation should appear against it, it may not be of dangerous consequence to his majesty's government?

Ans. For the answer to this you are referred to the answer to the 19th and 27th quæries.

15. Whether national sins will bring down national judgments, and whether the sins of blood and idolatry, not only at present seemingly committed, but promoted by this convention, are not like to become national sins, if his majesty prevent not?

Ans. To this I shall say little, in regard the author hath referred the prevention of his fears to his majesty, who is a merciful and wise prince, who will do that which shall not be justly censurable by his worst of enemies; that he may be so, we must pray to the Almighty to lead him by the hand of Providence, and still watch over him for good to these nations.

16. Whether those who opposed his majesty's coming in upon conditions, have not shewed themselves unfriendly both to their king and country; and whether they who should have been the people's refuge have not proved their ruin, by not asserting the old parliament's cause to be just and lawful, as their brethren did in Scotland?

Ans. It is very certain, as before alledged, that it is better that his majesty came in without terms, than with terms; for if that he had come in upon terms, those terms must have been made with one party or interest, or with all the parties and interests; if with one of the parties, that had been to the prejudice of the rest: If it had been with all the parties, that could hardly have been effected: The differences were so irreconcilable, that without an umpire, it would have produced another war, and unto which of the parties success might have happened, is uncertain, so they all had run an equal danger; therefore it is much better that his majesty came in as an equal arbitrator of all our differences. Moreover, at that time when his majesty was invited into the nation, Lambert was forming a new war, which would have been safe for no party, whose principles were nothing but ambition, who, as he hath said himself, did interrupt the then sitting parliament, the 13th of October, 1659, upon no more than half an hour's consideration, being led thereto by a violent impulse of the spirit; such a person as shall attempt such a thing upon the face of authority, without more deliberation, let it be legal or illegal, is not at all to be trusted. So that it is evident, that there was a necessity of his majesty's coming in at that time, and that it will be for the better to the nation that he came in without terms: For as he is king of all, so he now must equally respect all, and frame all his reasons of state to that end; by which he will lay a sure foundation to his sovereignty.

17. Whether, seeing there is above four hundred thousand families engaged to that old parliament's cause, by way of purchase in this nation, who are like to lose their purchases, it be not only dangerous at present to inflame the spirits of these men, but whether it be not a ground to espouse a quarrel to their posterities, if their estates should not be confirmed?

Ans. See the answer to the 9th quære. Moreover, the interest of the purchasers was not able to buy it self up to make terms, nor support that interest that sold the lands unto them: Therefore his majesty is not bound to make good those sales, farther than his royal word shall oblige him, or his interest lead him unto: Which no doubt will be honourable.

18. Whether any confidence can be put in a giddy multitude, who crying Hosanna to day, are ready to cry Crucify to morrow, especially of the English nation, who are ever fluctuating?

Ans. His majesty knoweth full well, that no confidence is to be put in the multitude; but that he must put confidence in actions of justice and honour, which will establish his throne, adorn his crown, and strengthen him to display his scepter to the satisfaction of all interests.

19. Whether, seeing prelacy was a main ingredient into the late wars (they having intruded so many English popish ceremonies into the church) and his majesty is bound by covenant and declaration to root it up in his dominions, it can therefore be safe to re-establish it? And whether Mr Douglas his sermon was not a spiritual prediction of some speedy judgment to follow, if such a horrid violation of the covenant be tolerated?

Ans. His majesty's proceedings in that particular are just and honourable; he in-

tendeth a synod to reconcile those differences in the church: It is as reasonable for the presbyterians to abate of what they would have, as for the episcopal to abate of what they desire; for as to government or ceremonies in the church, neither of their forms are absolutely necessary to salvation: So that his majesty, by the advice of a learned and wise synod, to moderate things between them, that they may unite and agree, will, as he is head of these nations, do a good office, and answer the ends of the covenant, which seemeth to drive principally at a government according to the word of God; and not absolutely this or that government, farther than in opposition to that of popery, &c.

20. Whether it be not the duty of the ministry to prevent the apostacy of their people from the covenant, by their preaching and doctrines, now we are running into another extreme, as well as they did lately when in a former extreme, especially when the wolf is already amongst their flocks; and whether it be not the duty of all cities and counties to follow the example given from Wiltshire and Dorsetshire, by petitioning to settle religion according to the covenant?

Ans. The author soundeth the trumpet of sedition in this quære, but he will be prevented by his majesty's care in that particular, in his reconciling the two grand and considerable interests of these nations.

21. Whether the turning out near three thousand learned and godly ministers, to intrude such who neither know how to pray or preach, will not increase discontent in all their congregations, when they shall see how their souls are like to be starved and cheated?

Ans. That there hath not been any as yet turned out, because presbyterians, but because in other rights; if they cannot pray and preach, doubtless upon due proof thereof, remedy may be had against them in that case; for his majesty hath declared that he will maintain a godly ministry; and no prince yet that ever lived upon the earth hath ever accounted his word more sacred than he doth.

22. Whether it will not renown his majesty in the hearts of his people, to hasten a full indemnity to all his subjects in his dominions, as an act of council, till the old parliament sits, and to expunge all provisos which may any way invalidate the operation of the act, and to do the like by an act for sales?

Ans. How often hath his majesty out of his own grace urged the passing of the act of indemnity, with as much earnestness as the parties themselves that are concerned can in modesty desire.

23. Whether the making of Dr Reynolds, Mr Calamy, and Mr Baxter, chaplains at court, be not a prelatical design, either to draw them by preferment to that party, or to lull the presbyterians asleep, till they are all turned out of their places, as many are served already?

Ans. The three persons here mentioned are not such to be wrapt to any thing that is evil, in hope of preferment: Nor is it his majesty's design, other than to be truly informed by them of the best and moderate ways to reconciliation, which will be

* This was matter of great complaint among the presbyterians.—“About this time there fell out an accident, that gave occasion to the malicious to reproach us: It was our great grief that so many faithful ministers were put out, and so many unworthy persons restored, or newly put into the ministry. Every day almost people talk to us of one drunk at such a place, and one carried in a cart, or lying in a ditch at such a place, or one taken drunk by the watch at night; and another abused and made a scorn in his drunkenness, by the apprentices in the streets; and of three that, the day when they had been ordained, got in their drink three wenches to them in the inn or tavern, which having there married in their manner, &c. two first, and the third was fain to take his wench to wife; with abundance such news that filled the city. We modestly told some of them of it, and they made us odious by it as malicious slanderers, as if a word had not been true.”—*Baxter's Life*, p. 288.

* These distinguished presbyterian divines afterwards refused bishoprics which were offered to them, and lost the countenance of the king in consequence.

much better than for his majesty to adhere to one party or to the other party; for that his adhering to one party would not be safe, also the keeping them in equal hopes and favour is not safe, for that the keeping up of factions in church will produce factions in state: Therefore the way his majesty is now taking is the best to please God, secure himself, and for handing forth peace to his people.

24. Whether two national constitutions can stand together, and therefore whether the settling of the prelatical hierarchy doth not naturally predict the fall and extirpation of presbytery?

Ans. That 'tis true, as before, the countenancing and encouragement of the one is a detriment to the other; therefore, the extremes of both parties being lopt off, they may be united and become one, which will much renown the church of England, and render it more formidable against the church of Rome, whose practice is to foment differences; therefore it is the duty of every one to study and practise reconciliation.

25. Whether such prelates, who have been viewing the altars of Damascus, are like to have a peaceable entertainment here, in their superstitious popish fopperies, when a new generation of youth are started up since their extirpation, who never yet bowed the knee to Baal?

Ans. That although the presbyterian interest be considerable, yet the episcopal are not inconsiderable, if not as considerable; and since that their difference, in respect of church government, is not irreconcilable, union is to be endeavoured: It is not my work here to prescribe a way, I leave it to those whose work it is to do that; my task is to detect the sophistry of the author.

26. Whether, seeing his majesty hath declared he will countenance godly ministers, it could be therefore intended when he made Dr — dean of Westminster, that the said doctor should turn out all the orthodox ministers within the liberties of the said deanery, as he is endeavouring to do? And whether the prelatical party do not abuse his majesty's ears, by telling him they displace none but fanaticks?

Ans. I know not whether it be true or false, that the dean of Westminster hath done any such thing; peradventure all the incumbents of those livings are alive, or that some of them were not ordained by bishops or presbyters, in that case the dean's actions are legal.

27. Whether there be not of the presbyterian way a hundred good preachers for one of the prelatical; and whether that government be not best for the nation that hath most and best preachers?

Ans. There are godly and painful preachers of both sorts; that government assuredly is best for the nation that may reconcile these two grand persuasions, much better than that which shall keep up the distinctions, and consequently the factions.

28. Whether the re-instating of the prelatical hierarchy, with the appurtenances, doth not in the consequence of it, make null and void all ordinations, sacraments, and marriages, practised since their extirpation; and whether the nation hereby will not be brought into a strange and horrid confusion?

Ans. Those persons that were ordained by presbyters, and are not upon those livings whereof the incumbents are living, do still remain, and are not, nor are likely to be turned out, but their ordination is deemed good: As for marriages, it is a publick act, and it receiveth its being and essence from the consent of the parties, it cannot be made void by being administered by an improper agent; if it were, all judgment and determinations in law since these times would be made void: It was the opinion of the judge in Henry VII. his time, that the judgments and proceedings in law in Richard III. his time were good, although they were passed in the usurper's time, by whose authority none could administer justice; but the necessity of doing justice was such,

* The dress of the clergy, and ceremonies of the church, were chiefly objected to by the presbyterian divines.

that the illegal administration of it was dispensed with. So the necessity of marriage was such, that the unusual performing of it doth not make it void, because that the consent of the parties maketh the marriage, the other is but the solemnity of it; and since there is a publick record thereof, it is therefore legal.

29. Whether the best way therefore to settle the church, and consequently the nation, and to prevent clamours to his majesty, were not speedily to summon a synod, consisting of two ministers out of each county, to be chosen by the presbytery of ministers, calling in the help of the best and most sober of the episcopal, but not prelatical party, which deligate from Scotland, and other protestant churches, giving due liberty to the soberly conscientious?

Ans. These, or much better rules, are intended by his majesty to be pursued.

30. Whether the pressing of the oath of supremacy be not of dangerous consequence, to ensnare many thousands of protestants, who do conscienciously scruple it, and generally all the presbyterians of the three nations. And seeing the true intention of that oath was to renounce the pope's supremacy, whether it be not more consonant to a protestant conscience, to press an oath upon all parties, directly tending thereunto instead thereof?

31. Whether pressing the oath of supremacy, as it now stands, doth not make null and void the solemn league and covenant; and whether it be not dangerous to enforce the nations to forswear themselves, seeing in the one they have directly covenanted and sworn against prelates; and in the other they swear to maintain all the privileges and customs, that either now do or heretofore have appertained to the crown: Of which creating bishops is one. And whether the convention taking such an oath, were not preobliged, not only to establish prelacy, but also to turn out all soldiers and purchasers, in any such lands belonging to the crown; yea, most unnaturally forcing men to swear so to do, and consequently to starve their own children?

Ans. The oath of allegiance and supremacy is not at all against the solemn league and covenant, although it doth oblige those that take the oath of supremacy and allegiance to defend and maintain his majesty's rights and prerogative; as in the creating of bishops. Suppose that his majesty should settle the government of the church without bishops, by some other superintendence, to the content of the episcopal and presbyterian parties, because that is one of the privileges of the crown, it doth not oblige the party to contend for that which his majesty discharge him of by a publick act of state: As for example, if a lord shall, upon condition from his tenant or vassal, take his oath for performance of several services in homage and fealty, if the lord shall discharge the tenant of part or all, the tenant is so much, or wholly discharged of his oaths, as the lord shall discharge, notwithstanding the oath was preceptory: In this case, as also in that of lands, he that shall suggest to breed jealousies and fears of any thing, but that his majesty will deal honourably, justly, and well with all his subjects, is an enemy to the peace and welfare of the people.

32. Whether it be for the safety of the nations, to permit the popish lords to sit in the house before they have taken such an oath?

33. Whether his majesty, this city and kingdoms, be not in danger of bloody massacre, by the confluence of those bloody Irish papists, to the number of many thousands about city and court, notwithstanding his majesty's late proclamation to the contrary, who had a hand in the horrid massacre in Ireland and Savoy? And whether countenance and respect from the courtiers be not a great inducement to draw over many thousands more, if not timely prevented?

34. Whether his majesty's person at court can be safe from danger, when all places about are bought and sold?

* The truth of this imputation lay in the scandalous greediness of Monk's wife, "an old Exchange woman."

Whether the querist be not a friend and servant to his God, his king and country.

Ans. I shall say nothing to these queries, I suppose they are malicious, scandalous, and false. Only thus much to the last clause, that the querist is no friend to God, his king, or country, in regard that he, in a clandestine way, hath published such a wicked paper, tending to beget and foment fears and jealousies in his majesty's subjects, by reflecting upon publick actions, to put all in a flame and disturbance, out of which the nations, through the goodness of God, lately have been delivered. It had been his duty, as well as it is all others duty, to study healing and moderation, uniting and composing of differences: He that doth otherwise, either by action, word, or writing, let him be of what party soever he will, is no other than an enemy to God, the king, and his country.

Alderman Bunce his Speech to the Lord Maior, Aldermen, and Common Council of London, touching the King's Resolution to accept of honourable Conditions from a Free Parliament for his Admitment. Printed 1660.

This is another speech made in the parliament for recalling the king. Bunce, the orator, had been a presbyterian, and a follower of the parliament, and was proportionally vehement for the restoration when the tide begun to set in that way.

My Lords, Gentlemen, and Fellow-Citizens,

THAT I am after so long a time of banishment, and almost despair, returned again without fear into my native country, I need not I think tell you how much I rejoice at; but I cannot indeed tell you that inexpressible joy which I feel within my bosom, to find my poor distressed and distracted country in some hopes of settlement and restoration to her pristine glory, even then when she seemed to be most overwhelmed and swallowed up, under the usurpation and tyranny of the most mean and fanatick spirits of the nation.

Nor can I here forbear to burst out into praises and thanks to God, for his so great a mercy and deliverance, that he hath at length been pleased to withdraw his afflicting hand in some measure from us; that he hath opened the eyes of the greatest part of this nation, except those who are wilfully and obstinately blinded by their own pernicious and covetous interests; that after we had wilfully run headlong into the ditch of ruin, he is pleased to lay to his hand to help us out.

It is well, my lord, that though we have bought our knowledge and repentance at so dear a rate, at the expence of so much blood and treasure, yet that we can repent at last, that we are sensible of our distractions, that we now are able to bear no more, we have one who will help us to throw off our burthens, that we can now see our blindness, our error, our folly, that whilst we endeavoured to free ourselves from the pre-

says Ludlow, and well versed in the art of driving bargains for her husband's favour and recommendation. Clarendon mentions the same thing.

tended tyranny of our lawful king, sovereign, and superiour, we subjected ourselves under the arbitrary will and power of our equals, if not inferiours.

I must confess, my lord, though it is well known to you all, gentlemen, that I was, at the beginning of the late unhappy wars, blinded as well as others, yet I utterly disown that I ever had design or intention to wrong my prince, though I accounted it then the duty of every free-born Englishman to stand for the priviledge of parliament, as for his native birth-right; so far I durst go, but no farther; for when I saw those who, before they had got the power into their hands, pretended to maintain parliamentary priviledges, pretended to settle the king in glory, violently infringe the first and murder the second, I could not but in reason and conscience protest against them.

Nor was the murdering of their king, or infringing the privileges of parliament, the furthest those men went who had then got the power into their hands, and ruled only by sword-law; but having given the name of a parliament to a select number of their creatures, and some who durst do no otherwise than obey their commands, they made laws at their pleasure, disinheriting the lawful heir, and abolishing the power of the house of lords, the chief part of a parliamentary grand council; they sold the king's, queen's, bishops, deans, and chapters lands, to maintain their violences and villanies, or to enrich themselves, making a prey of these nations, and overthrowing the fundamental laws of the laud.

This, my lord, you very well know was the præmunire we had run ourselves into. This was that we fought for; this was that for which we consumed so much blood and treasure: In short, we fought for liberty that we might be enslaved; we fought for religion that we might nourish heresies, sects, and schisms in the church; we spent our estates freely, to maintain a war amongst ourselves under specious pretences, that we might have them prey'd upon by ravenous wolves.

But when we had run ourselves into all these miseries, under a piece of a parliament, who had endeavoured all that lay in their power to establish their own government, yet were they themselves at length turned out by their servant, their general, (the just reward of their treachery to their master,) who establishes in himself that power, which he had before avowed as tyrannical; and usurps to himself, though not fully the title, yet more than the power of any King of England; so it fairly proved that he only defamed kingship as tyrannical, that he might be a tyrant.

The many changes and alterations since in the English government, are so new, that they need no recital, only thus much, that as they in whose hands the government was were equally guilty of the forementioned crimes, so though they did oppose one another, yet they all agreed together in continuing and adding to the nation's distractions, in preferment to employments, either in church or state, such only as were either as guilty as themselves, or else possess with their fanatick opinions, in defaming the lawful heir, and endeavouring by calumnies to engender an odium of him in the people's minds, which might have found its desired effect, had not the people for their cheats and delusions, conceived a just odium of them, so that the arrow they shot returned again upon their own heads.

But many of the good people of England are still possess with their calumnies, and believe many of them for truth, though against such clear and certain evidences; many understanding people of the nation, convincing themselves by imaginary circumstances, that not only his majesty, but his brothers, the thrice noble Dukes of York and Gloucester, have left the religion of their fathers and country, and are turned to the foppes of Romish superstition and idolatry, which how false it is, the God of Heaven knows, and myself can witness, his and his brothers constant use and practice of the English liturgy, and other customs of the best reformed church of England, his constant encouragement of such servants of his as profess the true protestant religion, whether in episcopacy or presbytery, and his contrary discouragement of all such who

permit themselves to be inveigled into popish or jesuitical opinions and tenets, being sufficient evidence, that he is so far from leaving of his true and mother church, that all possible encouragement is, and will certainly be at all times given by him, to the true and sound professors of the protestant religion.

For those other calumnies laid upon, and only settled in the hearts of the common souldiers, (whom their officers here have made believe, that they must expect nothing but death, if he should be admitted to his crown) viz. that he is revengeful, cruel, never forgetting injuries, but though soothing for a time, yet at fit opportunities resolute in his revenge, all that know him, know to be false, for he is gentle, merciful, peaceable, and rather inclined to suffer injuries than either to give or avenge them.

That he intends (as some say) to come with a forein force to regain his right, and settle himself in his throne, would be but what we might in justice expect, who have so long exposed him to the miseries of the wide world, and made him the pattern of patience to future generations, it being lawful both by the laws of God and man, for any one to use all means and endeavours for the recovery of his own; yet so meek and patient hath he been, that it hath not so much as entered into his thoughts to acquist his kingdom by force or violence, whilst he can hope to have it by the love of his subjects; he therefore is resolvedly bent to attend the pleasure of a free parliament, and wholly intent to accept of such conditions as shall be proposed with honour by them, rather resolving to part with some of his right, than to let these nations run on into further distractions, or his subjects be oppressed.

That we might, as a judgment of God, have expected a forein force here amongst us for our obstinacy we cannot but be sensible of; but that we have so merciful a prince, who rather waves his right, and endures with patience his expulsion, than seeks or attempts to invade us by a forein power, by which, though he might gain revenge and satisfaction to himself, yet must it necessarily be with our utter ruin and deserved destruction, we must acknowledge as a great mercy of God's.

It is not unlikely that you, my lord, and these other gentlemen my fellow-citizens, may admire somewhat, that I, who was once so far drawn on the other side, should now declaim so much against it; but experience hath now undeceived me; I was for the maintaining, not the infringing privileges of parliament; I was for the restoring, not murthering of the king; I was for them so long as they stood fast to the oath they took in the solmn league and covenant, to maintain the king and his posterity, not for them, when they had beheaded him, and banished his posterity; I was for the moderation of a kingly government, not for the erecting of anarchical tyrannies, or governments *ad libitum*.

But when I saw that those, who pretended that they acted only for the nations good, intended only for their own, to distract and ruin these nations, to depress the nobility and gentry, only to raise themselves; that they began to oppress and force unheard of impositions and burthens upon the commonalty, to maintain their villanies, and enrich themselves, to confound and overthrow all religion, under a pretence of settling and maintaining it, it was time to withdraw myself from, nor could my conscience proceed any further with them; it was they (my lord) that are changed, and not I.

What I at first declared for, and have already ventured my estate for, that I still will and shall maintain to the utmost drop of my blood, viz. to defend the privileges of parliament, without infringing the royal prerogative, to endeavour the maintaining the king, his posterity, according to the solemn league and covenant; this I think (my lord) was the first pretence of these mens raising war against his late majesty, which at first drew so many honest men to their party; but what hath been the issue of these pretences we have seen by too sad experience.

I think it was therefore the duty, my lord, of every honest man to stand to those first principles that he undertook, and not with the multitude (blinded by the ambition

and self-interests of some particular men) run into those wickednesses and mischiefs which they have since perpetrated, and I think you, my lord, and the rest of my brethren and fellow citizens here, ought to take these things into consideration, and remember that oath which I presume most of you took in the solemn league and covenant.

I think, my lord, I need make no further apology, either for myself, or the cause I plead for; there is so much of justice in it, that it needs no oratory to confirm, nor could that cause be ever confuted but by the sword, whose tyrannical power we have sufficiently felt, and seen the difference, between a government by usurping and perjured persons, and the clemency of a too mild and gracious prince.

I shall, my lord, add no further, but only conclude with this prayer, that the God of heaven would open your eyes, and the eyes of this whole nation, and strengthen your hands in the settlement of these three distressed nations in peace and quietness, which can no better be done than by your hearty prayers and endeavours for the restauration of the lawful heir to his right: for how can we expect that he will ever let justice flourish amongst us, whilst we deny justice to our sovereign.

A Message sent from the King of Scots to the most illustrious and puissant Prince, the King of Spain, in Answer to his Majesty's Royal Message, sent by the Marquis of Caracene, to his Court at Brussels. As also a Letter from the Duke of York to the King's most Excellent Majesty. With the Oath taken by the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen. And the King's Declaration to his liege People, in Order to his Coronation. 1660.

Another publication made with the purpose of raising the character of the new king in the estimation of his subjects. The Spanish king's letter regards a treaty between Charles II. and the celebrated Don Juan of Austria, Marquis of Caracena, by which the king was to receive certain subsidies and auxiliary forces to assist him to recover his kingdom. As it was only the Spaniards' object to distract Cromwell's attention from the French, by threatening a descent upon England, the subsidy was very small, and the auxiliary troops were never supplied; but the Spanish court supplied the deficiency by splendid compliments, to which the following letter of Charles was the suitable reply:

The King of Spain having sent an express to Charles II. and his brother the Duke of York, assuring them both of men and monies for the restoring them to their crown and dignities, as also to dignify the duke with the princely title of lord high admiral of all his fleets both in Europe and the two Indies, his majesty and the duke returned these following answers by the Earl of Bristol.

The Answer of Charles the Second to the King of Spain's Messenger.

My Lord,
The accumulation of his catholick majesty's favours so amply spread over my perse-

cutions, have as often represented to my thoughts the comforts wherewith the holy angels, or rather the most sacred Trinity, refreshed the great patriarch Jacob in his wanderings, such seasonable consolations have they been to me in my pilgrimage.

My cogitations have not unthankfully entertained the belief that his majesty appears to be most worthily the delight and favourite of him by whom kings reign, because, like the faithful steward, he will be found always doing good.

'Tis true that I also have a portion in my Saviour's earthly travels; for as his, so my nation owns me not; as he, so I, in our mortal comparisons, am persecuted from city to city, and from one nation to another people; my father of blessed memory trod the press, and I his sorrowing son drink of the streams; he was the heir, who most inhumanely his own subjects and servants murdered, and that possession is mine inheritance, which as yet they are pleased to call their own.

I am therefore most bound to receive as well as always to record this gracious tender of the king your master, in assisting the vindication of my glorified father's sufferings, and the recovery of mine own dominions.

For these his majesty's royal bounties, I shall shortly add to my present acknowledgements my more immediate gratitudes by messengers of my own.

It now remains, my lord, that your excellency be partaker of my retaliations, which must be such as the interruption of my present abilities will afford, the expression resting chiefly upon words, I shall dispose them with that far travelling Sabeen queen, in a measurable admiration of the great trusts and distributions which God hath reposed upon the prudence, justice, and piety of your master, and the felicity of your excellence, and others his servants, most happy to live within the illumination of such a son of Heaven.

Signed,

CHARLES R.

The Duke of York's Answer.

As to the interest of my obligation to his catholick majesty (my noble lord and fellow soldier) blame me not if this sudden surprisal make my reply far short of that account which my future actions shall endeavour to enlarge.

He who shall review the precedent glories of the Austrian merits, who in all ages have been the invincible bulwark of Christendom against their powerful enemy the Turk, shall have no leisure to meditate a dispute, but rather to court such a service.

It hath ever been the impress and motto of our British kings sons, to serve, till their lawful opportunity and appointment should come to reign, and (with the leave of mine own sovereign) I shall (by embracing these your master's offers) account myself to have fallen into the paths of my ancestor King Richard of England, the first of that name, and endeavour to continue his fame which time cannot extinguish for the pious services he undertook, and most christianly discharged in behalf of Christ's persecuted members and the catholick church in those holy wars against the Saracens.

Nor am I here to forget the piety and goodness of his catholick majesty, who, notwithstanding the different opinions so long and unhappily fomented between our professions in the God's worship, and those opportunities which others have converted to their own designs, his majesty hath nevertheless, like a most christian prince, left us and our divine celebrations to our own devotion and conscience.

My lord, your excellency hath claim to no small blessing, in being the messenger from so pious and puissant a king of tydings consolatory to princes so unjustly persecuted, this benediction of heaven shall by me be imitated in all opportunities which on

your behalf shall meet or invite my endeavours, though none can compare with those celestial graces which have inspired you with the dictates of the Holy Ghost, and invested you with the office of the holy angels.

Signed,

YORK.

The Oath of Allegiance, enacted 13. Jacobi, Cap. 4. Which Oath was solemnly taken by every Member of both Houses of Parliament.

I A. B. do truly and sincerely acknowlege, profess, testify, and declare in my conscience before God and the world, that our sovereign lord King Charles is lawful and rightful king of this realm, and of all other his majesty's dominions and countries; and that the pope, neither of himself, nor by any authority of the church or see of Rome, or by any other means with any other, hath any power or authority to depose the king, or to dispose any of his majesty's kingdoms or dominions, or to authorize any foreign prince to invade or annoy him, or his countries, or to discharge any of his subjects of their allegiance and obedience to his majesty, or to give licence, or leave, to any of them to bear arms, raise tumult, or to offer any violence or hurt to his majesty's royal person, state or government, or to any of his majesty's subjects within his majesty's dominions.

Also, I do swear from my heart, that, notwithstanding any declaration, or sentence of excommunication, or deprivation made or granted, or to be made or granted by the pope, or his successors, or by any authority derived, or pretended to be derived from him, or his see, against the said king, his heirs or successors, or any absolution of the said subjects from their obedience, I will bear faith and true allegiance to his majesty, his heirs and successors; and him and them will defend to the uttermost of my power, against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his or their persons, their crown and dignity, by reason or colour of any such sentence or declaration, otherwise; and will do my best endeavour to disclose and make known unto his majesty, his heirs and successors, all treasons and traiterous conspiracies which I shall know of or hear to be against him, or any of them.

So help me God.

Now, since it is apparent that Charles II. is our lawfull king, and that the oath of allegiance binds us to preserve his majesty's person, let us therefore prepare for the day of his coronation, since that he hath been pleased to declare, that he esteems the affections of his good people more than the crowns of many kingdoms, and shall be ready by God's assistance to bestow his life in their defence, wishing to live no longer than he may see religion and his kingdoms flourish in all happiness.

A Catalogue of the Peers of the Kingdom of England, according to their Birth and Creations. 1660.

The house of peers being now reinstated in their constitutional rights, this list of the members was opportunely published.

DUKES OF THE ROYAL BLOOD.

James, Duke of York.
Henry, Duke of Gloucester.
Rupert, Duke of Cumberland.

OTHER DUKES.

George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.
Esme Stuart, Duke of Richmond.
George Monck, Duke of Aumarle, Earl of Torrington, Baron of Potheridge, Beauchamp, and Teyes.

MARQUESSSES.

John Pawlet, Marquis of Winchester.
William Seamour, Marquis of Hertford.
Edward Somerset, Marquis of Worcester.
William Cavendish, Marquis of Newcastle.
Henry Pierpoint, Marquis of Dorchester.

EARLS.

Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey.
Awbrey Vere, Earl of Oxford.
Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland.
Francis Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury.
—— Grey, Earl of Kent.
Charles Stanley, Earl of Derby.
John Manners, Earl of Rutland.
Theophilus Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon.
Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton.
William Russell, Earl of Bedford.
Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery.

Theophilus Fiennes, Earl of Lincoln.
Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham.
James Howard, Earl of Suffolk.
Richard Sackville, Earl of Dorset.
William Cecil, Earl of Salisbury.
John Cecil, Earl of Exeter.
John Egerton, Earl of Bridgwater.
Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester.
James Compton, Earl of Northampton.
Charles Rich, Earl of Warwick.
William Cavendish, Earl of Devonshire.
James Hay, Earl of Carlisle.
Bazil Fielding, Earl of Denbigh.
George Digby, Earl of Bristow.
Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex.
Charles Villiers, Earl of Anglesey.
—— Rich, Earl of Holland.
John Hollis, Earl of Clare.
Oliver St John, Earl of Bullingbrook.
Mildmay Fane, Earl of Westmoreland.
Edward Montagu, Earl of Manchester.
Thomas Howard, Earl of Berkshire.
Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Cleveland.
—— Sheffield, Earl of Moulgrave.
Henry Cary, Earl of Monmouth.
James Ley, Earl of Marlborough.
Nicholas Knowles, Earl of Banbury.
Thomas Savage, Earl Rivers.
Montagu Bertie, Earl of Lindsey.
Henry Cary, Earl of Dover.
Henry Mordant, Earl of Peterborough.
Henry Grey, Earl of Stamford.
Heneage Finch, Earl of Winchelsea.
Charles Dormer, Earl of Carnarvan.

Mountjoy Blount, Earl of Newport.
 Philip Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield.
 John Tufton, Earl of Thanet.
 Hierom Weston, Earl of Portland.
 William Wentworth, Earl of Strafford.
 Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland.
 — Savil, Earl of Sussex.
 George Goring, Earl of Norwich.
 Nicholas Leake, Earl of Scarsdale.
 Charles Stuart, Earl of Litchfield.
 — Wilmot, Earl of Rochester.
 Henry Jermyn, Earl of St Albans.
 Edward Montagu, Earl of Sandwich, Viscount Hinchbrook, and Baron of St Neots.
 John Grenville, Earl of Bath, Viscount Landsdown, and Baron Grenville of Biddiford and Kirkhampton.

VISCOUNTS.

Leicester Devereux, Viscount Hereford.
 Francis Brown, Viscount Montacute.
 — Villiers, Viscount Purbeck.
 William Fiennes, Viscount Say and Seal.
 Edward Conway, Viscount Conway.
 Baptist Noel, Viscount Camden.
 William Howard, Viscount Stafford.
 John Bellasis, Viscount Fawconbridg.
 John Mordant, Viscount Mordant.

BARONS.

John Nevil, Lord Abergevenny.
 James Touchet, Lord Audley.
 Charles West, Lord Delaware.
 George Barkley, Lord Barkley.
 Thomas Parker, Lord Morley and Mount-eagle.
 Francis Leonard, Lord Dacre.
 Conniens Darcy, Lord Darcy.
 William Stourton, Lord Stourton.
 — Sandis, Lord Sandis.
 Edward Vaux, Lord Vaux.
 Thomas Windsor, Lord Windsor.
 Thomas Wentworth, Lord Wentworth.
 Winkfield Cromwell, Lord Cromwell.
 — Eure, Lord Eure.
 Philip Wharton, Lord Wharton.
 Francis Willoughby, Lord Willoughby of Parham.
 William Paget, Lord Paget.
 Dudley North, Lord North.

William Bridges, Lord Chandois.
 John Cary, Lord Hunsdon.
 William Petre, Lord Petre.
 Charles Gerrard, Lord Gerrard.
 Charles Stanhope, Lord Stanhope.
 Henry Arundel, Lord Arundel.
 Christopher Roper, Lord Teinham.
 Robert Grevil, Lord Brook.
 Edward Montagu, Lord Montagu.
 Charles, Lord Howard of Charlton.
 William Grey, Lord Grey of Werk.
 John Roberts, Lord Roberts.
 William Craven, Lord Craven.
 John Lovelace, Lord Lovelace.
 John Pawlet, Lord Pawlet.
 Thomas Brudenel, Lord Brudenel.
 William Maynard, Lord Maynard.
 Thomas Coventry, Lord Coventry.
 Edward Howard, Lord Howard of Escrick.
 Warwick Mohun, Lord Mohun.
 William Botiller, Lord Botiller.
 Piercy Herbert, Lord Powys.
 Edward Herbert, Lord Herbert, of Cherbury.
 John Finch, Lord Finch.
 Francis Seamour, Lord Seamour.
 Thomas Bruce, Lord Bruce.
 Arthur Capel, Lord Capel.
 Francis Newport, Lord Newport.
 Thomas Leigh, Lord Leigh.
 Christopher Hatton, Lord Hatton.
 Henry Hastings, Lord Loughborough.
 Richard Byron, Lord Byron.
 Richard Vaughan, Lord Vaughan.
 Charles Smyth, Lord Carrington.
 William Widdrington, Lord Widdrington.
 Humble Ward, Lord Ward.
 John Colepepper, Lord Colepepper.
 Isaac Asteley, Lord Asteley.
 Richard Boyle, Lord Clifford.
 John Lucas, Lord Lucas.
 John Bellasis, Lord Bellasis.
 Lewis Watson, Lord Rockingham.
 Charles Gerard, Lord Gerard.
 Robert Sutton, Lord Lexington.
 Charles Kirkhoven, Lord Wotton of Wotton.
 Marmaduke Langdale, Lord Langdale.
 William Crafts, Lord Crafts.
 John Berkeley, Lord Berkeley.

Instructions lately agreed on by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for the Commissioners sent by them to the Hague, unto the King's most excellent Majesty; together with the Speech made thereupon by the Honourable Denzell Holles, Esq. one of the Commissioners, on Wednesday, the 16th Day of May, 1660. Now published for the taking off and disproving those false Reports raised by some malicious Persons, as if he had gone beyond his Commission and the said Instructions.

Sit Liber Judex.

Printed in the Year 1660.

"A committee was appointed to consider the manner of his majesty's return, and to prepare all things necessary for his reception; they likewise ordered his majesty's arms to be set up in all the churches, and the commonwealth's to be taken down, and that all proceedings be in the king's majesty's name; and that the present great seal be made use of till further orders, that there might be no hinderance, or stop, in the proceeding of justice. Easter term was likewise prorogued, that no business might interfere with this grand and expected affair of the settlement of the kingdom. All officers, as sheriffs, justices, that were in commission, on the 25th of April, to continue and exercise the respective offices in the king's name. It was resolved further, That the king's majesty be desired to make a speedy return to his parliament and to the exercise of his kingly office; and that, in order thereto, several commissioners from both houses be sent to the king at Breda, with their letters to his majesty, (Doctor Clarges, now Sir Thomas, the general's brother, having been before sent with his to the king,) and to acquaint him with the said desires and votes of the houses. To these commissioners others were added from the city of London; the names of them all are as followeth:

"For the house of lords: Earl of Oxford, Earl of Warwick, (staid at London sick of the gout,) Earl of Middlesex, Lord-Viscount Hereford, Lord Berkeley, Lord Brook.

"For the house of commons: The Lord Fairfax, Lord Bruce, Lord Falkland, Lord Castleton, Lord Herbert, Lord Mandevil, Sir Horatio (now Lord) Townsend, Sir Anthony (now Lord) Ashley Cooper, Sir George Booth (now Lord Delamere), Denzil (now Lord) Hollis, Sir Henry Holland, Sir John Cholmley.

"For the city of London: Sir James Bunce, Baronet, Alderman Langham, Alderman Reynardson, Alderman Sir Richard Browne, Sir Nicholas Crish, Alderman Thompson, Alderman Frederick, Alderman Adams, Sir John Wilde, Recorder, Sir John Robinson, Alderman Sir Anthony Bateman, Sir William Wale, Sir Theophilus Biddulph, Sir Richard Ford, Sir William Vincent, Sir Thomas Bludworth, Sir William Bateman, Sir John Lewis, Master-Chamberlain, and Sir Laurence Bromfield; all of them (not knighted before) knighted by the king upon their arrival, the king being removed thither from Breda, as nearer and more convenient for his shipping; the disposal whereof and of the whole fleet was remitted to his majesty's pleasure; the General Montague having received orders to obey his majesty's commands and directions therein.

"The instructions being delivered to the commissioners, they set sail in several frigots appointed to attend them, and, with some foul weather, landed in Holland, where they were graciously and favourably received by his majesty at the Hague; (I may not omit that the reception of Sir Thomas Clarges from the general was as an ambassador from a prince, the Lord Gerard, with many coaches, being sent to conduct him to audience,) where Mr Hollis, into whose hands the letters were intrusted for the delivery, spoke for the house of commons, the Earl of Oxford

for the lords, and Sir William Wilde for the city. Those that were there at their audience agreed in opinion, that never person spoke with more affection, or in better terms, than Master Hollis. He insisted chiefly upon the miseries the kingdoms had groaned under by the tyranny of the pretended parliament and Cromwell, which should now be exchanged into their repose, quiet, and lawful liberty: beseeching his majesty, in the name of his people, to return and resume the scepter, &c. and assured him he should be infinitely welcome without any term: a thing so much stomacked by the phanaticks, but most just and honourable."—HEATH'S Chronicle, p. 446.

Instructions for Aubrey Earl of Oxford, Charles Earl of Warwick, Lyonel Earl of Middlesex, Lyncester Viscount Hereford, George Lord Berkley, Robert Lord Brooke, the Lord Herbert, the Lord Mandevile, the Lord Bruce, the Lord Castleton, the Lord Falkland, the Lord Fairfax, Denzell Holles, Esq. Sir Horatio Townsend, Sir John Hotland, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Sir George Booth, and Sir Henry Cholmley.

You are to begin your journey towards his majesty on Friday next, and make a speedy repair to such place where his majesty shall be, and humbly to present the letters wherewith you are respectively intrusted by both houses of parliament.

You are to acquaint his majesty with what great joy and acclamation he was proclaimed in and about the cities of London and Westminster, upon the eighth day of May instant, and present the proclamation itself unto his majesty; and to acquaint him with the orders of both houses to have the same proclaimed throughout the kingdoms of England and Ireland, dominion of Wales, and the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed; and that both houses have ordered, That all and every the ministers throughout the kingdoms of England and Ireland be enjoined in their public prayers to pray "for his most excellent majesty, and for the most illustrious Prince James, Duke of York, and the rest of the royal progeny." And also that they have ordered, "That the assumed arms of the late pretended commonwealth, wherever they are standing, be taken down, and that his majesty's arms be set up instead thereof;" and you are to communicate to his majesty the resolutions of both houses relating to this instruction.

You are to acquaint his majesty with the earnest desire of both houses, that his majesty will be pleased to make a speedy return to his parliament, and to the exercise of his kingly office, and that in order thereunto, both houses have given orders to General Montague, one of the generals at sea, and other officers of the fleet, to observe such commands as his majesty shall please to give him, or them, for disposal of the fleet, in order to his majesty's return; and you are to communicate to his majesty the resolutions of both houses relating to this instruction.

That the committee from both houses do beseech his majesty, that they may know where he purposeth to take shipping, and to land at his coming over, that preparation may be made for his reception; and which of his majesty's houses, he intendeth to make use of at his first coming to London; and whether he will come all the way by land after he comes on shore, or whether he will please to come by water from Gravesend to London; and that his majesty will declare in what manner he is pleased to be received.

WILL. JESSOP, Cl. of the Commons House of Parliament.

The Speech made thereupon by the Honourable Denzell Holles, Esq. one of the Commissioners.

Dread Sovereign,

Your faithful subjects the commons of England, assembled in parliament, have sent us hither, twelve of their number, to wait upon your majesty; and by their commands we are here prostrate at your royal feet, where themselves are all of them present with us in the sincere and most loyal affections and desires of their hearts, and would have been in their persons, if your majesty's service and the trust reposed in them by all the several parts of the kingdom, did not necessarily require their attendance and continuance in the place where they now are, and where all their thoughts and endeavours are wholly taken up and employed in those two great and main works, which are the proper and genuine ends of all parliaments, the advancement of their king's service and the discharge of their country's trust.

And certainly, sir, we can speak it with a great deal of joy, and with no less of truth, that never parliament made greater demonstrations of zeal, affection, and loyalty, to any of the kings of England than this parliament hath done, and doth, and we hope, and doubt not, nay we know it, that it ever will do unto your majesty, our liege lord and king; their hearts are filled with a veneration of you, longings for you, confidence in you, and desires to see and serve you, and their tongues do, upon all occasions, express it; and in so doing they are (according to the nature of parliaments) the true representative of the whole nation; for they but do that in a more contracted and regular way, which the generality of the people of the land, from the one end of it to another, do in a more confused and disorderly manner, yet as heartily and as affectionately, all degrees, and ages, and sexes, high and low, rich and poor, (as I may say,) men, women, and children, join in sending up this prayer to heaven, God bless King Charles, long live King Charles; so as our English air is not susceptible of any other sound, and echoes out nothing else, our bells, bonfires, peals of ordnance, volleys of shot, the shouts and acclamations of the people, bears no other moral, have no other signification but to triumph, triumphs of our king in the hearts of his people.

Your majesty cannot imagine, nor can any man conceive it, but he who was present to see and hear it, with what joy, what chearfulness, what lettings out of the soul, what expressions of transported minds, a stupendous concourse of people, attended the proclaiming of your majesty in your cities of London and Westminster, to be our most potent, mighty, and undoubted king, the oldest man living never saw the like before; nor is it probable, scarce possible, that he who hath longest to live will ever see the like again, especially (and God forbid he should) upon such an occasion; for we wish, and heartily pray, that your majesty may be the last of men of the generation now in being, who shall leave his place to a successor.

We have here the proclamation itself to present unto your majesty, and the order of the two houses, enjoining it to be proclaimed throughout England, Ireland, and your dominions of Wales; and likewise their orders for all ministers in their public prayers to pray for your majesty, and for the illustrious Prince the Duke of York, your majesty's brother, and for the rest of the royal progeny; and another order of theirs for taking down every where the assumed arms of the late pretended commonwealth, and setting up the arms of your majesty in their stead.

Here he tendered the proclamation, and the several orders, unto his majesty; offered to read them, but then said, he thought that his majesty had already received them from the lords, and that, therefore, it would be but a trouble to his majesty to hear

them again ; to which his majesty answering, that he had received them, was pleased further to enlarge himself in some discourse to this effect, expressing his sense of the miseries which his people had suffered under those unlawful governors which had ruled over them, and of his gladness for their returning unto him with those good affections which they now shewed towards him ; adding, that he had always made it his study, and ever would, to make them as happy as himself, which was the sum and substance of what his majesty said.

To which was replied with humble thanks for those gracious expressions, that his majesty would ever find both parliament and people to be full of loyalty and obedience unto his majesty, as his majesty was of grace and goodness towards them. And then he went on with his speech relating to those orders and proceedings of parliament ; and said,

These are some testimonies of their love and affection unto your majesty, such as can as yet be expressed by them, which are but as a picture in little of a great and large body, which far exceeds, in its true and natural dimensions, the whole compass of a small piece of cloth, on which notwithstanding it is drawn and represented to the life.

And may it please your majesty to give us leave to say, that as the affection, so your subjects expectations of you are high, and their longings after you great and vehement ; and both expectations and longings have increased by the long time that your majesty hath been kept from them. Hope deferred makes the heart sick ; and the sickness still augments till the thing hoped for be obtained.

You are the light of their eyes and the breath of their nostrils, their delight and all their hope ; to have been so long banished from them into a strange land, it is no wonder that the news of your return should put a new life into them ; what then will it be when their eyes shall be blessed with the sight of your royal person ? and therefore are we commanded humbly to acquaint your majesty with the earnest desires of both houses for your speedy return unto your parliament, and the exercise of your kingly office ; and that in order to it, they have given directions to General Montague, one of the generals at sea, and the other officers at sea, to observe such commands as your majesty shall please to give them for the disposal of the fleet : And we have it in our instructions further to beseech your majesty to let your parliament know when and where your majesty purposeth to take shipping, and where to land ; and after your coming on shore, whether to come all the way to London by land, or by water from Gravesend ; and which of your houses your majesty intends to make use of at your coming to London, that accordingly provision may be made for your majesty's reception, for then, and not till then, will be the compleating of your subjects rejoicing.

True it is (as your majesty was pleased just now to touch upon it,) that in your absence, other lords have had dominion over them, have reigned and ruled over their bodies and estates ; but their better part, their hearts, and minds, and souls, were free, and did abhor such rulers, and still continued faithful and loyal to your majesty, their rightful lord and sovereign, and with you, and under you, they now expect to re-enter into the possession of their ancient rights and privileges, to enjoy again their laws and liberties, and, which is above all, their religion in purity and truth, of all which, those lords, (who called themselves so, and made themselves so,) that is to be so called, but in truth were not so, for they were nothing less, those kind of lords, I say, had so long deprived them. This is our expectation from your majesty, and we are more than confident we shall not be deceived in it, but that your majesty will answer and go beyond all that can be expected from you ; a king of so many vows, and of so many prayers, cannot but crown the desires of his people.

Sir, to tell you what men think, and say, and wish, and even are assured of, in rela-

tion to your majesty, and the happiness which your government will produce, would seem a description of the golden age which poets fancy.

Truly, we dare not undertake it in your majesty's presence, lest we should be thought to flatter, and should offend the sacred modesty of your ears, and of your princely mind, though it would all be but a real truth; yet looking like that which you do not like, we fear you would dislike it for the look-sake: Great princes will not be flattered, but really and truly served; and we desire to serve your majesty in your own way.

Your majesty hath been pleased to declare your royal intentions unto your parliament, in your gracious letters to either house, and the two houses have severally given unto your majesty a faithful account of that grateful sense wherewith they have received them, and of their humble submission unto, and compliance with, all your majesty's desires; which by their letters, in answer unto your majesty's, they make bold to signify, That from the house of peers hath been already presented, and we who are before your majesty are intrusted by the house of commons with the delivery of theirs, an honour not more conferred upon us beyond our deservings, than embraced and received by us, with an excess of joy, and with all due respects, which is the errand upon which we are now come. That letter, and the proclamation, and the several orders, together with ourselves, our lives and fortunes, and the vows and services of those who sent us, we do, with all humbleness, lay at your majesty's feet, lifting up our hearts and hands to the God of Heaven, for your majesty's long and happy reign over us, and speedy return unto us.

England's Joy; or, a Relation of the most remarkable Passages from his Majesty's Arrival at Dover to his Entrance at White-Hall. Printed 1660.

This is a particular account of the festivities with which Charles was received by all ranks of people, upon his return to his kingdom. His own lively observation on the universal joy was, that surely it must have been his own fault that he remained so long an exile from a country where his presence seemed to be so generally acceptable. The loyal pamphlet may however be contrasted with the sarcastic account of the same ceremony given by the republican Ludlow.

"The new king being suddenly expected, great numbers of those who had been officers in the cavalier army, or were otherwise zealous for him, procured horses and clothes for the most part upon credit, and formed themselves into troops, under the Lord Litchfield, Lord Cleveland, and that apostate Brown the wood-monger, in order to attend him at his reception: and news being brought that he was put out to sea, Monk, accompanied with a guard of horse, marched to Dover, and received him at his landing. The king embraced him, kissed him, and called him father; and it might be truly said, that in some respects they were very nearly allied. At Canterbury the king presented him with the George and Garter; the first was put on by the Duke of York, the other by the Duke of Gloucester: and, because it was suspected that the army which had fought against him, might still retain some of their former inclinations, it was resolved that the king, with his brothers, should lodge at the house of Col. Gibbons, one of their officers, at Rochester. Many knights were made in this journey, and bonfires were to be seen in great numbers on the road; the inconstant multitude in some places burning the badges of their own freedom, the arms of the commonwealth. Monk's army was drawn up on Blackheath; and, by the best judges, was thought to deserve the fool's coat rather than the soldier's casque. The lord mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen of the city treated their king with a collation under a

tent placed in St George's Fields; and 5 or 600 citizens, clothed in coats of black velvet, and (not improperly) wearing chains about their necks, by an order of the common council, attended on the triumph of that day, with much more empty pageantry, which I purposely omit. But I must not pass over the folly and insolence manifested at that time by those who had been so often defeated in the field, and had contributed nothing either of bravery or policy to this change, in ordering the soldiery to ride with swords drawn through the city of London to Whitehall, the Duke of York and Monk leading the way, and intimating, as was supposed, a resolution to maintain that by force which had been obtained by fraud.—*Ludlow's Memoirs*, Edin, 1751. 8. vol. III. p. 14.

BEING come aboard one of the fairest of those ships which attended at Shuys for wafting him over from the Hague, in Holland, and therein having taken leave of his sister, the Princess Royal, he set sail for England on Wednesday evening, May 29, 1660, and having, during his abode at sea, given new names to that whole navy, (consisting of twenty-six goodly vessels,) he arrived at Dover on the Friday following, (viz. May the 25th) about two of the clock in the afternoon. Ready on the shore to receive him stood the Lord General Monk, as also the Earl of Winchelsea, constable of Dover Castle, with divers persons of quality on the one hand, and the Mayor of Dover, accompanied by his brethren of that corporation, on the other, with a rich canopy.

As soon as he had set foot on shore, the lord general, presenting himself before him on his knee, and kissing his royal hand, was embraced by his majesty, and received divers gracious expressions of the great sense he had of his loyalty, and in being so instrumental in this his restoration.

There also did the corporation of Dover, and the Earl of Winchelsea, do their duties to him in like sort; all the people making joyful shouts, and the great guns from the ships and castle telling aloud the happy news of this his entrance upon English ground.

From thence taking coach immediately, with his royal brothers, the Dukes of York and Gloucester, he passed to Barham-Down, (a great plain lying betwixt Dover and Canterbury,) where were drawn up divers gallant troops of horse, consisting of the nobility, knights, and gentlemen of note, clad in very rich apparel, commanded by the Duke of Buckingham, Earls of Oxford, Derby, Northampton, Winchelsea, Litchfield, and the Lord Viscount Mordaunt; as also several foot regiments of the Kentishmen. Being entered the Down on horseback, where multitudes of the country-people stood, making loud shouts, he rode to the head of each troop, (they being placed on his left hand, three deep,) who, bowing to him, kissed the hilts of their swords, and then flourished them above their heads, with no less acclamations; the trumpets, in the mean time, also echoing the like to them.

In the suburb, at Canterbury, stood the mayor and alderman of that ancient city, who received him with loud music, and presented him with a cup of gold, of two hundred and fifty pounds value; whence, after a speech made to him by the recorder, he passed to the Lord Camden's house, the mayor carrying the sword before him.

During his stay at Canterbury (which was till Monday morning) he knighted the Lord General Monk, and gave him the ensigns of the most honourable order of the garter. And Garter, principal king at arms, sent the like unto the Lord Admiral Montague, then aboard the navy riding in the Downs. There likewise did he knight Sir William Maurice, a member of the house of commons, whom he constituted one of his principal secretaries of state.

From Canterbury he came, on Monday, to Rochester, where the people had hung up, over the midst of the streets as he rode, many beautiful garlands, curiously made up with costly scarfs and ribbands, decorated with spoons and bodkins of silver, and

small plate of several sorts, and some with gold chains, in like sort as at Canterbury, each striving to outdo others in all expressions of joy.

On Tuesday, May the 29th, (which happily fell out to be the anniversary of his majesty's birth-day,) he set forth from Rochester in his coach; but afterwards took horse on the farther side of Black-heath, on which spacious plain he found divers great and eminent troops of horse, in a most splendid and glorious equipage; and a kind of rural triumph, expressed by the country swains in a morrice-dance, with the old music of taber and pipe, which was performed with all agility and cheerfulness imaginable.

And from this heath the troops marched off before him, viz. Major-general Brown's, the Merchant-Adventurers, Alderman Robinson's, the Lord Maynard's, the Earls of Norwich, Peterborough, Cleveland, Derby, Duke of Richmond's, and his majesty's own life-guard.

In this order, proceeding towards London, there were placed in Deptford, on his right hand, (as he passed through the town,) above an hundred proper maids, clad all alike in white garments, with scarfs about them, who, having prepared many flaskets covered with fine linen, and adorned with rich scarfs and ribbands, which flaskets were full of flowers and sweet herbs, strowed the way before him as he rode.

From thence, passing on, he came into St George's Fields, in Southwark, where the lord-mayor and aldermen of London, in their scarlet, with the recorder and other city-council, waited for him in a large tent, hung with tapestry, in which they had placed a chair of state, with a rich canopy over it. When he came thither, the lord-mayor presented him with the city sword, and the recorder made a speech to him, which being done, he alighted, and went into the tent, where a noble banquet was prepared for him.

From this tent the proceeding was thus ordered, viz. First, the city marshal to follow in the rear of his majesty's life-guard; next, the sheriffs trumpets; then the sheriffs men, in scarlet cloaks, laced with silver on the capes, carrying javelins in their hands; then divers eminent citizens, well mounted, all in black velvet coats, and chains of gold about their necks, and every one his footman, with suit, cassock, and ribbands of the colour of his company, all which were made choice of out of the several companies in this famous city, and so distinguished; and, at the head of each distinction, the ensign, or arms of the company, painted or embroidered.

After these followed the city council by two and two, near the aldermen; then certain noblemen and noblemen's sons; then the king's trumpets; then the heralds at arms.

After them the Duke of Buckingham; then the Earl of Lindsey, Lord High Chamberlain of England, and the Lord General Monk; next to them garter, principal king of arms, the lord-mayor on his right hand, bearing the city sword, and a gentleman usher on his left, and on each side of them the serjeants at arms with their maces.

Then the king's majesty, with his equeries and footmen on each side of him, and at a little distance on each hand, his royal brothers, the Dukes of York and Gloucester; and after them divers of the king's servants, who came with him from beyond sea; and, in the rear of all, those gallant troops, viz. the Duke of Buckingham, Earls of Oxford, Northampton, Winchelsea, Litchfield, and the Lord Mordaunt; also five regiments of horse belonging to the army.

In this magnificent fashion his majesty entered the borough of Southwark, about half an hour past three of the clock in the afternoon; and, within half an hour after, the city of London, at the bridge, where he found the windows and streets exceedingly thronged with people to behold him, and the walls adorned with hangings and carpets of tapestry, and other costly stuffs, and in many places sets of loud musick. All the conduits, as he passed, running claret wine, and the several companies in their liveries,

with the ensigns belonging to them; as also the trained bands of the city standing along the streets as he passed, welcoming him with joyful acclamations.

And within the rails, where Charing-Cross formerly was, a stand of six hundred pikes, consisting of knights and gentlemen as had been officers of the armies of his late majesty of blessed memory; the truly noble and valiant Sir John Stowell, knight of the honourable order of the Bath, a person famous for his eminent actions and sufferings, being in the head of them.

From which place the citizens, in velvet coats and gold chains, being drawn up on each hand, and divers companies of foot soldiers, his majesty passed betwixt them, and entered Whitehall at seven of the clock, the people making loud shouts, and the horse and foot several volleys of shot at this his happy arrival, where the house of lords and commons of parliament received him, and kissed his royal hand. At the same time, likewise, the reverend Bishops of Ely, Salisbury, Rochester, and Chichester, in their episcopal habits, with divers of the long-oppressed orthodox clergy, met in that royal chapel of King Henry the VII. at Westminster, there also sung *Te Deum*, &c. in praise and thanks to Almighty God for that his unspeakable mercy in the deliverance of his majesty from many dangers, and so happily restoring him to rule these kingdoms according to his just and undoubted right.

The Earl of Manchester's Speech to his Majesty, in the Name of the Peers, at his Arrival at Whitehall, the 29th of May, 1660, with his Majestys gracious Answer thereunto.

THAT this day may prove happy to your majesty is the hope, the expectation, and the earnest desire of my lords the peers, whose commands are upon me to make this humble tender to your majesty of their loyal joy for your majesty's safe return to your native kingdom, and for this happy restoration of your majesty to your crown and dignity, after so long and so severe a suppression of your just right and title.

I shall not reflect upon your majesty's sufferings, which have been your people's miseries; yet I cannot omit to say, that as the nation in general, so the peers, with a more personal and particular sense, have felt the stroke that cut the Gordian knot which fastened your majesty to your kingdom, and your kingdom to your majesty.

For, since those strange and various fluctuations and discomposures in government, since those horrid and unparalleled violations of all order and justice, strangers have ruled over us, even with a rod of iron: But now, with satisfaction of heart, we own and see your majesty, our native king, a son of the wise, a son of the ancient kings, whose hand holds forth a golden scepter.

Great king! give me leave to speak the confidence, as well as the desires of the peers of England. Be you the powerful defender of the true protestant faith; the just asserter and maintainer of the laws and liberties of your subjects; so shall judgment run down like a river, and justice like a mighty stream; and God, the God of your mercy, who hath so miraculously preserved you, will establish your throne in righteousness and in peace.

Dread sovereign! I offer no flattering titles, but speak the words of truth: You are the desire of three kingdoms, the strength and the stay of the tribes of the people, for

the moderating of extremities, the reconciling of differences, the satisfying of all interests, and for restoring of the collapsed honour of these nations. Their eyes are towards your majesty, their tongues, with loud acclamations of joy, speak the thoughts and loyal intentions of their hearts; their hands are lift up to Heaven with prayers and praises; and what oral triumph can equal this your pomp and glory?

Long may your majesty live and reign, a support to your friends, a terror to your enemies, an honour to your nation, and an example to kings, of piety, justice, prudence, and power, that this prophetic expression may be verified in your majesty,—King Charles the Second shall be greater than ever was the greatest of that name.

His Majesty's gracious Answer to the Earl of Manchester's Speech, made in the Name of the House of Peers, at the Arrival of his Majesty at Whitehall, on the 29th of May, 1660.

My Lord,

I am so disordered by my journey, and with the noise still sounding in my ears, (which, I confess, was pleasing to me, because it expressed the affections of my people,) as I am unfit, at the present, to make such a reply as I desire; yet thus much I shall say unto you, that I take no greater satisfaction to myself in this my change, than that I find my heart really set to endeavour, by all means, for the restoring of this nation to their freedom and happiness; and I hope, by the advice of my parliament, to effect it. Of this also you may be confident, that next to the honour of God, from whom principally I shall ever own this restoration to my crown, I shall study the welfare of my people; and shall not only be a true defender of the faith, but a just asserter of the laws and liberties of my subjects.

A Proclamation against vicious, debauched, and prophane Persons. By the King.

Charles found it necessary, in appearance at least, to discourage the tide of debauchery which broke in upon the nation, always prompt to run from one extreme to the other. This proclamation was published in consequence of the inordinate license observed upon the day of his restoration.

"The dissolution and drunkenness of that night," says Ludlow, "was so great and scandalous in a nation, which had not been acquainted with such disorders for many years past, that the king, who still stood in need of the presbyterian party, which had betrayed all into his hands, for their satisfaction caused a proclamation to be published forbidding the drinking of healths. But, resolving for his own part to be obliged to no rule, of any kind, he publicly violated his own order in a few days at a debauch in the Mulberry Garden; and more privately at another meeting in the city, where he drank healths to the utmost excess till two in the morning."—LUDLOW, III. 17.

CHARLES R.

Since it hath pleased the Divine Providence in so wonderful a manner, and by ways and means no less miraculous than those by which he did heretofore preserve and re-

store his own chosen people, to restore us and our good subjects to each other, and to shew us a very hopeful prospect, if not to put us already into possession of that peace, happiness, and security with which this our kingdom hath been heretofore blessed, it will become us all, in our several stations, to acknowledge this transcendent goodness of Almighty God, in so seasonable a conjuncture, with such a circumspection, integrity, and reformation in our lives, that we may not drive away that mercy which so near approacheth us by making ourselves (wholly) unworthy of it: And in order hereunto, we think it high time to shew our dislike of those (against whom we have been ever enough offended, though we could not in this manner declare it) who, under pretence of affection to us and our service, assume to themselves the liberty of reviling, threatening, and reproaching others; and, as much as in them lies, endeavour to stifle and divert their good inclinations to our service, and so to prevent that reconciliation and union of hearts and affections which can only, with God's blessing, make us rejoice in each other, and keep our enemies from rejoicing.

There are likewise another sort of men, of whom we have heard much, and are sufficiently ashamed, who spend their time in taverns, tipling-houses, and debauches, giving no other evidence of their affection to us but in drinking our health, and inveighing against all others who are not of their own dissolute temper, and who, in truth, have more discredited our cause by the licence of their manners and lives, than they could ever advance it by their affection or courage. We hope that this extraordinary way of delivering us from all we feared, and almost bringing us to all we can reasonably hope, hath and will work upon the hearts even of these men to that degree that they will cordially renounce all that licentiousness, profaneness, and impiety with which they have been corrupted, and endeavour to corrupt others, and that they will hereafter become examples of sobriety and virtue, and make it appear that what is past was rather the vice of the time than of the persons, and so the fitter to be forgotten together.¹

And because the fear of punishment, or apprehension of our displeasure, may have influence upon many who will not be restrained by the conscience of their duty, we do declare, that we will not exercise just severity against any malefactors sooner than against men of dissolute, debauched, and prophane lives, with what parts soever they may be otherwise qualified and endowed; and we hope that all persons of honour, or in place and authority, will so far assist us in discountenancing such men, that their discretion and shame will persuade them to reform what their conscience would not, and that the displeasure of good men towards them may supply what the laws have not, and, it may be, cannot well provide against, there being, by the licence and corruption of the times, and the depraved nature of men, many enormities, scandals, and impieties in practice and manners, which laws cannot well describe, and consequently not enough provide against, which may, by the example and severity of virtuous men, be easily discountenanced, and by degrees suppressed.

However, for the more effectual reforming these men, who are a discredit to the nation, and unto any cause they pretend to favour and wish well to, we require all mayors, sheriffs, and justices of peace to be very vigilant and strict in the discovery and

¹ "With the restoration of the king a spirit of extravagant joy spread over the nation, that brought on with it the throwing off the very profession of virtue and piety: All ended in entertainments and drunkenness, which over-run the kingdoms to such a degree, that it very much corrupted all their morals. Under the colour of drinking the king's health, there were great disorders and much riot every where; and the pretences of religion, both in those of the hypocritical sort, and of the more honest, but no less pernicious enthusiasts, gave great advantages, as well as they furnished much matter to the prophane mockers of true piety. Those who had been concerned in the former transactions thought they could not redeem themselves from the censures and jealousies that those brought on them by any method that was more sure and easy than by going into the stream, and laughing at all religion, telling or making stories to expose both themselves and their party, as impious and ridiculous."—BURNET'S *History of his own Time*. Lond. 1725. 12. vol. I. p. 145.

prosecution of all dissolute and prophane persons, and such as blaspheme the name of God by prophane swearing and cursing, or revile or disturb ministers, and despise the public worship of God; that, being first bound to the good behaviour, they may be further proceeded against, and exposed to shame in such a manner as the laws of the land, and the just and necessary rules of government, shall direct or permit.

Given at our court at Whitehall, the thirtieth day of May, in the twelfth year of our reign, 1660.

The Royal Oak; or an Historical Description of the Royal Progress, wonderful Travels, miraculous Escapes, and strange Accidents of his Sacred Majesty, Charles the Second, third Monarch of Great Britain: Wherein is observable and worth public View;

- I. His Majesty's strange and wonderful Escape from Worcester Fight, the disrobing of himself of his princely Ornaments, the casting away his Chain of Gold, and the cutting off his precious Hair and curled Locks by the Lord Wilmot, for a Disguise.
- II. The pursuing of his Royal Person by Oliver Cromwell and his Blood-hounds; and the Manner how his Majesty escaped, making a hollow Oak his Royal Palace, within four Miles of Wolverhampton.
- III. The memorable Travels of Mrs Jane Lane and his Majesty, his riding before her to make an Escape, and his going in a Livery Cloak by the Name of William, Servant to Mr Lastel, her Father-in-Law.
- IV. The Discourse betwixt his Majesty and the Cook-Maid at the Three Crowns in Bristol; her several Questions where he was born, and what Trade he was, with the King's Answer; and the remarkable Passages that happened in the Kitchen, upon the Maid's employing the King to wind up the Jack.

By John Danverd, a loyal Subject and Servant to his Majesty.

Printed in the Year 1660.

Past dangers are in every case a joyful theme, and it is no wonder that King Charles's marvellous escape from the field of Worcester should have been made the subject of exulting commemoration, after his wanderings and perils had finally terminated in the recovery of his royal inheritance. But Mr Danverd's narrative is both meagre and incorrect, and does not deserve to be mentioned along with that of Clarendon and others since published, which are more minute and authentic.

AFTER the great and fatal fight at Worcester, between his majesty's forces and the Cromwellian rebels, the field being lost, not for want of courage by the king's party, but by those numerous supplies, who served only like the Turkish Asapi, to blunt the

royal swords ; so that their wearied arms, no longer able to hold out, were forced to retreat, and at length (notwithstanding the generous example of his majesty, who performed things worth wonder) to a disorderly fight : Yet it is worthy of observation, that, upon Cromwell's advance near the city, his majesty in person, and in the head of the horse, drew out against him, and that with so much valour and courage, that Cromwell's own life-guard, and the best of his old soldiers (who were thought almost invincible) were forced to retire, till seconded by Fleetwood, Desborough, Lambert, and others, who overpowered the king's forces, being above five to one ; and so loth was his majesty to decline the field, that, upon his earnest endeavours to have his horse and foot rally, twice had he his horse shot under him, and at length was forced to shift for himself, and to provide for his own safety ; and so with some nobles and servants, not without a great deal of difficulty, forced to quit the field, and, by the most unfrequented roads that they could possibly find out, rid to the farm-house of a noble gentleman on the borders of Staffordshire, where they no sooner arrived, but his majesty disrobed himself of his princely ornaments and accoutrements, and particularly of a chain of gold, or spannar-string, worth 300*l.* sterl., the present of a Scottish lady, which he bestowed upon a servant of his there present ; which done, for his farther disguise, he proceeding to the cutting off his hair, and the cot affording neither shears nor scissars to perform it, it was by the Lord Wilmot cut off with a knife. And now every one is commanded to shift for himself, and this poor prince left alone to the sole protection of the Almighty, he choosing none but one friend to accompany him, with whom he wandered into a wood, within four miles of (say some) Wolverhampton, where finding a hollow oak, he was now content to make it his palace, for here he for some days concealed himself, his friend still towards night going out to provide him some refreshment during this his solitary confinement. In the mean time the Lord Wilmot, who was commanded with the rest to seek his fortune, was by chance pursued by some soldiers, but meeting with a country fellow, formerly a soldier in the old king's army, he was by him secured, though somewhat strangely, for he carries him into a malt-house belonging to Mrs Jane Lane, and having no other convenient place to hide him in, clapped him under the kiln, though there was then some fire in it, and the malt smoaking on the top. In the mean time the soldiers, then in pursuit of him, entered the house, and having made about three quarters of an hour's search every where else, but not at all suspecting the kiln, where they saw the fire burning, they departed, and the Lord Wilmot was taken out of the kiln almost ready to faint with the extremity of the heat. The country fellow having thus secured this lord, acquaints Mrs Lane with what he had done, and she, extremely glad of it, gets him to her house, where in conference she enquires of the king's safety. The Lord Wilmot gives her the former relation of his great miseries and distress, which forces tears from the tender-hearted gentlewoman ; she earnestly entreats him to take some course for the finding out of his majesty, and conducting him to her house, she being resolved to venture her life, had she ten thousand, for the saving of his royal majesty.¹ The Lord Wilmot, glad of so happy an opportunity to serve his majesty, and so great a probability of securing him, the next night finds him out, and conducts him from the royal oak to the house of Mrs Jane Lane, where, after a large condoling of his hard fortune, consultation was had for a conveniency for his escape beyond sea, and at length it was concluded that Bristol would be the most convenient place to take shipping ; that his majesty should ride before Mrs Lane, by the name of William, servant to Mr Lastel, her father-in-law, who was likewise to go with them ; and thus it was immediately given

¹ The author omits all mention of the family of Penderels, by whose exertions Charles was conveyed out of Worcestershire.

out that Mr Lastel and Mrs Lane were to take a journey in the west, to visit some friends; and shortly after they set forward. In this journey there happened many accidents worthy commemoration: And, first, the king's majesty riding now as a servant to one of the faithfulest of his subjects, in a livery cloak, though not without that respect that durst be given to him, complains to Mrs Lane that the cloak wearied him, whereupon she desires Mr Lastel to carry it; and long they had not rid so, but they meet upon the road her brother-in-law, who, amongst other questions, demanded of her if her father must carry her man's cloak; to which she readily answered, that it was so big that it often endangered the throwing her off the horse; and that she had therefore desired him to carry it. The next and most important accident of all was, that, coming into a town which they were to pass through, there was a troop of horse there to be quartered drawn up, which caused some fear, but at length with a resolution they passed on, and the captain taking them for honest travellers, made his troop open to the right and left, and so permitted them to pass. Another accident there happened which one may say was almost comical in this tragedy: Mrs Lane coming into the inn, leaves his majesty under the name of William her servant in the kitchen, with whom the maid enters into discourse; she asks him where he was born, and what trade he was? He answers, at Birmingham, and a nailor's son; and after a great deal of other discourse, the jack being down, the maid desires him to wind it up, which he willingly undertakes, but goes the wrong way about it, and somewhat prejudices it; at which the maid grew angry, asking him where he was bred, and telling him he was the veriest clownish booby that ever she saw in all her life; which railing of hers made his majesty, notwithstanding his present misery, go out of the room smiling.

Mrs Lane, notwithstanding his majesty went as her servant, yet had a greater respect for him before others, pretended him her tenant's son; but on the road she would always ask what he would have to dinner or supper, and what piece of that he liked, which she would be always sure to get made ready and give him, he still sitting at the lower end of the table.

But to come to the end of their journey, being arrived at Bristol, they lodged at the house of a noble gentleman there, and kinsman to Mr Lastel: The king finding it to be a house of great resort, feigns himself sick of an ague, and so keeps his chamber all the day, coming down only at nights; but one night coming down, and being somewhat cold, craves a glass of wine of the butler, who carries him into the butlery; this butler having before served his majesty's father in the wars, looking earnestly upon him, suspected him to be the king, so easily will majesty appear, though veiled in the utmost disguises; and thereupon, pulling off his hat, told him very ceremoniously that he might command what wine he pleased; of which the king took no notice, but, drinking off his wine, went out; yet the butler could not satisfy his suspicion, but went up to Mr Lastel, and demanded of him how long he had had that servant, whereupon Mr Lastel was very angry at his boldness in daring to ask him such a question; but the butler still persisted, and, whispering, told him that he believed it was the king; whereupon Mr Lastel seeing he was discovered, sends immediately for his majesty, whom he acquaints with the butler's discovery of him, with whom the king was somewhat angry, in regard he did not first acquaint himself with his suspicion, it not being impossible but that Mr Lastel might not have known him to be the king; but upon pardon asked by the butler, it was granted by the king, and he afterwards proved very instrumental in his majesty's conveyance through the country.

But here at Bristol the chief design they had in hand failed them; for though there were a little bark lay there judged most convenient for the business, yet the master would for no reward transport a single person, though he was so honest as only to deny it, and made no further search or enquiry concerning the person, which might perhaps have tended to a discovery.

This design here failing, his majesty desired to be brought some miles westward, to the house of a worthy gentleman, whom he knew to be a trusty friend, where coming, he finds the gentleman in the field with his servants; having discovered himself to him, he was by him conveyed to a convenient stand till night, (having first taken leave of his true friends, who had thus far conducted him with the danger of their lives and estates,) from whence he was in the dusk conveyed into the house, and there carefully concealed for a week, till such time as preparation could be made in some western port, of a passage for him; but coming afterwards there where it was provided, chancing to dine with a parliament colonel then there, he thought it the safer to lose the benefit of that passage, than adventure to embark himself singly, which might breed suspicion, and perhaps have been the means, after so many deliverances, to have betrayed him into the hands of his enemies.

This passage then likewise failing him, he returned back to the place from whence he came, and concealed himself three weeks longer, till in the end, it being resolved on, he, by the assistance of Mr Ph., was conveyed through the most by-ways they could imagine, to a gentlewoman's house in Sussex, where he lay some few days, till a person of true worth and honour made provision of a faithful master, who with a small vessel wafted him to a small creek in Normandy, to the great content of the king's sacred majesty, and all his loyal subjects, and to the honour of the master with due reward, as in time may appear.

Perhaps the reader may think it tedious that I have given so large a relation of his majesty's escape from that fight at Worcester; but it was a work so full of wonder and providence, and so many false relations there are abroad, that I could do no less than recount all those miseries and hardships which the poor prince endured for the sakes of us his subjects, and more would he willingly have endured, even death itself, to the redeeming of us from the tyranny and oppression which we then groaned under.

But let him that shall look upon the several passages of his life read them over and over, consider the several difficulties he passed, the many dangers he was in to be betrayed, the country being up round about, the sum of money set upon his head, for which many hundreds out of covetousness made it their business to search for him, and they will confess ingenuously, that God was never so merciful to any people as to us, in delivering his sacred majesty so wonderfully out of the hands of his enemies, who breathed out nothing but his death and destruction, that we may yet have hope to be a happy nation.

Resolves of Parliament.

The following collection of orders, and resolutions, and proclamations, require no special commentary.

Thursday, April 26, 1660.

Resolved by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled,

THAT this day fortnight be set apart for a day of thanksgiving to the Lord for raising up his excellency the lord-general, and other eminent persons, who have been instrumental in delivery of this nation from thralldom and misery.

Resolved by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled,

That this day fortnight be the day set apart for a day of thanksgiving for both houses of parliament, and within the cities of London and Westminster, and late lines of communication; and this day month for the whole nation.

April 26, 1660.

Ordered by the Lords in Parliament assembled,

That these resolves be forthwith printed and published.

JO. BROWNE, Cleric. Parliamentorum.

A List of the Earls and Lords that were present in the House of Peers, on Friday, April the 27th, 1660.

Earl of Manchester, Speaker,

Earl of Oxford
Earl of Northumberland
Earl of Derby
Earl of Rutland
Earl of Bedford
Earl of Pembroke
Earl of Lincoln
Earl of Nottingham
Earl of Suffolk
Earl of Dorset
Earl of Bridgwater
Earl of Warwick
Earl of Denbigh
Earl of Middlesex

Earl of Bullingbrook
Earl of Rivers
Earl of Winchester
Earl of Strafford
Lord Viscount Say and Seale
Lord Viscount Conway
Lord Viscount Hereford
Lord De La Ware
Lord Berkley
Lord Cromwell
Lord Wharton
Lord Hunsdon
Lord Peter
Lord Gerrard

Lord Tenham
 Lord Gray of Werke
 Lord Deyncourt
 Lord Craven

Lord Mainerd
 Lord Howard of Essex
 Lord Capel.

A Proclamation.

Although it can no way be doubted, but that his majesty's right and title to his crowns and kingdoms, is, and was every way compleated by the death of his most royal father of glorious memory, without the ceremony or solemnity of a proclamation, yet, since proclamations in such cases have been always used, to the end that all good subjects might, upon this occasion, testify their duty and respect, and since the armed violence, and other the calamities of many years last past, have hitherto deprived us of any such opportunity, wherein we might express our loyalty and allegiance to his majesty, we therefore, the lords and commons, now assembled in parliament, together with the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, and other freemen of this kingdom, now present, do, according to our duty and allegiance, heartily, joyfully, and unanimously acknowledge and proclaim, that immediately upon the decease of our late sovereign Lord King Charles, the imperial crown of the realm of England, and of all the kingdoms, dominions, and rights, belonging to the same, did by inherent birth-right, and lawful and undoubted succession, descend and come to his most excellent majesty Charles the Second, as being lineally, justly, and lawfully, next heir of the blood-royal of this realm; and that, by the goodness and providence of Almighty God, he is of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, the most potent, mighty, and undoubted king; and thereunto we most humbly and faithfully do submit and oblige ourselves, our heirs, and posterities, for ever.

God save the King.

Tuesday, May 8, 1660.

Ordered by the commons assembled in parliament, that this proclamation be forthwith printed and published.

WILL. JESSOP, Clerk of the Commons House of Parliament;

Tuesday, May 8, 1660.

Resolved upon the Question by the Commons assembled in Parliament,

That the members of this house, who serve for the several counties, cities, and boroughs, take care forthwith to send to the sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, and other head officers of the counties, cities, and boroughs of England and Wales, and the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, for which they serve, the proclamation for proclaiming of the king's majesty, to the intent the same may be proclaimed in the respective counties, cities, and boroughs, which the several sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, and other head officers, are required to do with speed accordingly.

WILL. JESSOP, Clerk of the Commons House of Parliament.

A Declaration.

The commons assembled in parliament do declare, that these acts following, that is to say, "An Act for securing the Protestant Religion, and Encouragement and settling of the learned and pious Ministry, and both the Universities in order thereunto, with a due Care of tender Consciences;" one other "general Act for Oblivion, Indemnity, and Free Pardon;" "An Act for Confirmation of judicial Proceedings in the ordinary Courts of Justice;" "An Act touching the Confirmation of Grants and Sales;" and "An Act for securing unto the Army and Navy their Arrears," are already under consideration, and that a good progress is made in them, and directions given for the speedy perfecting of them.

Tuesday, May 8, 1660.

Ordered by the commons assembled in parliament, that this declaration be forthwith printed and published.

WILL. JESSOP, Clerk of the Commons House of Parliament.

To his most excellent Majesty King Charles the Second, our most gracious Sovereign.

The humble Address of the Officers of the several Regiments of Horse, under the Command of his Excellency the Lord-General Monk, as it was presented by them to his Majesty, at Dartford-Heath, in Kent, this present Tuesday, May 29, 1660.

With such a joy as flows from reverence and love, we humbly present ourselves before your sacred majesty; besides our reflection on the common good, which, in this happy change, relates to our particular, intends this joy, and renders it sincere; for we can now please ourselves in ourselves, while we are really performing that duty for which we were first raised; and with all thankfulness we acknowledge that care your majesty in your late letter and declaration hath expressed of our necessary intent.

We bless God to see that day when the serenity of every man's countenance discovers the tranquillity of his mind; for this shews your majesty to be the true soul of the people, since during your absence the whole nation was cast into such distractions as we have no pleasure to remember, but had rather turn our thoughts and grateful acknowledgments to the happy conduct of our noble general, who hath thus far led us in our duty to your royal person. Yet, as we cannot attribute too much to his merits, so neither can we deprive ourselves of that honour and comfort which we find in the accomplishment of his just design.

Therefore, in plain and soldier-like (though humble) terms, we say your majesty hath made us and the nation happy in your return to this your native kingdom, which doubtless will, nay, we may say hath, produced a settlement upon the foundation of our ancient laws, by the due execution of which, together with your majesty's pious inclinations, we trust libertinism and prophaneness wholly suppressed, the protestant cause, and true professors of it, encouraged, to the comfort of all your religious and good people.

Your majesty will now have your great council about you, who have already given proof of their loyalty and wisdom both to your majesty and them. We profess and declare, that as we have not been altogether useless in the restoration, as well of your sacred majesty to your crowns and kingdoms, as your people to their just rights, so we shall in the future chearfully sacrifice our lives, or whatsoever can be more dear to us, in the service of your majesty against all oppositions whatsoever; and, by a ready obedience to your majesty's commands, express ourselves,

Your majesty's most loyal subjects,

And obedient servants,

Monday, December 17, 1660.

Whereas the maimed soldiers and pensioners belonging to Ely-House and the Savoy, formerly a great charge to the nation, are, by order of parliament, discharged, and sent with recommendations into their respective counties and places where they did last reside, but are not accordingly received, or relieved, by the respective justices of the peace; it is therefore ordered, by the commons in parliament assembled, that all and every the justices of the peace in all counties, corporations, and places, within his majesty's dominions, do take speedy care, and make provision, according to the statute for maimed soldiers, and that of the 43d of Queen Elizabeth concerning the overseers for the poor, for the relief and livelihood of such pensioners, maimed soldiers, widows, and orphans, as come unto them with such recommendations, signed with the hands of Thomas Lord Fairfax, Sir Gilbert Gerard, Sir Anthony Irby, Sir William Wheeler, Sir John Robinson, Sir Francis Gerard, Sir Thomas Meerse, Sir Thomas Clergis, John Birch, William Prynne, Edward King, Gilbert Gerrard, Richard Knightly, and Michael Mallet, Esquires, or any three of them, being members of the committee of parliament, appointed to discharge the said pensioners. And that this order be forthwith printed, and that the knights, citizens, and burgesses, do convey the same unto the respective places for which they serve in parliament, reminding the said justices of the necessity of this good work, and of the laws made concerning the same.

W. JESSOP, Clerk of the Commons House of Parliament.

Die Veneris, 18 Maii, 1660.

Upon complaint this day made by the commons in parliament, it is ordered by the lords in parliament assembled, that all these persons, viz.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant-at-Law, President of the pretended High Court of Justice.

John Lisle,
William Say,
Oliver Cromwell,
Henry Ireton,
Sir Hardresse Waller,

} Esqrs.

Valentine Walton,
Thomas Harrison,
Edward Whaley,
Thomas Pride,

Isaac Ewers,
Lord Gray of Groby.
Sir John Danvers, Knt.
Sir Thomas Maleverer, Bart.

} Esqrs.

Sir John Bourcher, Knt.		John Moore,	
William Heveningham, Esq.		John Aldred,	
Alderman Pennington, Alderman of London.		Henry Smith,	} Esqrs.
William Purefoy,	} Esqrs.	Humphrey Edwards,	
Henry Martin,		Gregory Clement,	
John Barkstead,		Thomas Woogan,	
John Blackiston,	} Esqrs.	Sir Gregory Norton, Knt.	
Gilbert Millington,		Edmond Harvey,	} Esqrs.
Sir William Constable, Bart.		John Venn,	
Edmond Ludlow,	} Esqrs.	Thomas Scot,	
John Hutchinson,		Thomas Andrews, Alderman of London.	
Sir Michael Livesey, Bart.		William Cawly,	} Esqrs.
Robert Titchbourne,	} Esqrs.	Anthony Stapley,	
Owen Roe,		John Downes,	
Robert Lilburne,		Thomas Horton,	
Adrian Scroope,		Thomas Hammond,	
Richard Deane,		Nicholas Love,	
John Okey,		Vincent Potter,	
John Hewson,		Augustine Garland,	
William Goffe,		John Dixwel,	
Cornelius Holland,		George Fleetwood,	
John Carey,		Symon Meyne,	
John Jones,		James Temple,	
Miles Corbet,		Peter Temple,	
Francis Allinn,		Daniel Blagrove,	
Peregrine Pelham,		Thomas Waite,	

Who sat in judgment upon the late king's majesty when sentence of death was pronounced against him, and the estates, both real and personal, of all and every the said persons (whether in their own hands, or in the hands of any in trust for their, or any of their uses) who are fled, be forthwith seized and secured; and the respective sheriffs and other officers whom this may concern, are to take effectual order accordingly.

Die Veneris, 18 Maii, 1660.

Ordered by the lords in parliament assembled, That this order and list be forthwith printed and published.

JO. BROWNE, Cleric. *Parliamentorum.*

Votes, Resolves, and Orders of the Parliament, in the Year 1660, concerning the Prisoners in the Tower.

"The bill of indemnity being not yet finished, the commons, out of a tender care for their own persons and estates, resolving to make it ready with all diligence, proceeded to the nomination

of the seven persons who were to be excepted for condemning the late king to death; and having agreed that Major-General Harrison, John Lisle, Esq. and William Say, Esq. should be three of that number, it was contrived that a letter should be brought to Monk at that instant, (not without suspicion that he was the author of that design, to the end I might be inserted,) informing him that I was in arms at the head of several hundred men in one of the islands called the Holmes, and had declared against this convention. Some of Ludlow's friends, however, produced evidence that this report was altogether groundless.

"Upon this assurance, which he immediately reported to the party above mentioned, I am inclined to believe it chiefly came to pass, that when they proceeded to complete the number of seven, who were to be excepted both for life and estate, and had agreed that Colonel John Jones, Mr Cornelius Holland, should be added to the three before-mentioned; a motion being made by one Colonel Skipwith that I might be the seventh man, he was not seconded. So that another member proposing Colonel Barkstead, and no man daring to say any thing in extenuation of the pretended crime, or commendation of the persons concerned, he was voted to fill up the number. Chief-Justice Coke, who had been solicitor to the high court of justice, Mr Broughton, who had been clerk, and Mr Edward Dendy their serjeant-at-arms, were also excepted in the same manner. And, that no means of gratifying the passions of our enemies might be omitted, having already, under pretence that some of the late king's judges were fled, ordered their estates to be seized, it was contrived by the creatures of the court, who were a great part of the house, that a petition should be drawn and presented to the king, to issue out a proclamation for requiring all those of the late king's judges, and others therein named, to surrender themselves within the space of fourteen days, under pain of exception from the benefit of the act both for life and estate."—LUDLOW, p. 18.

Monday, May 14th, 1660.

THE question being propounded, that the number of seven, those who sat in judgment upon the late king's majesty, when sentence was given, be the number who shall be excepted for life and estate out of the act of general pardon and oblivion.

And the question being put, that this question be now put, it passed with the affirmative. And the main question being put, it was

Resolved, That the number of seven of those who sate in judgment when sentence was given upon the late king's majesty, be the number who shall be excepted for life and estate out of the act of general pardon and oblivion. Fol. 147.

Thursday, May 31st, 1660.

Ordered, That it be referred to the committee who prepared the former proclamation against popish recusants, to draw up a form of a proclamation to be presented to the king's majesty, requiring the persons who sate in judgment upon the late king, when sentence of death was pronounced against him, to render themselves by a day, or else that they be excepted out of the act of oblivion for life and estate. Fol. 263.

Saturday, June 2d, 1660.

Mr Prynne reports a proclamation, requiring the several persons who sate upon the late king when sentence of death was pronounced against him, to render themselves within fourteen days next after the publishing of this proclamation, or else to be excepted out of the act of general pardon, oblivion, and indemnity, which was this day read the first and second time, and agreed unto to be the form of a proclamation to be presented to the king's majesty. Fol. 273.

Monday, June 4th, 1660.

Mr Prynne reports, That, according to the commands of this house, he carried to the lords the proclamation against the persons who sate in judgment against the late king

when sentence of death was given against him, and brings answer that the lords do agree thereunto. Fol. 290.

Tuesday, June 5th, 1660.

Resolved, That the seven persons who, by former order, are to be excepted out of the act of general pardon for life and estate, be named here in this house. Fol. 295.

Resolved, That Thomas Harrison¹ be one of the seven persons to be excepted out of the act of general pardon for life and estate. Fol. 266.

Wednesday, June 6th, 1660.

Resolved, That William Say be one of the seven persons to be excepted out of the act for general pardon and oblivion for life and estate. Fol. 300.

Resolved, upon the question, That John Jones² be one of the seven persons to be excepted out of the act of general pardon and oblivion for life and estate. Fol. 300.

Resolved, That Thomas Scott be one of the seven persons to be excepted out of the act of general pardon and oblivion for life and estate.³ Fol. 301.

Resolved, That Cornelius Holland be one of the seven persons to be excepted out of the act of general pardon and oblivion for life and estate. Fol. 320.

Resolved, That John Lisle be one of the seven persons to be excepted out of the act of general pardon and oblivion for life and estate. Fol. 302.⁴

Resolved, That John Barkstead be one of the seven persons to be excepted out of this act of general pardon and oblivion for life and estate. Fol. 303.⁵

Thursday, June 7th, 1660.

Resolved, That John Cooke, Esq. be excepted out of this act of general pardon and oblivion for life and estate. Fol. 305.⁶

Resolved, That Edward Dendy be excepted out of this act of general pardon and oblivion for life and estate. Fol. 305.

Friday, June 8th, 1660.

Resolved, That the number of twenty, and no more (other than those that are already excepted, or who sate as judges upon the late king's majesty) shall be excepted out of the act of general pardon and oblivion, for and in respect only of such pains, penalties, and forfeitures, (not extending to life,) as shall be thought fit to be inflicted on them, by another act intended to be passed hereafter for that purpose. Fol. 317.

Saturday, June 9th, 1660.

Resolved,
That Sir Hardresse Waller,
Valentine Walton,
Edward Whalley,
Isaac Ewers,
Isaac Pennington,

Sir John Danvers,
Sir Thomas Maliverer,
Sir John Bouchier,
William Heveningham,
Humphrey Edwards,

¹ Major-general Harrison was the principal leader of the fifth monarchists. He was a brave soldier, but a frantic enthusiast, and suffered death, 13th October, 1660.

² He was executed.

³ Scott fled abroad, but was taken in Holland, brought to England, and executed.

⁴ Lisle escaped to Switzerland, but was there assassinated by two men, supposed to be agents of the Duchess of Orleans, daughter of Charles I.

⁵ John Barkstead had been lieutenant of the Tower under Cromwell, and a great agent in his oppressions. He was taken at the same time with Okey and Scott.

⁶ He was taken and executed along with the celebrated Hugh Peters, 16th October, 1660.