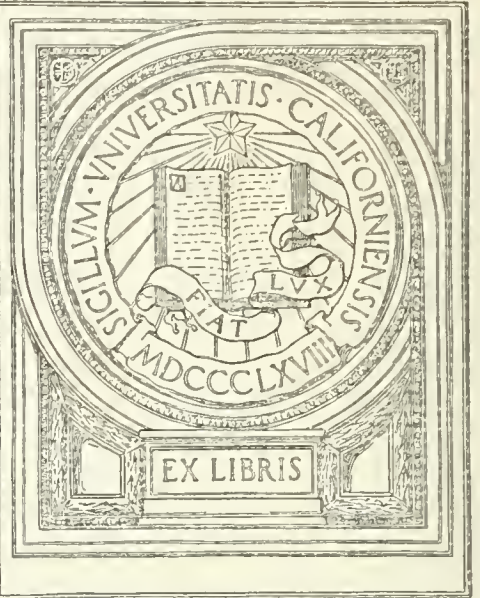
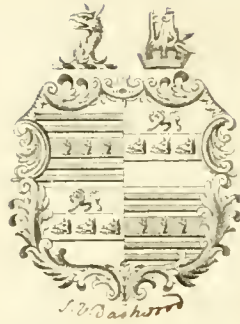




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ANDREW MARVELL.

MEMBER FOR KINGSTON UPON HULL IN THE PARLIAMENTS  
WHICH BEGAN APRIL XXV. MDCLX AND MAY VIII. MDCLXI. THE LAST COMMONER  
WHO RECEIVED ALLOWANCE FROM HIS CONSTITUENTS AND THE FRIEND  
AND PROTECTOR OF JOHN MILTON.

DRAWN AND ENGRAVED MDCCLXXI BY JAMES BASIRE FROM A PORTRAIT PAINTED IN THE YEAR  
MDCLX WHICH WAS IN THE POSSESSION OF THOMAS HOLLIS OF LINCOLN'S INN, P.R. AND A. S. S.

BUT WHETHER FATE OR ART UNWIND HIS THREAD  
REMAINS IN DOUBT FAME'S LASTING REGISTER  
SHALL LEAVE HIS NAME IN GOLD AS GREAT AS THOSE  
WHO AT PHILIPPI FOR THEIR COUNTRY FELL.



THE  
W O R K S  
OF  
ANDREW MARVELL, ESQ.  
POETICAL, CONTROVERSIAL, AND POLITICAL,  
CONTAINING  
Many ORIGINAL LETTERS, POEMS, and TRACTS, never before printed,  
WITH A NEW LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,  
By Capt. EDWARD THOMPSON.

---

By these three Virtues be the Frame sustain'd,  
Of British Freedom: Independent Life;  
Integrity in Office; and o'er all  
Supreme, a Passion for the Common-Weal.  
Hail! Independence, hail! Heav'n's next best Gift,  
To that of Life and an immortal Soul!  
The Life of Life! that to the Banquet high  
And sober Meal gives Taste; to the bow'd Roof  
Fair-dream'd Repose, and to the Cottage Charms.

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IN THREE VOLUMES.

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VOL. I.

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DEDICA



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# DEDICATION.

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TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL  
THE MAYOR AND ALDERMEN,  
AND THE WORSHIPFUL  
THE WARDENS, ELDER BRETHREN AND ASSISTANTS OF  
THE TRINITY-HOUSE OF KINGSTON UPON HULL.

GENTLEMEN,

**T**HERE were many inducements of so forcible and persuasive a nature to invite me to lay the works of Andrew Marvell at your feet, that had I neglected a respect, so immediately your due, no stigma had been severe enough to have exposed my ingratitude. I am not a little proud of being a native of that place which

## D E D I C A T I O N.

which gave Andrew Marvell birth, and more so of being a brother of that house, which he always stiled noble and worthy, and which he ever honoured with his friendship, counsels and protection. From Andrew Marvell the Corporation, Trinity-House and Town, drew many advantages: his independent spirit and exertions in Parliament towards their mutual welfare for eighteen years, gave Hull a pre-eminence over every other Borough. He was the brilliant star of your hemisphere, and not inferior to those of Rome, which shone the glory of the universe.

In more early periods the Freemen of Hull, ever illustrious, distinguished themselves as the friends of liberty and England. It was the obstinate integrity and undaunted courage of Hotham, that secured Hull, the great strong hold of England, to the Protector; by which acquisition he

5

defeated



D E D I C A T I O N.

defeated the tyrant Stuarts, and paved the way for the accession of freedom in the line of Nassau. It is not for me to draw in a dedicatory epistle the characters of such worthies as have been bred among you ; but you may boast of some of the fairest names with the proudest cities.

For the great and kind assistance that you have bestowed on me in completing Andrew Marvell's works, my most sincere thanks are due to you ; and the prosperity of my native Town shall ever command my most zealous prayers and services. Though weak and humble my ability, yet such as I possess, cannot be so pleasingly exerted, as in the doing good to those I most sincerely honour, respect and esteem.

May you long continue to flourish the admiration of your neighbours. May your counsels be  
mature

D E D I C A T I O N.

mature in wisdom, and that the commerce of Hull may be extended to the remotest corners of the world, are the ardent and sincere wishes of

GENTLEMEN,

Your much obliged,

And most respectful humble Servant,

EDWARD THOMPSON.

P R E F A C E.

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P R E F A C E

T O

THE WORKS OF ANDREW MARVELL.

*WHENEVER a man publishes the works of another, or attempts to give any account of an author, the publick expects in general to know the reasons of such an undertaking. My answer to such enquiries is ready and obvious. I have ventured to give the excellent compositions of this great and exalted character, because they have never been given to the world but in a mutilated and an imperfect state. The best edition of his poems is published by Mr. Thomas Davies, from those given by Cooke, fifty-two years after the death of Mr. Marvell; but his political and controversial works were never yet collected. The late Mr. Thomas Hollis, of honourable memory, had once a design of making a collection of his compositions, and advertisements were published*

VOL. I.

A

for

*for that purpose by the late Andrew Millar; and all the manuscripts and scarce tracts, collected for that purpose, were afterwards given me by his ingenious friend. In this design the late Mr. Robert Nettleton assisted; and all his papers, since his death, have been politely allowed to me by his kinsman Mr. Thomas Raikes.*

*Being a native of Hull, where Mr. Marvell was born, and bearing and reading very early of so excellent a man, I was thereby stimulated to make this offer of my respect and veneration to his memory; not that it stood in need of the assistance of my inferior abilities to perpetuate it; but only to shew my esteem of a person who had been a general friend to mankind, a publick one to his country, and a partial and strenuous one to the town of Hull. In this particular, I hope I have so well succeeded in the candid opinion of the generous world, by dressing Mr. Marvell's works in better clothes, though not in a newer fashion; for I have given his words as they were written by his own pen. The orthography of that period was rather over-charged with letters, as the present is divested of them; but the former equally conveys the sense, and serves to establish the period they were written in, as the dresses of pictures denote the forms and the manners of the age, as well as the masters who painted them. There have been many contentions for the births of illustrious, ancient classick poets, and many cities have made their claims, though they had no pre-  
tensions*



*tensions to such an honour; which if they could not maintain, they at least shewed a respect for the character by their strenuous exertions to prove their right to the fame of such nativity. In this case there can be no contest, though any place might be proud to boast of such a patriot; whom, for ability, genius, and fortitude, the first republican characters in Rome did not surpass.*

*The additional letters on the business of Parliament (which he addressed to the Corporation of Hull for eighteen years) being so great an acquisition, and so pleasing a circumstance to my mind, gave me fresh encouragement to persevere in this undertaking; and indeed the discovery in many respects prompted me to collect the scattered remains of his valuable labours. The first information of these letters arose from accident: having the honour to be elected a Brother of the Trinity-House, I was looking over a file of letters, and found therein several written by Mr. Marvell to the Brethren of that House, concerning the erection of the Spurn-Lights, and a dispute which then subsisted between Mr. Whittington and Sir Philip Frowde, of whom he says of the latter, “As farre as I can  
“observe the gentleman, a little matter makes him much  
“business, and he seems to me one of those who bethinke  
“it the greatest point of wisdom to make the most scruples.  
“And to this his nature or art I attribute all this remiss-  
“ness.” In another of these letters, speaking of Sir W. Jones,*

*eminent in the law, he saith, " We had some discourse  
 " concerning our affaires and constitution; wherein,  
 " according to that general knowledge that he hath of  
 " things material and considerable, he was already no  
 " stranger. I am very glad that you may henceforwards  
 " reckon yourselves provided of as able and honest a coun-  
 " sell as any that wears the gown at this season." In a let-  
 " ter of the 26th of April, 1674, to his brother Mr. Edmund  
 " Popple, he tells him, that " Lauderdale will be here the  
 " next week; Sir Joseph Williamson comes to be secretary,  
 " and Arlington chamberlain; for which he gives St. Al-  
 " ban's ten thousand pounds out of Sir Joseph's pocket."  
 In the conclusion of a letter to his brother Edmund Popple  
 (who married his sister Catharine) speaking of an expensive  
 law-suit into which the Trinity-House had hastily run, he  
 justly and humourously says, " I know the charter empowers  
 " to distrain; but your charter is not a Magna Charta:  
 " Country counsell, like ill tinkers, make worke for  
 " those in London." For the great trouble which he  
 had taken upon himself in the upright conduct of the  
 business of the Trinity-House, in establishing those very neces-  
 sary lights on the Spurn, at the mouth of the river Humber,  
 the honourable and grateful brethren, sensible of his services,  
 took the most courteous method, knowing the delicacy of his  
 modesty, to make him a present, as a testimony of their esteem  
 and gratitude; and this purse was conveyed by one of the bro-  
 therhood,*

P R E F A C E.

v

*therhood, for which he gives the house thanks in this peculiar manner.*

“ GENTLEMEN,

Westminster, Feb. 25, 1677-8.

“ I Found mysefve very much surprized lately by a token  
 “ which you were pleased to send me by Mr. Coates.  
 “ And truly I was very unwilling to have accepted it, having  
 “ always desired rather to doe those offices of friendship  
 “ where I could have no prospect of other gratification than  
 “ the goodnesse of the action. But you especially ought  
 “ not to have placed any such reward upon me, whom you  
 “ have continually engaged by all manner of civil obliga-  
 “ tions. Nevertheless your warden used so pressing an im-  
 “ portunity with me (if courtesy may be so stiled) that I  
 “ could not decline it. Therefore I do by the same hand  
 “ returne you my thanks, desiring that you will find out  
 “ some further way, that I may worke out what I have not  
 “ deserved of you otherwise than by my good affection al-  
 “ ways toward you and your worthy society. So wishing  
 “ you all happinesse, and other kind of benefactors than  
 “ Mr. Clipsham \* for the future, I remaine.”

*There*

\* This Mr. Clipsham had brought an action against the house, and was cast. When Mr. Marvell reports this news to the house, he commends all the gentlemen of the law retained for the cause, excepting Sir Robert Sawyer; for, says he, “ Our counsell have severally done their parts excellently well: onely Sir Robert Sawyer, I will not say *like a recreant knight*, but a lawyer, though he had his “ three guyneyes fee, came not.”

*There are forty-five of these letters, but being on private subjects to the brethren of the Trinity-House, they are no ways interesting; but I have the copies by me. This enquiry produced a further discovery of upwards of three hundred more letters in the possession of the Corporation of Hull, the greatest part whereof they politely permitted me to transcribe from the originals which are now in the Town's Hall, and faithfully given to the publick in the first volume; for which indulgence I am greatly obliged to the Mayor and Aldermen. Since the death of Mr. Thomas Hollis, I have been favoured by his successor with many anecdotes, manuscripts, and scarce compositions of our author, such as I was unable to procure any where else; and by the attention and friendship of Mr. Thomas Raikes, I have been put in possession of a volume of Mr. Marvell's poems, some written with his own hand, and the rest copied by his order: this valuable acquisition was many years in the care of Mr. Nettleton, which serves now (in his own words) to detect the theft and ignorance of some writers. In the poem called Royal Resolutions, which in his manuscript is named the King's Vows, are these additional verses.*

*After Verse the second.*

## I.

I'LL have as fine bishops as were e'er made with hands,  
 With consciences flexible to my commands,  
 And if they displease me—I'll have all their lands.

## II. I'll



## II.

I'll have a fine navy to conquer the seas,  
 And the Dutch shall give caution for their provinces,  
 And if they should beat me—I'll do what they please.

## III.

I'll have a fine court, with ne'er an old face,  
 And always who beards me shall have the next grace,  
 And, I either will vacate, or buy him a place.

## IV.

I'll have a privy-purse without a controul,  
 I'll wink all the while my revenue is stole,  
 And, if any is question'd—I'll answer the whole.

## V.

If this please not—I'll reign then on any condition,  
 Miss and I will both learn to live on exhibition,  
 And I'll first put the church—then the crown in commission.

## VI.

I'll have a fine tunick, a fash, and a vest.  
 Though not rule like the Turk—yet I will be so drest,  
 And who knows but the fashion may bring in the rest.

*How these witty verses have been omitted in all the other editions, I cannot define, but I am proud to restore them to the publick eye.*

*The next poem in this manuscript book, is a humorous satire written in stanzas, upon Sir Robert Viner's setting up the statue of the King on horseback in Woolchurch-market, which*

*which in the first volume of the State Poems, continued, p. 30, is called, A Poem on the Statue in Stocks-market, without breaks in the printing. But, as written by Mr. Marvell, it is thus, and very different from the other in many parts.*

## I.

AS citties that to the fierce conqueror yield,  
Do at their own charges their cittadels build;  
So Sir Robert advanc'd the King's statue, in token  
Of bankers defeated, and Lombard-street broken.

## II.

Some thought it a knightly and generous deed,  
Obliging the citty with a King, and a steed;  
When with honour he might from his word have gone back,  
He that vows for a calme, is absolv'd by a wreck.

## III.

But now it appears, from the first to the last,  
To be all a revenge, and a malice forecast;  
Upon the King's birth-day to set up a thing,  
That shews him a monkey more like than a King.

## IV.

When each one that pass'es finds fault with the horse,  
Yet all do affirme, that the King is much worse;  
And some by the likenes's Sir Robert suspect,  
That he did for the King his own statue erect.

## V.

Thus to see him disfigur'd—the herb-women chide,  
Who upon their panniers more gracefully ride;  
And so loose in his seat—that all persons agree,  
Even Sir William Peake sits much firmer than he.

## VI.

But a market, as some say, doth fit the King well,  
 Who the parliament too—and revenue doth sell;  
 And others, to make the similitude hold,  
 Say his Majesty too—is oft purchas'd and sold.

## VII.

This statue is surely more scandalous far,  
 Than all the Dutch pictures which caused the warr;  
 And what the exchequer for that took on trust,  
 May we henceforth confiscate for reasons more just.

## VIII.

But Sir Robert, to take all the scandal away,  
 Does the errour upon the artificer lay;  
 And alledges the workmanship was not his own,  
 For he counterfeit only in gold—not in stone.

## IX.

But, Sir Knight of the Vine, how came't in your thought,  
 That when to the scaffold your Liege you had brought;  
 With canvass and deales you e'er since do him cloud,  
 As if you had meant it his coffin and shroud?

## X.

Hath *Blood* him away, as his crown he convey'd,  
 Or is he to *Clayton's* gone in masquerade?  
 Or is he in caball in his cabinet sett,  
 Or have you to the Compter remov'd him for debt?

## XI.

Methinks by the equipage of this vile scene,  
 That to change him into a Jack-pudding you mean,  
 Or why thus expose him to popular flouts,  
 As if we'd as good have a King made of Clouts?

## XII.

Or do you his faults out of modesty vaile  
 With three shatter'd planks, and the ragg of a faile ;  
 To exprefs how his navy was shatter'd and torn,  
 The day that he was both restored and born ?

## XIII.

Sure the King will ne'er think of repaying his bankers,  
 When loyalty now—all expires with his spankers ;  
 If the Indies and Smyrna do not him enrich,  
 He will hardly have left a poor ragg to his breech.

## XIV.

But Sir Robert affirms that we do him much wrong,  
 'Tis the 'Graver at work, to reform him—so long :  
 But alas! he will never arrive at his end,  
 For it is such a king as no chissell can mend.

## XV.

But with all his errours—restore us our King,  
 If ever you hope in December—for spring ;  
 For though all the world cannot shew such another,  
 Yet we'd better have him, than his bigotted brother.

*Mr. Cooke, in his edition of Mr. Marvell's poetick works, gives us to understand, that many pieces in the State Poems are attributed to our author, which he never wrote : In this particular Mr. Marvell's own hand bears testimony to the contrary ; and particularly to the following lampoon, which is more correct and perfect than it is given in that collection.*





## VI.

Does the treasurer think men so loyally tame,  
 When their pensions are stop'd, to be fool'd with a fight?  
 And 'tis forty to one, if he play the old game,  
 He'll reduce us e'er long to rehearse forty-eight.

## VII.

The Trojan horse, so, (not of brass but of wood)  
 Had within it an army that burnt down the town;  
 However, 'tis ominous, if understood,  
 For the old King on horseback is but an Half-crowne.

## VIII.

Yet, his brother-in-law's horse had gain'd such repute,  
 That the treasurer thought prudent to try it again;  
 And, instead of that Market of herbs and of fruit,  
 He will here keep a Shambles of Parliament Men.

## IX.

But why is the work then so long at a stand?  
 Such things you should never—or suddenly do:  
 As the Parliament twice was prorogued by your hand,  
 Would you venture so farr to prorogue the King too?

## X.

Let's have a King, sir, be he new, be he old,  
 Not Vyner delay'd us so, though he were broken;  
 Tho' the King be of copper, and Danby of gold,  
 Shall the treasurer of guineas refuse such a token?

## XI.

The housewifery treasurers sure is grown nice,  
 And so liberally treated the members at supper;  
 She thinks not convenient to go to the price,  
 And we've lost both our King—and our horse, and his crupper.

XII. Where

## XII.

Where so many parties there are to provide,  
 To buy a King is not so wise, as to sell ;  
 And however, she said, it could not be denied,  
 That a monarch of gingerbread might do as well.

## XIII.

But the treasurer told her, he thought she was mad,  
 And his parliament list too withall did produce ;  
 Where he shew'd her, that so many voters he had,  
 As would the next tax reimburse them with use.

## XIV.

So the statue will up after all this delay,  
 But to turn the face towards Whitehall you must shun ;  
 Though of brass—yet with grief it would melt him away,  
 To behold such a prodigal court and a son.

*The above piece is more correct than that given in the State Poems, which appears to be a mutilated copy ; and the following ballad on the City's presenting the King with a gold box, in the manuscript hath four more verses than are printed in Cooke's edition, viz. after verse the seventh, these lines follow.*

WHEN his masters too rash,  
 Him entrusted with cash,  
 He us'd as his own to spend on't ;  
 And among his wild crew,  
 The money he threw,  
 As if he should ne'er see the end on't.

*After*

*After verse the 16th.*

You durst not, I find,  
 Leave his freedom behind,  
 And in a box too you have sent it;  
 But if ever he gett  
 For himself up to sett,  
 The nation may live to repent it.

*Following verse the 20th.*

But all ye blind apes,  
 Led in Hell by the Papes,  
 Never hope now in England to swagger;  
 He'll find, who't unlocks,  
 I'th' bottom of box,  
 London bears both the Croffe \* and the Dagger.

*To these verses and the ballad in general, succeeds a Paraphrase of David's Hymn on Gratitude, which Mr. Addison in the 453<sup>d</sup> N<sup>o</sup> of the Spectator, gives with this Preface. "I have already communicated to the publick some pieces of divine poetry; and, as they have met with a very favourable reception, I shall from time to time publish any work of the same nature, which has not yet appeared in print." How these came to Mr. Addison's hands, I cannot explain; but by his words, they seem to be remitted by correspondents, and might perhaps come from the relations of Marvell.*



## I.

WHEN all thy mercies, O! my God,  
 My rising soul surveys;  
 Transported with the view, I'm lost  
 In wonder, love, and praise.

## II.

O how shall words with equall warmth,  
 The gratitude declare,  
 That glows within my ravish'd heart!  
 But thou can't read it there.

## III.

Thy Providence my life sustain'd,  
 And all my wants redress'd,  
 When in the silent womb I lay,  
 And hung upon the breast.

## IV.

To all my weak complaints and cries,  
 Thy mercy lent an ear,  
 Ere yet my feeble thoughts had learnt  
 To form themselves in pray'r.

## V.

Unnumber'd comforts to my soul,  
 Thy tender care bestow'd;  
 Before my tender heart conceiv'd  
 From \* *whence those* comforts flow'd.

## VI.

When in the slippery paths of youth,  
 With heedless steps I ran,  
 Thine arm unseen convey'd me safe,  
 And led me up to man.

VII. Through

\* Old copy, *whom these*.

## P R E F A C E.

## VII.

Through hidden dangers, toils, and deaths,  
 It gently clear'd my way ;  
 And through the pleasing snares of vice,  
 More to be fear'd than they.

## VIII.

When worn with sickness, oft' hast thou  
 With health renew'd my face ;  
 And when in sins and sorrow sunk,  
 Reviv'd my soul with grace.

## IX.

Thy bounteous hand with worldly blifs,  
 Has made my cup run o'er ;  
 And in a kind and faithful friend,  
 Has doubled all my store.

## X.

Ten thousand, thousand precious gifts,  
 My daily thanks employ ;  
 Nor is the last a chearful heart,  
 That tastes these gifts with joy.

## XI.

Through ev'ry period of my life,  
 Thy goodness I'll pursue ;  
 And after death, in distant worlds,  
 The glorious theme renew.

## XII.

When nature fails, and day and night  
 Divide thy works no more ;  
 My ever gratefull heart, O Lord,  
 Thy mercies shall adore.

## XIII.

Through all eternity, to thee  
 A joyfull song I'll raise;  
 For oh! Eternity's too short  
 To utter all thy praise.

*There is very little difference in the two copies, unless in the spelling, and a grammatical alteration or two, which Mr. Addison may have altered for the better.*

*The next is a translation of the 114<sup>th</sup> Psalm, which is given in the Spectator by Mr. Tickle, in N<sup>o</sup> 461, who apologizes as a correspondent, and compliments the Spectator upon his former hymns, and then says, he has a mind to try his hand; and, as the 114<sup>th</sup> Psalm appears to be an admirable ode, he will try to turn it into our language. Whether this is Mr. Tickle's or not, it is very extraordinary that he should take so much pains to hide his theft; for he humbly says in the conclusion, "If the following essay be not too incorrigible, bestow upon it a few brightnings from your genius, that I may learn how to write better, or to write no more." It is very particular, when this gentleman knew he was sending a fine hymn, and not his own, that his modesty should be so powerful over him, to apologize for that which wanted no apology. There are some alterations which are printed in another letter, to distinguish the original from the copy in the Spectator, as follow.*

## I.

WHEN Israel freed from Pharoah's hand,  
Left the proud tyrant and his land,  
The tribes with chearful homage own  
Their King, and Judah was his throne.

## II.

Across the deep their journey lay,  
The deep divides to make *their* way, (*them, in the Spec.*)  
The streams of Jordan saw and fled,  
With backward current, to their head.

## III.

The mountains shook like frightened sheep,  
Like lambs the little hillocks leap;  
Not Sinai on her base could stand,  
Conscious of sovereign power at hand.

## IV.

What power cou'd make the deep divide,  
Make Jordan backward roll his tide?  
Why did ye leap, ye little hills?  
And whence the fright that Sinai fills?

## V.

Let ev'ry mountain, ev'ry flood  
Retire, and know th' approaching God;  
The King of Israel, see him *there!* (*here.*)  
Tremble thou earth—adore and fear.

## VI.

He thunders, and all nature mourns,  
The rocks to standing *pool* he turns; (*pools.*)  
Flints spring with fountains at his word,  
And fires, and seas confess their Lord.



*Mr. Addison again in the 465<sup>th</sup> Spectator does our author the honour of inserting the following ode, without the least intimation of its being his own. I wish Mr. Tickle had been as modest, as he cannot afford to even lose borrowed reputation. Mr. Addison, speaking of the beautifull strokes of poetry in the Psalms, says, “ as such a bold and sublime manner of “ thinking furnishes very noble matter for an ode, the reader “ may see it wrought into the following one.”*

## I.

THE spacious firmament on high,  
 With all the blue ethereal skye,  
 And spangled heavens, a shining frame,  
 This great original proclaim.  
 The unwearied sun from day to day,  
 Does his Creator's power display ;  
 And publishes to ev'ry land  
 The work of an Almighty hand.

## II.

Soon as the ev'ning shades prevail,  
 The moon pursues the wond'rous tale ;  
 And nightly to the list'ning earth,  
 Repeats the story of her birth.  
 Whilst all the stars that round her burn,  
 And all the planets in their turn,  
 Confirm the tidings as they roll,  
 And spread the truth from pole to pole.

## III.

What though in solemn silence all  
 Move round the dark terrestrial ball?  
 What though nor real voice or sound,  
 Amid their radiant orbs be found?  
 In reason's ear they all rejoice,  
 And utter forth a glorious voice;  
 For ever singing as they shine,  
 "The hand that made us is divine."

*The next composition I find, is that celebrated elegiack ballad of William and Margaret, which ever has been universally admired, and claimed and printed by Mr. Mallet in his poems. This manuscript book proves it the composition of Marvell, written by him in 1670. I am sorry this truth did not appear sooner, that the Scots bard might have tried to defend himself; but now the jackdaw must be stripped of his stolen plumage, and the fine feathers must be restored to the real peacock.*

## WILLIAM AND MARGARETT.

## A S O N G.

## I.

'T WAS at the silent midnight hour,  
 When all was fast asleep,  
 In glided Margarett's grimly ghost,  
 And stood at William's feet.

## II. Her

## II.

Her face was like an Aprill morn,  
 And in a \* *winter's* cloud,  
 And clay-cold was her lilly hand,  
 That held her fable shroud.

## III.

So shall the fairest face appear,  
 When youth and years are flown ;  
 Such is the robe that kings must wear,  
 When death has rest their crown.

## IV.

Her bloome was like the springing flower,  
 That sips the silver dew ;  
 The rose was budded in her cheek,  
 Just opening to the view.

## V.

But love had, like the canker-worm,  
 Consum'd her early prime ;  
 The rose grew pale and left her cheek,  
 She died before her time.

## VI.

“ Awake, she cry'd, thy true love calls,  
 “ Come from her midnight grave !  
 “ Now let thy pitty hear the maid  
 “ Thy love refus'd to save.

## VII.

“ This is the dumb and dreary hour  
 “ When injur'd ghosts complain ;  
 “ Now yawning graves give up their dead,  
 “ To haunt the faithless man.

VIII. “ Bethink

\* New copy, *wintry*.

## P R E F A C E.

## VIII.

“ Bethink thee, William, of thy fault,  
 “ Thy pledge and broken oath ;  
 “ And give me back my maiden vow,  
 “ And give me back my troth.

## IX.

“ Why did you promise love to me,  
 “ And not that promise keep ;  
 “ Why did you swear my eyes were bright,  
 “ Yet leave \* *these* eyes to weep ?

## X.

“ How could you say my face was fair,  
 “ And yett that face forsake ?  
 “ How could you win that virgin heart,  
 “ Yet leave that heart to break ?

## XI.

“ Why did you say my lip was sweet,  
 “ And made the scarlett pale ;  
 “ And why did I, young witlefs maid,  
 “ Believe the flattering tale ?

## XII.

“ That face, alas ! no more is fair,  
 “ These lips no longer red ;  
 “ Dark are my eyes, now clos'd in death,  
 “ And ev'ry charm is fled.

## XIII.

“ The hungry worm my sifter is,  
 “ This winding-sheet I wear ;  
 “ And cold and weary lasts our night,  
 “ 'Till that last morn appear.

XIV. “ But

\* New copy, *these*.



## XIV.

“ But hark ! the cock has warn’d me hence,  
 “ A long and last adieu :  
 “ Come see, fond man, how low she lies,  
 “ That dy’d for love of you.”

## XV.

The lark sung loud, the morning smil’d,  
 And rais’d her glistering head ;  
 Pale William quak’d in ev’ry limb,  
 And raving left his bed.

## XVI.

He hy’d him to the fatal place,  
 Where Margaret’s body lay ;  
 And stretch’d him on the green grafs turf,  
 That wrapt her breathless clay.

## XVII.

And thrice he call’d on Margaret’s name,  
 And thrice he wept full sore ;  
 Then laid his cheek to the cold grave,  
 And word spake never more.

*The alterations which Mr. Mallet hath made in this ballad, only serve to further confirm his plagiarism. In the first verse he has made this attempt at amendment. Instead of silent midnight hour, he has put it silent solemn hour : and for*

“ When all were fast asleep,”  
*When night and morning meet.*

*There are some other trivial alterations, and not for the worse, till verse the 15th, which Marvell writes thus :*

“ The lark sung loud, the morning smil’d,  
“ And rear’d her glistering head.”

*Which Mallet changes for*

With beams of rosy red.

*This, as a natural and poetical description of morning; is very inferior to glistering. For the dew which hangs on every tree and plant, glisters at the rising sun. I therefore pronounce Mallet’s smiling morn with beams of rosy red, to be very inferior to the dignity of the smiling morn, raising her glistering head.*

*I do not think this a matter of opinion, but a very obvious falling off; and proves the fame of Mr. Mallet to be like that of Allen Ramsay, borrowed from the works of much wiser men.*

*The next sonnet is, The Despairing Shepherd, whom our author calls Myrtillo, but all the printed copies Marcellus: of this composition he only gives us three verses; the other copies extend it to twelve. It seems to be a counterpart to the foregoing elegy, and some less able hand hath introduced a despairing shepherdess, by the name of Arminda, who also dies for grief, on the reflection that her disdain murdered the man*

*that loved her to madness and despair. But of this Mr. Marvell only gives the subsequent verses as his own: the author of the rest is not worth enquiring after.*

## I.

ONE night, when all the village slept,  
 Myrtillo's sad despair  
 The wand'ring shepherd waking kept,  
 To tell the woods his care.  
 Begone, said he, fond thought, be gone,  
 Eyes give your sorrows o'er;  
 Why should you waste your tears on one  
 That thinks of you no more?

## II.

Yet all the birds, the flocks, the powers,  
 That dwell within this grove,  
 Can tell how many tender hours  
 We here have pass'd in love.  
 The stars above (my cruel foes)  
 Have heard how she has sworn  
 A thousand times, that like to those,  
 Her flame should ever burn.

## III.

But since she's lost, Oh! let me have  
 My wish, and quickly die;  
 In this cold bank I'll make a grave,  
 And there for ever lie.  
 Sad nightingales the watch shall keep,  
 And kindly there complain;  
 Then down the shepherd lay to sleep,  
 And never wak'd again.

*Dr. Newton, in his quarto edition of Milton, page 29, intimates, that the Latin verses, celebrated for their elegance and purity, and addressed in the name of Oliver Cromwell to Christina, Queen of Sweden, were made by Milton, rather than Andrew Marvell. I do not know what reason Dr. Newton hath to advance this, or to attempt to depreciate the scholarship of Marvell by this compliment to Milton: it is merely a matter of supposition, and a cold intimation that Marvell's Latin is not equal to Milton's. This is certainly Dr. \* Newton's insinuation, which I cannot admit of, as there is nothing in those verses which Mr. Marvell was not equal to.*

*The following is a jeu d'esprit of Marvell's, and written in 1678.*

THE PARLIAMENT-HOUSE TO LETT.

I.

HERE's a house to be lett,  
 For Charles B—d swore  
 On Portsmouth's bare —,  
 He would shut up the door.

II.

Inquire at the lodgings  
 Next door to the Pope,  
 At Duke Lauderdale's Head,  
 With a cravat of rope.

III. And

\* In a MS. which I have by me, written by W. Popple, Marvell's nephew, who collected his works after his death, these verses are therein given as his uncle's: but they have no resemblance to Milton's Latin.



## III.

And there you will hear  
 How next he will lett it;  
 If you pay the old price,  
 You will certainly get it.

## IV.

He holds it in tail  
 From his father, who fast  
 Did keep it long shut,  
 But paid for't at last.

*There are many other compositions in the State Poems, which bear the marks of Mr. Marvell's hand, but as they are not authenticated to be such, I must plead to relinquish the insertion of them. In that collection, the Duke of Bedford, in a State Litany, from court principles seems desirous of satirizing this good man in the following stanza.*

“ From changing old friends for rascally new ones,  
 “ From taking of Wildman \* and Marvell for true ones ;  
 “ From wearing green ribbans 'gainst him gave us blue ones :  
 “ *Libera nos Domine.*”

*But as the above arises from party petulance, it can have no weight with the world, any further than a disgrace to his Grace of Bedford.*

\* A political writer against the court.

*The last piece of humour which was put into my hands of our author, is so truly characteristical of the Welch, and so excellent in its kind, that I shall make no sort of apology for its insertion. It was printed in the London Gazetteer, Nov. 28, 1760, with this head piece.*

To the P R I N T E R.

S I R,

“ THE following humourous *Welch Petition*, formerly  
 “ written by the celebrated Andrew Marvell, may now be  
 “ entertaining to your readers, especially as a union between  
 “ Great Britain and Ireland is become the common topic of  
 “ conversation.”

L.

S H E W E T H,

“ THAT her country of Wales peing antient nurserie  
 “ for Pritish plood, ascending from antike families; and  
 “ having to her creat tiscrace sufferet many intignities from  
 “ her cunning enemies, and hasing on tue confiterations,  
 “ many times pennet and publisht her criefs, tokether with  
 “ her protestations, in hopes to have cood answers and satisf-  
 “ factions to the same from her cood cosens the Parliament  
 “ at Lonton; and contrary (look you) to her expectations,  
 “ have cot nothing put contumelies and tivisions; where-  
 “ fore her plood peing hot, and her head full of politick  
 “ pusinesses, her is propofet, in the name and appellations  
 “ of

“ of all her shires, to tiffemble and call a creat company of  
 “ her politick shentlemen of Wales, to pe ketheret in fes-  
 “ sions like a parliament, who shall lay apout them in inti-  
 “ catures, and sentences, and refenches, and pring to  
 “ punishments her creat malefactors and tesenters.

“ And whereas her countries pay creat store of rents for  
 “ peggarly cottaches to her creat lantorts and politick shen-  
 “ tlemen, pefide shillings and pences to pishops and shudges,  
 “ her will have publick laws contrivet in good fashions,  
 “ that neither her shudges or politick shentlemens carry  
 “ away her shillings, or run up to Lonton to be mate scoffs  
 “ and mockeries, and pe sent pack peccarly fashions to her  
 “ own countrie, without pennies in her pocket, or prains  
 “ in her pate, and this her purpose shall be first agreed by  
 “ her Pritish purgeffes.

“ This resolfe shall pe had to consultations py her Pritish  
 “ purgeffes, and moreofer part of her countries and Pritish  
 “ ocean peing in fights and prospect of Irelant, ant her  
 “ sometimes fear, that py creat storms and troubled oceans  
 “ and pigg floods, Irelant may be plown to her, or her to  
 “ Irelant, and the wild Irish come in creat crowds on foot  
 “ (look you) instead of ships, and tread down her leeks,  
 “ and eat up her sheefe, to the utter construction of her  
 “ coots and families: it is in all humilities fow and  
 “ protest to the politick wisdom of Pritish purgeffes, and

“ sworn ofer py St. Taffy aken and aken, that her will  
 “ nefer acree, consent, or in her confiterations and com-  
 “ plyances, pe resolvet, that Irelant be plown ofer to Wales,  
 “ and though her lose her Irish cosen, yet, py St. Taffy,  
 “ her lose herself a little petter, and her pray her Pritish  
 “ purgeffes to make orders in good fashion, that no lort-  
 “ teputy of Irelant pass or repass through her oceans, or  
 “ countries of Wales, till her first make resolutions and pro-  
 “ testations pefore her politick purgeffes, that her will not  
 “ consent that Irelant come ofer to Wales, either py sea or  
 “ py lant, to the utter construction of her Welsh shentle-  
 “ men, as well as Irish KEARN, who will pe worse sagabond  
 “ here than at home.

“ Ant all those petitions and resolutions shall pe record  
 “ in her Pritish parliament to pe called in creat haste and  
 “ expetitions.”

*The following papers come from the library at Lambeth,  
 and are not less curious than singular and entertaining. I  
 should have wove them into the body of the work in a more  
 digested manner, had they come more early to my hands.*



*Copy of a Letter of ANDREW MARVELL, Esq. the Original whereof is preserved in the MSS. Library at Lambeth, in Bishop GIBSON'S Papers, Vol. V. N<sup>o</sup>. 88.*

DEARE WILL \*.

“ I reckon by this time my *quatre feuille* letter is  
 “ arrived to you, and that the bookes will speedily over-  
 “ take it. *Cave omnino ne vel minimum offendam vel abbatem*  
 “ *vel uxorem tuam plurimi enim facio utriusq; erga me*  
 “ *affectum et meam apud illos existimationem, liber autem*  
 “ *iste non est perfectus in suo genere sed strictim et desultorie*  
 “ *agit: sed neq; est mutilus: apices rerum tangit. Si autem*  
 “ *perfectus aliquid desideras oporteret ipsum Cornelium Agrip-*  
 “ *pam de vanitate scientiarum consulere et præcipue Picum*  
 “ *Mirandulanum contra astrologos qui tamen mortuus est anno*  
 “ *ab illis præfinito. I do not perceive the foole hath any*  
 “ harme, nor that although they talk of it, they will or can  
 “ answer him according to his follye, I send you these  
 “ coplees.”

\* William Popple, Esq. his nephew, by his sister Catherine, wife of Edmund Popple,

*Extract of a Letter from HERBERT CROFTS, Bishop of Hereford, to ANDREW MARVELL, dated in the Year 1676.*

SIR,

“ I choose to run some hazard of this (having noe  
 “ certaine information) rather than incurre your hateful  
 “ censure of ingratitude to the person whoe hath fet forth  
 “ Mr. Smierk in so trim and proper a dresse, unto whose  
 “ hands I hope this will happily arrive to render him due  
 “ thanks for the humane civility and Christian charity  
 “ shewed to the author of *Naked Truth*, so bespotted with  
 “ the dirty language of foule mouthed beasts, whoe though  
 “ he feared much his owne weaknesse, yet by God’s unde-  
 “ served grace is so strengthened as not at all to be dejected  
 “ or much concerned with such snarling currs, though sett  
 “ on by many spightfull hands and hearts of a high stamp,  
 “ but as base alloy. I cannot yet get a sight of what the  
 “ Bishop of Ely hath certainly printed, but keeps very close,  
 “ to put forth, I suppose, the next approaching session of  
 “ parliament, when there cannot be time to make a reply ;  
 “ for I have justt cause to feare the session will be short. Sir,  
 “ this assures you that you have the zealous prayers and  
 “ hearty service (*in voto*, and would gladly be *in actu*) of,  
 “ Sir, the author of *Naked Truth*, your humble servant  
 “ [noe, I am wrong, ’tis your faithfull servant.]

*Thus*

*Thus answered.*

MY LORD,

“ UPON Tuesday night last I received your thanks  
 “ for that which could not deserve your pardon, for great is  
 “ your goodnesse to professe a gratitude where you had a  
 “ justifiable reason for your clemency; for notwithstanding  
 “ the ill treatment you have received from others, ’tis I that  
 “ have given you the highest provocation. A good cause  
 “ receives more injury from a weake defence than from a  
 “ frivolous accusation; and the ill that does a man noe  
 “ harme is to be preferred before the good that creates  
 “ him a prejudice: but your Lordship’s generosity is not,  
 “ I see, to be reformed by the most exquisite patterns of ill-  
 “ nature; and while perverse men have made a crime of  
 “ your virtue, yet ’tis your pleasure to convert the obliga-  
 “ tion I have placed upon you into a civility.

“ Indeed I meant all very well, but ’tis not every one’s  
 “ good fortune to light into those hands where he may  
 “ escape; for a man of good intentions, lesse than this I  
 “ could not say in due and humble acknowledgement, and  
 “ your favourable interpretation of mee: for the rest, I most  
 “ heartily rejoyce to understand that the same God whoe hath  
 “ chosen you out to beare soe eminent a testimony to his  
 “ truth, hath given you alsoe that Christian magnanimity to

“ hold up without any depression of spirit against its and  
 “ your opposers: what they intend further, I know not,  
 “ neither am I curious, my soul shall not enter into their  
 “ secrets; but as long as God shall lend you life and health,  
 “ I reckon our church is indefectible; may he therefore  
 “ long preserve you to his honour and further service, which  
 “ shall be the constant prayer of,

“ My Lord,

“ Your Lordship’s most humble,

“ and most faithful servant,

London, July 15, 1676.

“ ANDREW MARVELL.”

“ *Ignoscas Gulielme curiositati meæ sed non opus est ut satisfacias tametsi si faceres secretum apud me inviolabile maneret cuperem scire quantum effeceris pecuniæ et in solido collocaveris ut spes aliqua mihi etiam senescenti effulgeret te coram aliquando videndi. Fruendi ante quam in pulverem nativum dissipar, imminuar, revertar, at saltem vano hoc prospere. Liceat summo meo ergo affectus adulari.*

“ AFTER so many fires in the country, at York, at  
 “ London, last Saturday night there was another here in  
 “ Warwick-Lane; some persons burnt and houses. Mr.  
 “ Kinks will not petition the King, might soe come out,  
 “ but keeps his prison as his fort, and molests all judicatures  
 “ with



“ with requiring *Habeas Corpus* and offering baile, yet in  
 “ vaine, and perhaps he may be prisoner till Michaelmas  
 “ terme: noe matter, *he is a single brave fellow.* Dr.  
 “ Stubbs, physician, atheift, found dead, I mean drowned,  
 “ between Bath and Bristol, twenty-three guinnies and three  
 “ broad pieces found in his pocket, suppost drunk: *Es*  
 “ *magne Deus.* July 17, 1676.”

“ Dear Mr. ROBERT THOMPSON,

July 17.

*(The backside of this letter thus written)* “ Deliver to  
 “ my nephew, your master, you not reading it, &c.

“ From your affectionate friend,

“ ANDREW MARVELL.”

*The superscription was, for Mr. Robert Thompson, at Mr. William Pople's, merchant, in Bourdeaux.*

*N. B. On the back of the letter (in a different hand) A. Marvell, and the superscription in four lines, is entirely scratched out and illegible.*

June 24, 1761. “ This is a true copy taken by me,

“ AND. COLTEE DUCARELL, LL. D.

“ Lambeth Librarian.”



*An original Letter from ANDREW MARVELL, to  
OLIVER CROMWELL, on the Education of his  
Nephew, Mr. DUTTON.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCE,

“ IT might perhaps seem fit for me to seek out words  
“ to give your Excellence thanks for myself. But indeed  
“ the only civility which it is proper for me to practise with  
“ so eminent a person, is to obey you, and to performe  
“ honestly the worke that you have set me about. There-  
“ fore I shall use the time that your Lordship is pleas'd to  
“ allow me for writing, onely to that purpose for which  
“ you have given me it; that is, to render you an account  
“ of Mr. Dutton. I have taken care to examine him sever-  
“ ral times in the presence of Mr. Oxenbridge \*, as those  
“ who weigh and tell over money before some witnessse ere  
“ they take charge of it; for I thought that there might  
“ be possibly some lightnesse in the coyn, or errour in the  
“ telling, which hereafter I should be bound to make good.  
“ Therefore Mr. Oxenbridge is the best to make your Excel-  
“ lency an impartial relation thereof; I shall onely say, that  
“ I shall strive according to my best understanding (that is,  
“ according

\* Mr. John Oxenbridge, who was made Fellow of Eton College during the time of the Civil War, but was ejected at the Reformation. He died in Boston in New-England, A. D. 1674.

“ according to those rules your Lordship hath given me) to  
“ encrease whatsoever talent he may have already. Truly  
“ he is of a gentle and waxen disposition; and, God be  
“ prais’d, I cannot say that he hath brought with him any  
“ evil impression; and I shall hope to set nothing upon his  
“ spirit but what may be of a good sculpture. He hath in  
“ him two things which make youth most easy to be ma-  
“ nag’d; modesty, which is the bridle to vice, and emu-  
“ lation, which is the spurr to virtue. And the care which  
“ your Excellence is pleased to take of him, is no small  
“ encouragement, and shall be so represented to him; but  
“ above all, I shall labour to make him sensible of his duty  
“ to God: for then we begin to serve faithfully, when we  
“ consider he is our master. And in this both he and I ow  
“ infinitely to your Lordship for having placed us in so godly  
“ a family as that of Mr. Oxenbridge, whose doctrine and  
“ example are like a book and a map, not only instructing  
“ the eare, but demonstrating to the ey which way we  
“ ought to travell. And Mrs. Oxenbridge \* hath a great  
“ tenderneffe over him also in all other things. She has  
“ look’d so well to him, that he hath already much mended  
“ his complexion; and now she is ordring his chamber,  
“ that he may delight to be in it as often as his studys re-  
“ quire.

\* Mrs. Oxenbridge; her maiden name was Jane Butler. Mr. Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 536, tells us, that she used to preach amongst the women. She died April 22, 1655, and was interred in Eton College Chapel.

“ quire. For the rest, most of this time hitherto hath been  
 “ spent in acquainting ourselves with him ; and truly he is  
 “ very chearfull, and I hope thinks us to be good company.  
 “ I shall upon occasion henceforward informe your Excel-  
 “ lence of any particularities in our little affairs ; for so I  
 “ esteem it to be my duty. I have no more at present, but  
 “ to give thanks to God for your Lordship, and to beg  
 “ grace of him that I may approve myself,

“ YOUR EXCELLENCY’S

“ Most humble and faithfull Servant,

“ ANDREW MARVELL.”

*I had been very happy if all Mr. Marvell’s works had fallen readily into my hands ; but though I was some years in collecting them, yet when the three volumes were finished in the press, I was politely complimented by Mr. Mathias with a manuscript volume of poems written by Mr. William Popple \*, being a collection of his uncle Andrew Marvell’s compositions after his decease. In this volume I found the following excellent poems, which were never before published (the Chequer-Inn excepted, and that was never given to Mr. Marvell.) By this manuscript I also find, that those two excellent satires,*  
 “ entitled,

\* Mr. William Popple was the person with whom Mr. Marvell corresponded ; he was educated under his direction, and was the son of his sister, by Edmund Popple, from whom the present Mrs. Mathias is lineally descended.

*entitled, A Direction to a Painter concerning the Dutch War in 1667, and published in the State Poems, Vol. I. p. 24. as Sir John Denham's, are both of them compositions of Mr. Marvell; but as the work is already so largely swelled out, I shall beg leave to omit them in this preface, and give such originals as follow of this excellent poet.*

## E P I G R A M M E

## UPON BLUDD'S ATTEMPT TO STEALE THE CROWN.

Translated from English Verses on the same.

BLUDIUS ut ruris damnum repararet aviti  
 Addicit fisco dum diadema suo :  
 Egregium sacro facinus velavit amictu :  
 (Larva solet reges fallere nulla magis)  
 Excidit ast ausis tactus pietate profanâ :  
 Custodem ut servet maluit ipse capi.  
 Si modo sævitiam texisset pontificalem  
 Veste sacerdotis : rapta corona foret.

## UPON THE CUTTING SIR JOHN COVENTRY'S \* NOSE.

I SING a woefull ditty,  
 Of a wound that long will smart-a;  
 And given (more is the pity)  
 In the realme of *Magna Charta*;  
 Youth, youth, thou had'st better been slaine by thy foes,  
 Than live to be hang'd for cutting a Nose.

Our

\* Published in the State Poems, under the title of *The Hdy-market Hectors*: but the copies are very different, and therefore I have given that from Marvell's writing.



Our great King Charles the Second,  
 So flippant of treasure and moisture,  
 Stoopt from his Queen insecond,  
 To a wench of orange and oyster ;  
 And for sweet variety, thought it expedient  
 To ingender Don Johns on Nel the comedian.

The lecherous vain-glory  
 Of being loin'd by a Majesty,  
 Mounted up to such a story  
 This bitchinton travesty,  
 That to equal her lover, this baggage must dar  
 To be Helen the second, the cause of a war.

And he our amorous Jove,  
 While she lay dry b—— under,  
 To repair the defects of his love,  
 Did lend her his lightning and thunder ;  
 And for one night prostitutes to her commands  
 His Monmouth, his life-guard, Obrian, and Sands.

And now the romance of the French,  
 And now the need of a navy,  
 Was dwindled all to a wench,  
 And *amo, amas, amavi.*

Nay, farewell the subsidys, so she may cloven-try  
 In a female revenge the nostrils of Coventry.

O ye Hay-market hectors,  
 How were you thus charmed,  
 To turne the base dissectors  
 Of one poor nose unarmed ?  
 Unfitt to wear sword, or follow the trumpet,  
 That would brandish a knife at the word of a strumpet.



But was it not ingrateful  
 In Monmouth and in Carlo,  
 To contrive a thing so hateful,  
 The sons of Mary and Barlo;  
 And since the kind world dispens't with their mothers,  
 Might they not well have spared the noses of others?  
 Beware now, ye parliamenteers,  
 How each of his tongue disposes;  
 Bab May in the Commons, Charles Rex in the Peers,  
 Sit telling your fates by your noses;  
 And predestine at mention of every flutt,  
 Which nose shall continue, and which shall be cutt.  
 But if the sister of Rose  
 Be an whore so anointed,  
 That thus the Parliament's nose  
 Must for her be disjointed;  
 When you once come to name the prerogative whore,  
 How the bullets will whistle, and cannons will roare.

## THE CHECKER INN\*.

A Supper given by the Treasurer to the Parliament-Men, 1675.

PLE tell thee, Dick, where I have been,  
 Where I the Parliament have seen,  
 (The choice of ale and beere)  
 But such a choice as ne'er was found  
 At any time on English ground,  
 In burrow or in sheere.

\* This poem in the State Poems is not given as Marvell's. It is a parody on a more celebrated one written by Sir John Suckling, entitled, *A Ballad on a Wedding-Day*.

At Charing-Crosse, there by the way  
 Where all the Berties make their hay,  
     There stands a house \* new painted ;  
 Where I could see them crouding in,  
 But sure they often there have been,  
     They seem'd so well acquainted.

The host that dwells in that same house,  
 Is now a man, but was a mouse,  
     Till he was Burgesse chosen ;  
 And for his country first began,  
 But quickly turned cat-in-pan,  
     (The way they all have rosen.)

And ever since he did so wex,  
 That now he money tells by pecks,  
     And hoards up all our treasure ;  
 Thou'lt ken him out by a white wand  
 He dandles always in his hand,  
     With which he strikes the measure.

But though he now do look so big,  
 And bear himself on such a twig,  
     'Twill faile him in a yeare ;  
 And oh ! how I could claw him off,  
 For all that slender quarter-staffe,  
     And have him here and there !

He is as stiffe as any stake,  
 And leaner, Dick, than any rake,  
     Envy is not so pale ;  
 And though by felling of us all,  
 He wrought himself into Whitehall,  
     Looks like a bird of gaole.

And

\* The house is in Cockspur-street, now divided into six tenements : Oliphant the hatter now resides in the centre part of it, 1776.

And there he might e're now have laid,  
Had not the members most been made,  
    For some had him indited ;  
But even they that 'peach him durst,  
To clear him would have been the first,  
    Had they too been requited.

But he had men enough to spare,  
Beside a good friend in the chaire,  
    Though all men blush'd that heard it ;  
And, for I needs must tell my mind,  
They all deserv'd to have been fin'd  
    For such a shamefull vardit.

And now they marched tag and rag,  
Each of his handy-work to bragg,  
    Over a gallant supper ;  
On backside of their letters, some,  
For surenesse, summon'd were to come,  
    The rest were bid by Cooper.

They stood, when enter'd in the hall,  
Mannerly rear'd against the wall,  
    Till to sit down desir'd ;  
And simper'd, justly to compare,  
Like maidens at our statute faire,  
    (None went away unhir'd).

The lady, drest like any bride,  
Her forehead-cloth had laid aside,  
    And smiling, through did faile ;  
Though they had dirty'd foe her roome,  
That she was faine to call her groome  
    To carry up her taile.

Wheeler at board then next her fet,  
 And if it had been nearer yet,  
     She might it well afford ;  
 For ev'n at bed, the time had been  
 When no man could see sky between  
     His lady and her lord.

The knight was sent to 'Merica,  
 And was as soon sent for away,  
     But not for his good deeds ;  
 And since the foyle whither he went,  
 Would not bear his wild government ;  
     Here now he plants the seeds.

Anext him sat George Montague,  
 The foreman of the British crue,  
     (His cup he never failes ;)  
 Mansell and Morgan, and the rest,  
 All of them of the grand inquest,  
     (A jury right of Wales.)

The western glory, Harry Ford,  
 His landlord Bales out-eat, out-roar'd,  
     And did the trenchers lick ;  
 What pity 'tis a wit so great,  
 Should live to sell himself for meat ?  
     But who can help it, Dick ?

Yet, wot'st thou, he was none of those,  
 But would as well as meat have cloathes,  
     Before he'd sell the nation ;  
 And wisely lodging at next door,  
 Was oftner served than the poor,  
     With his whole generation.

Sir Courtney Poole and he contend  
 Which should the other most commend,  
     For what that day they spoke ;  
 The man that gave that woefull tax,  
 And sweeping all our chimney stacks,  
     Excis'd us for our smoak.

Wild with his tongue did all outrunne,  
 And popping like an elder gun,  
     Both words and meat did utter ;  
 The pellets that his chops did dart,  
 Fed all his neighbours overthwart,  
     That gap'd to hear him sputter.

But King, God save him, he so cramm'd  
 The cheare into his breeches ramm'd,  
     That buttry were, and larder ;  
 And provender to thus dispose,  
 Had sow'd on too his double hose,  
     For times, thou know'st, grow harder.

Holt, out of linnen, as of land,  
 Had mortgag'd of his two, one band,  
     To have the other wash'd ;  
 And though his sweat, the while he ate,  
 With his own gravey fill'd his plate,  
     That band with sauce too splash'd.

His brain and face Tredenham wrung,  
 For words not to be said, but sung,  
     His neck, it turn'd on wire ;  
 And Birkenham, of all that rout,  
 There was but one could be chose out,  
     Who was a greater lyar.



Old Hobbe's brother, Cheyney, there,  
 Throgmorton, Neville, Dolman were,  
     And Lawly, knight of Shropshire;  
 Nay, Portman, tho' all men cry'd shame,  
 And Chomley of Vale-royal came  
     For something more than chop-cheare.

[*A rabble of other names omitted, and then follows*]

The Hammers, Herberts, Sands, Musgraves,  
 Fathers and sonnes, like coupled slaves,  
     They were not to be sunder'd;  
 The tale of all that there did sup,  
 On checquer tally was scor'd up,  
     And made above a hundred.

Our greatest barne would not have held  
 The belly timber that they fell'd,  
     But messè was rick'd on messè;  
 'Twas such a feast, that I'm afraid  
 The reck'ning never will be paid,  
     Without another fesse.

They talk'd about, and made such din,  
 That scarce the lady could edge in  
     The Papists and the Frenches;  
 On them she was allow'd to raile,  
 But, and thereby does hang a tale,  
     Not one word of the wench.

The host, plac'd at the lower end,  
 The healths in order up did send,

Nor of his own tooke care;  
But down his physick bottle threw,  
And tooke his wine when it was due,  
In spite of 'pothecare.

They drank, I knew not who had most,  
'Till King both hostesse kifs'd, and host,  
Then clapt him on the back;  
And prithee, why so pale? then swore  
Should they indite him o'er and o'er,  
He'd bring him off—y-fack.

They all said ay—who had said no,  
And those who could—'twas time to go,  
For grace they would not stay;  
And for to save the serving-men  
The pains of coming in againe,  
The guests took all away.

Candlesticks, forks, salts, plates, spoons, knives,  
(Like sweetmeats for their girls and wives,)  
Nay, table-linnen went;  
I saw no more, but hither ran,  
Lest some should take me for the man,  
And I for them be shent.

## SCÆVOLA SCOTO-BRITANNUS.

SHARPIUS exercet dum sævas perfidus iras,  
 Et proprii pastor fit lupus ipse gregis;  
 Lenta videbatur cæli vindicta Michello,  
 Et fas in talem credidit omne nefas.  
 Peccat in infanti sed præfule missile plumbum,  
 (Infans si præful quilibet esse potest).  
 Culpa par, at dispar sequitur fortuna Jacobos :  
 Ocrea torquet idem, mitra beatèque scelus.  
 Quantâ aut percussor crimen virtute piavit !  
 Judicibusque ipsis quam reverendus erat !  
 Quid de se fieret melius prætore docebat :  
 Non pœnas illum sed dare jura putes.  
 Carnificem tremulum jubet abstinuisse sinistra ;  
 Errorem dextræ dextera fura luat.  
 Nec mora, feralem tortore aptante cothurnum  
 Tanquam futuri commodat usque pedem :  
 Intima contuso et dum ringitur ossè medulla,  
 Calceus urit ubi cernere nemo queat.  
 Ut vacat ! ut proprii sedet ad spectacula cruris  
 Immotus populo commiserante reus !  
 Non vultu aut ullâ confessus voce dolorem,  
 Sub cuneo quanquam tibia pressâ gemit.  
 Inter lictoris nisus feriatur anhelis :  
 Nec vult supplicii conscius esse sui.  
 Lassus at interea patitur tormenta minister.  
 (Qui sentit solus dicitur ille pati)  
 Scævola si Thuscum potuit terrere tyrannum,  
 Fortius hoc specimen Scotia nostra dedit.  
 Numina cum temnas, homines ne spernito, Sharpi,  
 Hic è tercentum Mutius unus erat.

## THE DOCTOR TURN'D JUSTICE.

**L**EWELLIN, though physician to the King,  
 Found he was grown a drug both fall and spring ;  
 Nor on one fee through the whole year could seize,  
 (Not in an epidemical disease.)  
 No doubtfull maid did at his chamber call,  
 So much as to consult her urinal ;  
 No lord to treat a clap, would him indure,  
 Nor lady an abortion to procure ;  
 And in whole court the most obsequious breech,  
 From his unskilfull hand disdain'd a leech.  
 He knew not how a poyson to instill :  
 (What doctor e're could neither cure nor kill?)  
 Languishing thus to live, and almost spent,  
 Impatient he, because I am——patient ;  
 What shall he do? Shall he himself disgrace,  
 To paste pox-bills at ev'ry pissing-place ?  
 Or in this dignity, and at this age,  
 Draw vicious teeth, and drink toads on the stage ?  
 Ingenious hunger rather dos suggest  
 To turne a country justice were his best ;  
 With clerk and 'poticary to divide,  
 (Gizard on one, liver on t'other side :)  
 While bribes and fees the people pay in awe,  
 (In dread both of his phisick and his law :)  
 Although Hippocrates ne're sent to gaole,  
 Nor Galen, ever that we read, took baile.  
 This he resolves : and under Brigeman's wax,  
 To Wickham in his climaterick packs ;

Where, that he also might their may'r be chose,  
 The short remainder of his pence he sows.  
 And now, instead of clyster-pipe and stoole,  
 The sword and mace usher the formall foole.  
 To gain and pow'r thus far his way was plain,<sup>1</sup>  
 (Unbridled pow'r, uninterrupted gain.)  
 When, see the spight, a quaker spoiles his aime :  
 (So agues still are the phisician's shame.)  
 Rants from a cobbler, grown a doctor there,  
 As from a doctor Lewellin, a mayor ;  
 It seem'd that fate had sent him to undoe  
 The magistrate, and the physician too.  
 But soon our Wickham armourer transplants  
 To gaole at Alsbury his rivall rants ;  
 Two birds he hopes to hit thus with one sling,  
 The quaker first, and by him doctor King ;  
 And yet what justice ever could before  
 Remove a nuisance to his neighbors doore ?  
 Fanaticks thus the bishops mark are made,  
 Not out of zeale, but as they spoile their trade.  
 Henceforth, ye sons of Esculapius high,  
 Lay your Sennectus and Riverius by :  
 If you would thrive, then learn to practise thus,  
 No Recipe is like a Mittimus.—

*I have now most carefully rendered to the publick every  
 valuable paper written by this illustrious patriot, and with as  
 much accuracy as possible ; and, as I mean the work to be a  
 testimony of respect to the author, I hope it will be found  
 and allowed, that I have spared no expence in making  
 it*



*it in some small degree equal to his merits: though his compositions unadorned, are the best obelisks of his virtues: and since it hath been of late a kind of wicked fashion to decry the purest compositions of our noblest authors, to vainly render patriotism ridiculous, by attempting to laugh all patriot virtue out of countenance; yet I trust in the character of Mr. Marvell there will be discovered such proofs to the contrary, that the very Dalrymple, who hath attempted to traduce the glorious names of Sydney and Russel, will fail in any malignant efforts to blacken so fair a page of character; and that one man, even with him, shall be found to be a proof against all bribery and corruption; and that no place in the gift of a King, nor any money in the Treasury, could warp his mind to desert his religion when attacked by Papists, or seduce him to abandon the post of a faithful and watchful centinel in the hour of ruin and danger.*

*Sanctus amor patriæ dat animum, were the animating words that Sydney bore in his arms, and which I still hope that Englishmen will ever bear in their hearts.*

*When the work was nearly finished, I received some ingenious remarks from the Reverend Mr. Bowle, of Idmiston, pointing out some errors of press, and other deficiencies and mistakes, but as I cannot do more honour to Mr. Marvell, than in Mr. Bowle's language, I will, without further apo-*

*logy, give them in his own words.* “ Agreeable to my promise,  
 “ I fend you an account of the deficiencies in the former  
 “ editions of the works of A. Marvell \*. The Latin verses  
 “ in Cook’s edition, Vol. II. P. 21, 22, 23, of 1726, are  
 “ very carelessly and defectively printed from the originals  
 “ in the *Musarum Cantabrigiensium ΣΥΝΩΔΙΑ* of the year  
 “ 1637, Sign. K 4, and his subscription to them is in Greek.  
 “ These are worth noting, as being unquestionably his first  
 “ appearance in print, and when he was about seventeen  
 “ years of age. Overagainst the two first Greek verses,  
 “ p. 31, which seem to be a playing on the number 5,  
 “ these references, 5th of November, 5th of August are  
 “ not inserted. The last most probably alludes to the day  
 “ of the pretended Gowry conspiracy; they are signed

*Ανδρέας ὁ Μαργβελλε, ἐκ τοῦ της τριάδος.*

“ Both these and the Latin are on the birth of Charles  
 “ the First’s fifth child, the Lady Ann, born March 17th,  
 “ 1636. There does not appear to be any foundation for  
 “ the Bishop of Bristol’s ascribing to Milton the verses  
 “ *ad Christinam Sueciæ Reginam*, as they have not  
 “ any

\* Had these ingenious observations come more early to my hands, I should have digested them in the body of the work; but before I was favoured with them, every part but the preface was printed off, and therefore I have inserted them in this manner, rather than the publick should lose any corrections so valuable.

“ any resemblance to his Latin poetry. His verses to  
 “ his friend Mr. Richard Lovelace \*, upon his poems to  
 “ Lucaſta, of 1649, have eſcaped the view of every  
 “ former editor.”

\* He published a duodecimo volume of poems in 1649, to his miſtreſs Lucaſta, or *Lux Caſta*, the beautiful Lucy Sacheverel. He was the ſon of Sir William Lovelace of Woolwich; when a ſtudent at Oxford, the delight of all that knew him, for manly beauty and accompliſhments. He ſerved with Charles the Firſt againſt the Scots; he alſo ſerved the King of France, had a regiment at Dunkirk, where he was wounded. Upon his return to England, he was imprifoned, and lived in a wretched ſtate of poverty and diſtreſs. He died 1658.

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TO HIS NOBLE FRIEND, MR. RICHARD LOVELACE.  
 UPON HIS POEMS.

S I R,

O U R times are much degenerate from thoſe  
 Which your ſweet muſe, which your fair fortune choſe;  
 And as complexions alter with the climes,  
 Our wits have drawn th' infection of our times.  
 That candid age no other way could tell  
 To be ingenious, but by ſpeaking well.  
 Who beſt could prayſe, had then the greateſt prayſe,  
 'Twas more eſteem'd to give, than weare the bayes:  
 Modest ambition only ſtudy'd then  
 To honour not herſelfe, but worthy men.  
 Theſe virtues now are baniſh't out of towne,  
 Our civil warrs have loſt the civick crowne.

He highest builds, who with most art destroys,  
 And against others fame his own employs.  
 I see the envious caterpillar sit  
 On the faire blossome of each growing wit ;  
 The ayre's already tainted with the swarms  
 Of insects which against you rise in arms ;  
 Word-peckers, paper-rats, book-scorpions,  
 Of wit corrupted the unfashion'd sons.  
 The barbed censurers begin to looke  
 Like the grim consistory on thy booke ;  
 And on each line cast a reforming eye,  
 Severer than the young presbetry ;  
 'Till when in vaine they have thee all perus'd,  
 You shall, for being faultlesse, be accus'd.  
 Some reading your Lucrecia, will alledge,  
 You wrong'd in her the House's priviledge ;  
 Some, that you under sequestration are,  
 Because you write when going to the \* warre ;  
 And one the booke prohibits, because Kent  
 The first petition by the author sent.

But when the beauteous ladies came to know  
 That their dear Lovelace was endanger'd so ;  
 Lovelace, that thaw'd the most congealed breast,  
 He who lov'd best, and them defended best ;  
 Whose hand so rudely grasps the steely brand,  
 Whose hand so gently melts the ladies' hand ;  
 They all in mutiny, though yet undrest,  
 Sally'd, and would in his defence contest.  
 And one, the loveliest that was ever seen,  
 Thinking that I too of the rout had been ;

Mine

\* He was an officer in the army of Charles the First.



Mine eyes invaded with a female spite,  
 (She knew what pain 'twould be to lose that fight.)  
 O no, mistake not, I reply'd, for I  
 In your defence, or in his cause, would dy;  
 But he, secure of glory, and of time,  
 Above their envy, or mine aid doth clime.  
 Him, bravest men, and fairest nymphs approve,  
 His book in them finds judgement, with you love.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*The preceding lines have many beauties, and plainly show the great hand which composed them. Mr. Richard Lovelace was celebrated for the sweetness of his sonnets, and the harmony of Mr. Henry Lawes (a great composer in those days) added to their natural melody. These admired verses of Mr. Marvell to his memory, clearly discover an intimacy between them of a very friendly sort, for they bear a strong testimony of attachment, and not the air of common complimentary dedication.*

*The reverend Dr. Granger, Vicar of Shiplake, in his excellent Biographical History of England, speaks thus of Marvell's person, taken from a manuscript of Mr. John Aubrey, who was well acquainted with him. " He was of a middling*  
*" stature, pretty strong set, roundish faced, cherry cheeked,*  
*" hazel eyed, brown haired. He was in conversation very*  
*" modest, and of very few words. He was wont to say he*  
*" would not drink high or freely with any one with whom*  
*" he would not trust his life." Thus Dr. Granger speaks*



*of his character. A. Marvell was an admirable master of ridicule, which he exerted with great freedom in the cause of liberty and virtue. He never respected vice for being dignified, and dared to attack it wherever he found it, though on the throne itself\*. There never was a more honest satirist. His pen was always properly directed, and had some effect, at least upon such as were under no check or restraint from any laws human or divine. He hated corruption more than he dreaded poverty; and was so far from being venal, that he could not be bribed by the King into silence, when he scarce knew how to procure a dinner. His death was generally believed to be occasioned by poison.*

*One of my first and strongest reasons for publishing the works of Marvell, was the pleasing hopes of adding a number of strenuous and sincere friends to our Constitution; but alas! what is to be expected in this degenerate age, when virtue does not even nominally exist amongst us, when arbitrary power, by her baneful engines of venality and corruption, is daily putting a check to every notion of rational and manly liberty!*

*Dalrymple's*

\* In some of the State Poems Charles II. is ridiculed under the nick-name of old Rowley, which was an ill-favoured stallion kept in the Meuse, that was remarkable for getting fine colts. Mrs. Holford, a young lady much admired by Charles, was sitting in her apartment, and singing a satirical ballad upon "Old Rowley the King," when he knocked at her door. Upon her asking who was there? he with his usual pleasantry replied, "Old Rowley himself, madam."

*Dalrymple's papers I have ever regarded with horror and detestation, and attribute their existence to that vindictive spirit expressed in their national motto, Nemo me impune, &c. a maxim fitter for the Indians of Chili and Peru, than of any Christian state.*

*As many of Mr. Marvell's \* very valuable papers came to my hands in a very irregular manner, I have been obliged to divide them, to make the volumes in some respects equal, and those additional poems in the third volume were never published before.*

*I now beg leave to make my grateful acknowledgements to those GENTLEMEN, who have been so obliging to give me their assistance in the completion of this most arduous, but most pleasing task.*

\* The late Mr. Hollis in 1760, speaking of Marvell in a letter to a friend, says, "If Marvell's picture does not look so lively and witty as you might expect, it is from the chagrin and awe he had of the Restoration then just effected. Marvell's picture was painted when he was forty-one; that is, in the year 1661 (as appears under the frame) in all the sobriety and decency of the then departed Commonwealth."

EDWARD THOMPSON.



ANDREW MARVELL'S LETTERS

TO THE

CORPORATION OF HULL.





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# ANDREW MARVELL'S LETTERS

TO THE  
CORPORATION OF HULL.

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## L E T T E R I.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL WILLIAM RAMSDEN, MAYOR,  
AND THE ALDERMEN HIS BRETHREN  
OF KINGSTON UPON HULL.

GENTLEMEN, MY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**A**LTHOUGH during the necessary absence of my partner, Mr. Ramsden, I write but with halfe a penn, and can scarce persuade myselfe to send you so imperfect an account of your own, and the publick affairs, as I needs must for want of his assistance; yet I had rather expose mine own defects to your good interpretation, then excuse thereby a total neglect of my duty, and that trust which is divided upon me. At my late absence out of

town I had taken such order, that if you had commanded me any thing I might soon have received it, and so returned on purpose to this place to have obeyed you: but hearing nothing of that nature however, I was present the first day of the parliament's fitting, and took care to write to Mr. Racor what work we had cut out; since when we have had little new, but onely been making a progresse in those things I then mentioned. There is yet brought in an act, in which, of all others, your corporation is the least concerned; that is, where wives shall refuse to cohabit with their husbands, that in such case the husband shall not be liable to pay any debts which she shall run into, for cloathing, diet, lodging, or other expenses. I wish with all my heart you were no more touched in a vote that we have made for bringing in an act of a new assessment for six moneths of 70,000*l. per mensem*, to begin next January. The truth is, the delay ere monyes can be got in eats up a great part of all that is levying, and that growing charge of the army and navy doubles upon us. And that is all that can be said for excuse of ourselves, to the country to whom we had given our own hopes of no further sessment to be raised, but must now needs incurre the censure of improvidence before, or prodigality now; though it becomes no private member, the resolution having passed the house, to interpose his own judgement in a thing that cannot be remedied: and it will be each man's ingenuity not to grudge an after payment for

that fettlement and freedom from armyes and navyes, which before he would have been glad to purchase with his whole fortune. There remain some eight regiments to be disbanded, but those all horse in a manner; and some seventeen ships to be paid of, that have lay'd so long upon charge in the harbours; beside fourscore shippes which are reckoned to us for this winter guard. But after that, all things are to go upon his majesty's own purse, out of the tonnage and poundage, and his other revenues. But there being so great a provision made for mony, I doubt not but ere we rise, to see the whole army disbanded, and, according to the act, hope to see your town once more ungarrison'd, in which I should be glad and happy to be instrumentall to the uttermost; for I cannot but remember, though then a child, those blessed days when the youth of your own town were trained for your militia, and did, methought, become their arms much better then any soldiers that I have seen there since: and it will not be amisse, if you please, (now that we are about a new act of regulating the Militia, that it may be as a standing strength, but not as ill as a perpetuall armye to the nation) to signify to me any thing in that matter that were according to your ancient custome, and desirable for you: for though I can promise little, yet I intend all things for your service. The act for review of the Poll Bill proceeds, and that for making this declaration of his Majesty's a law in religious matters. Order likewise

is given for drawing up all the votes made during the late sitting, in the businesse of sales of Bishops, and Deans, and Chapters, into an act, which I should be glad to see passed. The purchasers the other day offer'd the House 60,000*l.* in ready mony, and to make the bishops, &c. revenue as good or better than before; but the House thought it not fit or seasonable to hearken to it. We are so much the more concerned to see that great interest of the purchasers satisfied and quieted, at least in that way which our own votes have propounded. On Thursday next we are to return to the consideration of apportioning 100,000*l.* *per annum* upon all the lands in the nation, in lieu of the Court of Wards. The debate among the Countys, each thinking itself over-rated, makes the success of that businesse something casual, and truly I shall not assist it much for my part, for it is little reason that your town should contribute in that charge. The Excise Bill for longer continuance (*I wish it prove not too long*) will come in also next weeke. And I foresee we shall be called upon shortly to effect our vote made the former sitting of raising his majestie's revenue to 1,200,000*l.* *per annum*. I do not love to write so much of this mony news, *but I think you have observed that parliaments have been always made use of to that purpose*, and though we may buy gold too deare, yet we must at any rate be glad of peace, freedom, and a good conscience. Mr. Racor tells me, your duplicates of the poll are coming  
up;



up; I shall go with them to the Exchequer, and make your excuse, if any be requisite. My long silence hath made me now trespassse on the other hand in a long letter, but I doubt not of your good construction of so much familiarity and trouble from,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most affectionate friend and servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Nov. 17, 1660.*

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LETTER II.

MR. WILLIAM RAMSDEN, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN,

HAVING received yours by Mr. Winchester, I accordingly went this morning and gave your duplicate into the hands of Lord Chiefe Baron, and he remained fully satisfied of your diligence in that busnesse, so that you need not be any more thoughtfull upon that account. Yesterday the House was in debate concerning the proportions that were brought in for laying 100,000l. perpetuall upon all the lands in the severall countyes of England, in lieu of the Court of Wards, but came to no resolution therein, adjourning the debate at large concerning any other way of  
com-



compensation till to-morrow. But it seemed by the then debate, that by reason of this new six-moneths assessment, the house would not judge it seasonable to put this new land-rate upon the people, and inclined rather to settle the 100,000*l.* out of the Excise of Ale and Beere. Some offered, as it is more just, that onely the lands in capite, which receive the benefit, should be taxed with the revenue; and others were even content, or believed it must come to that, that the Court of Wards should continue: the issue is uncertain. A bill was to-day carried up to the Lords for calling in the arrears of the last twelve months, and six months assessment. An impeachment was order'd to be carried up to the Lords against one Drake, a merchant in London, for writing a seditious book, called *The Long Parliament revived*, and attempting to prove that it is not legally dissolved. The Queen is next moneth for France, and the princess Henrietta, her daughter, to be married, as 'tis credibly reported, to the duke of Anjou, the French king's brother. I have no more at present but to remaine,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most affectionate friend and servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Nov. 20, 1660.*

## LETTER III.

MR. WILLIAM RAMSDEN, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN,

I Have been to-day with my Lord Bellasis to deliver your letter, which, with the petition of the Taylors inclosed, he read, and with much readyness and courtesy promised this night by the post to give the most effectuall orders to Colonell Gilby, that he should fulfill all things as you desire therein, as farr as will consist with the act of parliament concerning Soldiers exercising trades, and particularly witnessed to me his own resolution, as much as might be, to entertain no Soldiers that should have any trade but that of their soldiery. I received to-day another letter of yours of the 17th, directed to mysele and Mr. Ramsden, who is not yet arrived, in Mr. Wilson's businesse: he hath been with me, and seems to build much upon my advice. I counselled him, before I had yours, in any case not to thinke any more of Hezle, but if he could (as he said he had some hopes) to make for Leeds upon Mr. Stiles his acceptance of Hezle. I shall be very tender and sensible of your interest therein, and shall afford him no assistance, but on the contrary, in any thing reflecting upon your proceedings; but as farr as I can understand him, and I shall now be the more watchfull over him, he hath wholly laid by any such thoughts, and  
his

his whole designe is now upon Leeds. Yesterday, after a long debate upon the compensation for the Court of Wards, 'twas resolved that for the Tenures of Lands in capite, Knights Service, Court of Wards, and all the emoluments thereof, and for taking away of Purveyance, the king should have in perpetuity one moiety of the excise of Beere and Ale: the other moiety was not then disposed of, but 'tis likely will come into the yearly revenue of 1,200,000l. which must be settled. To-day we were upon the act of Militia, which is refer'd to a committee of the whole house on Saturday next. To-day also at a conference with the Lords, his Majesty's pleasure was signified to us, that in respect of the approach of Christmaffe, and his Majesty's Coronation to be prepared for shortly after, this Parliament should be dissolved the 20th of next moneth. By how much our time is shorter I shall the more daily and diligently give you advice of all that passies.

I remain,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most affectionate friend and servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Nov. 22, 1660.*

## LETTER IV.

MR. WILLIAM RAMSDEN, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN,

SINCE my last to you the House hath been for the most part busied in carrying on and maturing those bills which I formerly signified to you to be under consideration. To-day upon the recommitment, I made my second report of that very good Bill for erecting and augmenting Vicarages out of all Improvements belonging to Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, or any other Ecclesiasticall Person or Corporation, to 80l. *per annum*, where the Improvement amounts to 120l. and where lesse, to one moiety of the profits of such Improvements; and the bill, upon reading the amendments, was ordered to be ingrossed. After that the House fell upon the making out of the King's revenue to 1,200,000l. a yeare, and have voted that the other moiety of the Excise of Beere and Ale shall be given to his Majesty for life, to make up the full of the said 1,200,000 a yeare; and that the members of the Privy Counsell acquaint his Majesty, from the House, with their unanimity herein, in gratitude for his Majesty's gracious declarations and acts of grace to the kingdome. The Customs are estimated toward 500,000l. *per annum* in this revenue: his Lands and Fee Farms 250,000l. the Excise of Beere and Ale 300,000l. the rest arises out of the Post

Office, Wine Licences, Stannerys, Courts, Probates of Wills, Post Fines, Forests, and other rights of the Crown: the Excise of Forain Commodities is to be continued a part untill satisfaction of publick debts and engagements secured upon the Excise. To-morrow the bill for enacting his Majesty's declaration in religious matters is to have its first reading. It is said that on Sunday next Doctor Reynolds shall be created Bishop of Norwich. This is all of present news.

I remain, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Nov. 27, 1660.*

I beseech you let me hear whether my partner, Mr. Ramsden, be likely to come up or no, for he is not yet arrived. Mr. Wilson pursues his designe for Leeds. Mr. Winchester has been very carefull in the business you employed him in here.

LETTER V.

MR. WILLIAM RAMSDEN, MAYOR:

GENTLEMEN,

**T**IS much refreshment to me after our long sittings, daily to give you account what we do. And though all we do cannot be pleasing to ourselves or others, yet I hope the most part will be to the satisfaction of your desires,



the rest of your curiosity; for 'tis good to know where we are, and the best and worst. Yesterday the Bill of the King's Declaration in Religious Matters was read the first time; but upon the question for a second reading, 'twas carried 183 against 157 in the negative, so there is an end of that Bill, and for those excellent things therein: we must henceforth rely onely upon his Majesty's goodnesse, who, I must needs say, hath hitherto been more ready to give than we to receive. The Bill for observation of the Sabbath, another against profane Swearing, were this day carried up to the Lords for their concurrence; to-morrow likewise will be carryed up that against transporting Wooll, Wooll-fells, Fullers Earth, and all Scouring Clay; making it felony without benefit of clergy. The Bill for making the Earl of Arundell, Duke of Norfolk, upon the second reading to-day was committed: 'tis probable it may pass, though much objected against, the Earle being a mad-man, and still kept abroad in Italy, and his next brother a recusant. An act for draining of the Fenns was upon the second reading committed. That against planting Tobacco in England read once. The Queen's journey for France is put off till the 17th of next moneth: her daughter's marriage with the Duke of Anjou concluded of certainly.

I remain,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Nov. 29, 1660.*

## LETTER VI.

MR. WILLIAM RAMSDEN, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN,

SINCE my last, upon Thursday, the Bill for Vicarages hath been carryed up to the Lords, and a message to them from our House that they would expedite the Bill for confirmation of Magna Charta, that for confirmation of Marriages, and other bills of publick concernment, which have laid by them ever since our last sitting, not returned to us. We had then the Bill for six moneths assentment in consideration, and read the Bill for taking away Court of Wards and Purveyance, and establishing the moiety of the Excise of Beere and Ale *in perpetuum*, about which we sit every afternoon in a grand Committee. Upon Sunday last were consecrated in the Abby at Westminster, Doctor Cosins, Bishop of Durham, Sterne of Carlile, Gauden of Exeter, Ironside of Bristow, Loyd of Landaffe, Lucy of St. Davids, Lany, the seventh, whose diocese I remember not at present, and to-day they keep their feast in Haberdasher's-hall, in London: Dr. Reynolds was not of the number, who is intended for Norwich. A Conge-d'elire is gone down to Hereford for Dr. Monk, the Generall's brother, at present Provost of Eaton. 'Tis thought that since our throwing out the Bill of the King's Declaration,

Mr.

Mr. Calamy, and other moderate men, will be resolute in refusing of Bishopricks. Yesterday the Bill for making the Earle of Arundell (who is mad and kept away in Italy) to be Duke of Norfolk was read the third time, and passed in our House though with much opposition, forasmuch as the next heir, whom all men's eyes are upon, is a leading Papist, hath murdered a man some years ago, for which he was burned in the hand, &c. and the Bill is so worded that it seems to reflect upon Queen Elizabeth's reigne, in whose time, Thomas, the last Duke of Norfolk, was beheaded; but it passed 187 against 116. In the afternoon the committee perfected the Bill of Sales to be offered to the House, but I doubt much there will not be time nor inclination to pass it this Parliament. To-day our House was upon the Bill of Attainder of those that have been executed, those that are fled, and of Cromwell, Bradshaw, Ireton, and Pride, and 'tis ordered that the carkasses and coffins of the four last named, shall be drawn with that expedition possible upon an hurdle to Tyburn, there be hanged up for a while, and then buryed under the gallows. The Act for the Militia hath not been called for of late, *men not being forward to confirme such perpetuall and exorbitant power by a law*, as it would be in danger if that Bill should be carried on; 'tis better to trust his Majesty's moderation, and that the commissioners if they act extravagantly, as in some countyes, should be liable to actions at law. The  
time

time of his Majesty's Coronation is put of till 24th of February or 29th of May: hence there has been a report we should fit something longer, but I believe it not. Mr. Wilfon meets with difficulty in his businesse, Mr. Stiles having, as I hear, got out a presentation for Leeds. We had to-day, which I had almost forgot, an Act from the Lords for the speedyer tanning of leather, one having invented how to do it without bark, &c. and of our sheep skins makes excellent Spanish leather, if it be proper to say so. You hear doubtless of his Majesty's Commissioners for Trade, who sit in London to consider of all things tending to the advancement of Traffick and Navigation. This is all, but that I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Dec. 20, 1660.*

LETTER VII.

MR. WILLIAM RAMSDEN, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN,

**W**E are now both met together, and shall strive to do you the best service we are able. We must first give you thanks for the kind present\* you have pleas'd to send us, which will give occasion to us to remember you often, but  
the

\* *Ale.*



the quantity is so great, that it might make sober men forgetfull. We have been with my Lord Bellasis, and presented him his and your letter: he gives you very many thanks; and as to the business of cutting Hull from Hezle, he answered, what indeed we expected, that he should willingly contribute his best towards it at any time, but it being to be done by Act of Parliament, it was at present, our dissolution being so sudden, absolutely impossible. Had you pleased to give order sooner to us, it might have bin effected, and an Act prepared for it might have passed; but, as we said, there are so many publick bills depending, and our time so short, that should you give a 1000l. it could never be got into the House to be once read this Parliament. All these Bills are yet before us in our House: for taking away Court of Wards, and settling one moiety of Excise in perpetuum, for settling the other moiety for life—for the Militia—for six months Assesment—for Attainder—for Pains and Penalties—for review of Poll Mony—for settling Post Office in his Majesty—for gathering Arrears of Excise, and settling the foreign Excise for some time, and paying publick debts secured upon it—for Tobacco not to be planted in England—for Wine Licences—for draining the Fenns—for tanning Leather—for increasing Fishery—for better gathering the Customs—for Purchasers, &c. Beside those which yet ly before the Lords, since our last recess not sent back to us; for confirming College

Leases



Leafes—for uniting Dunkirk and Jamaica to the Crown—for paying some Monys in Arrear for Piedmont—for indemnifying Officers in Courts of Justice—for confirming Marriages—for enabling Durham to send Members to Parliament—for confirming Magna Charta, and a Proclamation against Priests and Jesuits. And beside what we have sent for their concurrence, and not returned since this sitting, for levying Arrears of twelve months Assessment—for strict observing Lord's Day—against Swearing—against transporting Wooll, &c.—for Vicarages. And after all these publick as many private Bills more, and but ten sitting days left. You must please to reserve this for next Parliament, and get it timely in. We shall on Monday accompany your present to the Generall. We have his to Major Smith. We are

Your most affectionate friends and humble servants,

JOHN RAMSDEN,  
ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Dec. 8, 1660.*

This two or three days we have been chiefly about the six months Assessment, the Excise, Post Office, and Attainder. We have delivered your letters to Mr. Hilyard, with words of civility; we have agreed to treat with him upon Monday; we shall be very shy to acquaint him we  
have

have power to conclude with him, for your security is perfectly good in law; we believe it was given you by the Parliament in compensation of great losses you sustained in the warr. It concerns you much being in the midst of your town. We cannot but consider that he has a brother a captain in your garrison, and that this gentleman also has employed his interest since he was in this Parliament to continue you a Garrison. We hope you will be private in these things, communicated to you out of faithfulness to your interest, and that you will not be hasty in your resolutions, nor open one way or other. We shall treat fairly with him, and advertise you from time to time what is proposed. Mr. Wilson is returned down this week, and hath, as far as we perceive, effected nothing one way or other; but Mr. Stiles procur'd a Presentation in his own name for Leeds. On Tuesday night last Arguile and Swinton were shipped hence for Scotland, in order to their trial there.

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L E T T E R VIII.

MR. WILLIAM RAMSDEN, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN,

**T**HIS day his Majesty came to the Lords House and dissolved this Parliament. He pass'd the Acts of the six Moneths Assesment—of one Moneth Assesment—of

Review of the Poll—of Wine Licences—of the Post Office—of the Arrears of the former Sessment—of College Leases—against transporting of Wooll and Fullers Earth—against planting of English Tobacco; with many other private Bills. You will perceiv by what we have writ before, what other Bills, which were prepared by us, are not passed. The Excise of forain and inland commoditys is expired, whereby that part of the burthen is taken of the people. Neither is there any Act for collecting the Arrears of Excise. The King signified, at parting, a great satisfaction in what we had done, and that it was very shortly his intention to call another Parliament. This night the Princeffe of Orange is to be buried at Westminster. On Wednesday the Queen takes her journey for France, and his Majesty accompanyes her to the Coast. There is nothing else of news. We are in some hast, yet must not forget to give you our hearty thanks for all your great favours, to beg your excuse if we may in any thing have failed (which we hope we have not) of expressing our true affection and service to you, and to assure you that we shall always be found, according to the best of our understanding and abilityes,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most affectionate friends and servants,

JOHN RAMSDEN,  
ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Dec. 29, 1660.*

## LETTER IX.

TO MR. WILLIAM RAMSDEN, MAYOR.

WORTHY SIR,

I Suppose this day my good partner Mr. Ramsden will arrive at Hull, and give you account of what hath pass'd at our dissolution, and present my kind respects in particular to yourselfe. However I take myselfe bound by all obligations to acquit myselfe of this last to you by mine own hand, having received great civilityes from you; and I entreat you that though my service, in relation to Parliamentary Affairs, is now at an end, yet you will neverthelesse, during my continuance in town, use me as freely as formerly, in any thing wherein I may be of service to yourselfe, to the town, or any particular person there, which if I should not faithfully performe, I should think myselfe much wanting to my duty, and very unworthy of all the former honors, favors, and courtesyes that you have placed upon me. I shall as farre as I may decently request it, without intrusion into your Counsell, desire you to let me know what you do resolve in Mr. Hilyard's busines, who is now gone out of town, to his house in Surry, and that you will order me what to do with his fine and deed, which my partner thought best to leave in my hand 'till you should signify your pleasure one way or other. Also I



should advise you, his Majesty having signified that another Parliament will shortly be called, that you would mature your resolutions now whilst you have time, concerning the cutting of Hull from Hezle, if you persist therein, and can agree with Mr. Stiles. And in the mean time I shall, for mine own satisfaction, and in order to your service and of whoever you shall imploy the next Parliament therein, inform my selfe here how that annexion stands, and the readiest way of disintangling it. As soon as our Acts are printed I shall send you down a book of them. The last of December here was an ugly false report got abroad, that his Majesty was stabb'd, which made the guards be up in arms all night. I doubt not but the same extraordinary Hand, that hath hitherto guided him, will still be his protection against all attempts of discontented persons or parties. On New Year's Day the King and Duke of Albemarle were Godfathers to the Duke of York's son by the Chancellor's daughter, the Duchesse Royall; the Marchioness of Ormond was Godmother: the King created the child Earle of Cambridge. The Duke and his Lady are now forthwith to go and keep house at St. James's. Yesterday the Duchesse Royall came to Court to wait upon the Queen. The Queen took her journey the same evening towards Portsmouth. The King is followed after to-day to see her embarke, and will be about a fortnight absent. The Excise we hear is to be lett to farme. Sir Robert Hilyard and Sir Francis Cobb intend to farme the East-riding.



riding. I have nothing else of new. Mr. Hebird I have not seen, but inform'd that he looks to provide himselfe elsewhere then with you. I am fory to hear that Mr. Wilson has been so refractory. What I writ to yourselfe heretofore, concerning compofure of things among your ministers, had onely a general good intention, without any reflexion upon yourself or any other, as to Mr. Wilson or any particular person; for I do not perceive that any one can have acted more justly or prudently then you have done all along in that businesse. You will be pleased to take in good part this familiar talke of,

SIR,

Your most affectionate hearty friend to serve you,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Jan. 3, 1660.*

I pray present my respects to your Bench.

LETTER XI.

MR. WILLIAM RAMSDEN, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN,

I Am very glad that such little services as I can render you, being bound by affection, obligation, and interest, to render you all within my capacity, are so acceptable to you

you as you signify by your kind letter of the 8th present; having received it yesterday, I went forthwith to Sir Philip Warwick, secretary to my Lord Treasurer, and imparted to him your desire, and the reason and words of the Act of Parliament whereon it was founded, and that you were informed that some had already or did intend, by a certificate from the Justices of the East-riding, to involve the Excise of your town, &c. he promised me that nothing should be done of that nature to your prejudice, adding further, that it was not finally resolved to farme out the Excise. But there is all reason to believe that it will be farmed, and Persons of all Countyes are making their applications to that purpose, as well as those gentlemen I wrote you of. Therefore it will be of your wonted prudence to mature your resolutions concerning such person or persons as you will certify for; and if you please to thinke me so farr necessary, thereupon to give me advice; for men ly much upon the catch for these employments, and therefore you cannot too soon perfect your deliberations therein; I shall then streight give you notice that such as you shall pitch upon may come up seasonably hither, to make your propofals what you will give. I need not mind you in the mean time to watch what they do this Sessions at Beverley, and to make the exactest estimate of what your Excise can in reason be let at; that there may be no cause to reject your proffer as too favourable to yourselves, and accept that  
of

of some forainer, who will not stick to outbid you, so he may be thereby forced to oppress you. Having some reason by your last letters to believe you had not yet seen the Acts of Excise, I thought at this time they might be worth the postage; for our other acts are not yet come out of the presse: as soon as they shall, I will send you a book of them; and indeed (for I doubt you are not so well served with intelligence) I shall, as long as I continue here in town, furnish you weekly with what comes to my notice; the rather because I understand that Mr. Mabbot, who used to write to you formerly, I think still is shortly to goe for Ireland, having an office in the Customs there; and therefore it may be a fair opportunity for you to spare thenceforward that mony; for I assure you, Gentlemen, without any compliment, that, as I have no greater delight then to be serviceable to you, so that delight is doubled whensoever I can be sure of doing it without any other advantage to my selfe than that of your courteous acceptance. Upon Thursday last, about noon, his Majesty returned, after his journey to Portsmouth, to Whitehall, in very good health. The insurrection of those rude and desperate fellows on Wednesday morning occasioned the issuing out of this Proclamation, which I thought fitting to send you, and the rather, because still it is my ill fortune to meet with some rumour or other (as I did yesterday at the Exchange) of a plot against Hull (I think indeed those have so that divulge such falsehoods); but

I am not failing to suppress any such thing where I meet with it. And I am sure the noble Person, your Governor, and yourselves, will be watchfull enough against any such danger. So I saw within this week a Letter from a person who dwells not in your town but neare, that your Governor was turning out all the inhabitants who had been in the Parliament's service; I believe one is as true as the other. The Queen having imbark'd, and at sea, was forced to put back, by the Princess Henrietta falling sick; so the Queen is landed again, and the Princess on ship-board in the port at Portsmouth, the Meazles being thick upon her, and too dangerous to carry her on shore at present; but we heare that, God be praised, there is all good hopes of her recovery. I beseech God to stay his hand from further severity in that Royall Family, wherein the nation's being and welfare is so much concerned. It is hard for me to write short to you: it seems to me when I have once begun, that I am making a step to Hull, and cannot easily part from so good company.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Jan. 12, 1660.*

## L E T T E R XI.

TO MR. WILLIAM RAMSDEN, MAYOR.

SIR,

**I** Write this onely to inclose the news book to you, there being little at present to be publickly communicated. The Princeffe Henrietta is still at Portsmouth with the Queen, in a good estate of recovery. The prisoners of the Fifth-Monarchy-Men in this insurrection have been found guilty to-day, upon their triall, and are to receive sentence on Saturday; the next week 'tis expected they should all be executed. The acts of the last Parliament are now all come out this afternoon; so that now you may expect them by the first ship, for I know no readyer way of conveyance. This is all at present, after I have assured you that

I am,

Your very affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Jan. 17, 1660.*



## L E T T E R XII.

TO MR. WILLIAM RAMSDEN, MAYOR.

WORTHY SIR,

**I** Have but little new at present worth sending you. Your commission will be sealed to-morrow. I have the copy of it already by me, which being too big for postage, I shall send you down next week by some of your town, who make account to be with me on Saturday come se'nnight. Now the Parliament writts are all sealed, you may expect them shortly. Here is a Navy of 14 shippes prepared, of which Sir John Mint is to be Commander: they discourse uncertainly of the voyage. As I shall have more busines or more news, I shall give you a larger trouble; in the meantime, resting,

Your most affectionate, &amp;c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, March 7, 1660-1.*

## L E T T E R XIII.

TO MR. WILLIAM RAMSDEN, MAYOR.

S I R,

I Have yours of 22, I wish you had mine of 19<sup>th</sup>, but all were stopp'd; you might be sure all was not right when you heard not from me. As farr as I remember, in that of 19<sup>th</sup> I told you, that I did not at all see what inconfistence there could be between Colonell Gilby's interest and mine, but that I could very well believe what he had said to you relating to me, and that the same he might be assur'd of on my part, in case the lot fell upon us two to be elected. I think I made bold there too to advise you anew, to make an end of Mr. Hilyard's bufinesse before the Parliament met; that he might owe the whole obligations of what you did to your own equity, and it might not seem strained from you by any conjuncture of time and necessity. I think I told you further, I had given order to my brother Popple concerning the 10l. which you were so forward to send me, that you would scarce give me breath to rectify a mistake. As for your commissions, I received them from you yesterday, I return them to-day, and have only put you to a crown charges about them, which I think I might as well have sav'd. Pray, Sir, seeing an houre or two is sometimes much as to the dispatch of a bufinesse, and yours sometimes requires hast, take notice to direct (having named me) only in

these words, *to be left with William Popple, Merchant, London*, and not one word more of street, signe, or lodging, for so I can have them out the first moment the mail comes in ; otherwise the severall porters carry them about in their walks, and so much time is lost. Your writts sure are with you 'ere now. After a stop not a word of news ; I must see first by to-morrow's post, whether mine of 21 to you miscarried also.

I am, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, March 26, 1661.*

I had a Petition sent up (witness'd by you and Colonell Gilby) of an honest man's, Robert Nicolls ; I beseech you, for I had forgot, do as much as send any one of your people presently to that Robert Nicolls, to bid him go forthwith to my brother Popple, and shew him this inclosed letter I writ to him about his business : because otherwise the poore man's money will be in danger to be lost.

L E T-

## L E T T E R XIV.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL CHRISTOPHER RICHARDSON,  
MAYOR, AND THE ALDERMEN HIS BRETHREN  
OF KINGSTON UPON HULL.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**Y**OUR deputations have laid so much longer then your  
businessse usually does, in my Lord Bellasis his hands,  
or yet in mine, because, upon a generall desire in England,  
and particularly in Yorkshire, to have the burden and num-  
ber of the Trained-bands lessened in Yorkshire; his Lord-  
ship thought fit first to speak with his Majesty, and then  
with the Lord Chancellor on the businessse, whose answer  
was, that his Majesty expected this Parliament would alter  
the whole method of the Trained-bands, and put them into  
a more easy way to the people, and more serviceable to the  
Publick; and therefore my Lord thought it not worth the  
while to constitute, or give you further trouble, in a thing  
so shortly to be altered and reformed; and therefore even in  
the matter of your two companyes, if they be of any  
charge or burthen to you, he is willing to indulge you, and  
spare you that trouble; but if the raising of them be a  
thing which you delight in for the present (though so soon  
to be changed) as of privilege, ornament, and service to your  
town, he is willing you should proceed to perfect them,  
which depends not at all upon the deputations; and thus  
much

much his Lordship gave me leave to tell you. Next Munday his Majesty goes to Windsor, to the installment and ceremony of the Knights of the Garter, returns thence to make Knights of the Bath, and so proceed to Coronation, the day appointed. The new Lords made this Coronation, are, St. John Greenvill, Earl of Bath, Sir Frederick Cornwallis, Lord of ———, Lord Chancellor, 'tis said, Earle of Chichester, Hollis, Crue, Annesley, Cooper, Howard, Earle of Carlile, Brook, Townsend, Northumberland, High Constable, Suffolk, Earl Marshall for the Time of the Coronation. Monsieur Du Pleffis, upon the mariage of the Duke of Anjou with our princess, is come over from them to compliment his Majesty. 'Tis two days news upon the Exchange, that some French in the Bay of Canada, have discovered the long look'd for North-west passage to the East-Indies. I perceive by a Letter from Mr. Mayor, that you have again (as if it were grown a thing of course) *made choice of me, now the third time, to serve for you in Parliament*, which as I cannot attribute to any thing but your constancy, so shall I, God willing, as in gratitude obliged, with no less constancy and vigour continue to execute your commands, and study your service, being,

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

Your most affectionate friend and servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, April 6, 1661.*



## L E T T E R XV.

TO MR. CHRISTOPHER RICHARDSON, MAYOR.

WORTHY SIR,

**T**HE businesse of the House hath not been of very public consequence ; yesterday being taken up by a petition preferr'd by one Mr. Leddall, that the House would give him leave to prosecute at law, Sir John Morly, a member of the House for Newcastle, upon a charge of high treason, for some correspondence he had held with OLIVER CROMWELL, and mony which he had in earnest thereof received of Sir George Downing, when resident in Holland : for the King's menial servants, or those which acted by instructions from the King, betraying their trust, are excepted out of the Act of Indemnity. The House left Leddall to prosecute him at law, but I believe it will not signify much. To-day the Committee, having yesterday gone through the act for security of his Majesty's person, all the amendments were read and agreed to, and the bill put to ingrossing. The Committee for confirming the acts of the last Parliament sat yesterday also, and are carrying on that businesse ; but indeed the bill then passed for confirmation of Ministers, will, I doubt, undergo a very hard scrutiny : so that I think, as I intimated to you in my last, whosoever have the businesse of their Ministers in a present tolerable and secure posture, had best make much of that, and not expose themselves to

a further hazard. I believe in this conjuncture I shall be left single in attempting any thing for your patronage, notwithstanding the assistance you expected from some others ; for so they signify to me, and I doubt you will hardly agree about the levying of your Ministers maintenance. But in this thing according as I write to you, you must be very reserved, and rest very much upon your own prudence. I would not have you suspect any misintelligence betwixt my partner and me, because we write not to you jointly, as Mr. Ramfden and I used, for there is all civility betwixt us ; but it was his sense, that we should each be left to his own discretion for writing, except upon some answer unto your letters, and that to be jointly. I send you these proclamations.

I am, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, May 16, 1661.*

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LETTER XVI.

TO MR. CHRISTOPHER RICHARDSON, MAYOR.

WORTHY SIR,

**T**HE news of this day is, the House hath given order that Mr. Sollicitor bring in a bill to revoke the act against the Bishops sitting in the Lords' House ; and that  
Mr.

Mr. Prin bring in a Bill inabling the King to grant Commissions through the nation for receiving the free and voluntary contribution of his subjects, for the present supply of his affairs. I am something *bound up*, that I cannot write about your *publick affairs*; but I assure you *they break my sleep*.

I am, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, May 20, 1661.*

LETTER XVII.

MR. CHRISTOPHER RICHARDSON, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE bonds of civility betwixt Colonel Gilby and myselfe being unhappily snapped in pieces, and in such manner, that I cannot see how it is possible ever to knit them again: the only trouble that I have is, left by our misintelligence, your businesse should receive any disadvantage: but as the occasion of our disagreement, as far as I understand, arose from some crudities and undigested matter remaining upon our stomachs ever since our election; so truly I believe, that as to your publick trust and the discharge thereof, we do each of us still retaine the same principles upon which we first undertook it, and that though perhaps we may sometimes difer in our advice

concerning the way of proceeding, yet we have the same good ends in the generall; and by this unlucky falling out, we shall be provoked to a greater emulation of serving you, and that particularly on this matter of the separation. I indeed did judge that it was necessary for us to expect, you should have taken your resolution concerning the way of raising your Ministers maintenance; because if you do not agree upon the way of doing it, in effect you agree not to do it; and if you do not raise a maintenance you cannot expect the separation; therefore yesterday I thought it improper to addressse ourselves to my Lord Bellasis, to move his Majesty to grant you the Patronage, till we understood from you that all matters were agreed; lest otherwise, if any rub should chance afterwards on your part, and among yourselves, his Majesty should conceive that you faltered with him, and have reason to resent it. But Mr. Recorder and Mr. Vaux, persons as jealous in your service as I myfelfe, were of Colonell Gilby's opinion; and so my Lord being attended upon by them this morning, has promised on Monday to present your Petition (a Petition in your name) to his Majesty, containing that you are agreed to fesse yourselves, and questioning the Patronage, &c. and truly if they do procure the Patronage for you, I shall yield the honour and the thanks of it wholly to those gentlemen. But I desire to understand whether though you should not have the Patronage, yet notwithstanding you desire the separation



separation should be carried through. As to the matter of Wine Licences you formerly writ of, I find our Act leaves you right, from the statute of Edward 6 still intire; so that there is no necessity of making any application at all therein. As to that of Ballast, 'tis universally resented among us Members for the Ports, and accordingly we moved the House, and complained highly of it. Last Thursday morning we were referred therein to the Committee of Grievances, to which upon Wednesday next we shall put in severall petitions from the Ports, and all pursue the businesse earnestly for a redress. For news, there is little else than the Bill for restoring the Bishops to the Lords House, and their temperill jurisdiction hath to-day had its first reading in our House, and on Wednesday next to be read the second time. Gentlemen, I must beg your pardon for writing singly to you, for if I wanted my right hand, yet I would scribble to you with my left, rather than neglect your business; and you perceive by the beginning of my letter how the case stands with me. I would not tell you any tales, because there are nakednesses which it becomes us to cover if it be possible; as I shall, unless I be oblig'd to make some vindications by any false report or misinterpretations. In the mean time, pity I beseech you my weakness, *for there are some things which men ought not, others that they cannot patiently suffer.* I am

Your most affectionate friend,

ANDREW MARVELL.

June 1, 1662.



## LETTER XVIII.

MR. CHRISTOPHER RICHARDSON, MAYOR:

GENTLEMEN,

I Have had occasion again yesterday about the Committee to hunt the Patentees of the Ballast home, and just at the rising procured an order that it be reported to the House for securing the money already received thereupon in the ports, that restriction may be made; I shall therefore give you an account particularly on Saturday what is done therein upon the report to the House. I beseech you to read the inclosed letter, communicating it also to some Member of the Trinity House, and then date it and seal it. If you please to give me account further how things stand with you in those or other businesses, I shall serve you the better. I must beseech you also to listen to no little storyes concerning myself; for I believe you know by this time that you have lately heard some very false concerning me, and there is not any one among you who will not confess, whensoever any truth shall come to be cleared, that I am,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most affectionate friend and humble servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, June 20, 1661.*

## LETTER XIX.

MR. CHRISTOPHER RICHARDSON, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN,

**I** Send you down this further order: I desire to hear from you how the letter I sent you down of Porter's to Greame hath taken effect; and how this, and the former order sent you in the Ballast business are obeyed. In these things it would behove you to be speedy and punctuall in your correspondence, lest, while we are in so good a way and intention to root out all these grievous impositions, you may suffer for want of giving timely and perfect notice. The House has yesterday given order that an impeachment should be drawn up by Mr. Vaghan, Mr. Prin, Mr. York, &c. against Walter, the principall Patentee, to be carryed up to the Lords. The Committee also have summoned Hurleston, who underwritt the printed warrant you sent me: for his was a notorious offence; the first being onely framed by the Patentees themselves, and never specify'd in any warrant or patent from the King, yet Hurleston underwrites "Compared with the originall under his Majesty's hand and seale, and attested by order of the Commissioners, by me Hurleston, &c." We are not yet got through the Bill of Corporations

porations to have it ingross'd: I shall strive (for the Commissioners are not yet named) that you may have particular Commissioners of the best of your neighbors, as a distinct county, and not have the same with Yorkshire; and truly I shall consider whether it be fit that any officers of your garrison should be Commissioners with you, as I think it is to be avoided the making of any of yourselves Commissioners, lest there should be any new feuds and heart-burning occasioned thereby among yourselves, and the same should be judges and judged. I know not, 'tis methinks an unpleasing business; I would we were well over it, or of it. Tomorrow the King's Council is to be heard at our barr, to lay out evidence against the King's dead and living judges, and the other persons whom the Act of Indemnity has left to pains and penalties. The Act for universal Conformity will, within this day or two, be brought in.

I remain, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, June 27, 1661.*

LET-

## LETTER XX.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL RICHARD WILSON, MAYOR,  
AND THE ALDERMEN HIS BRETHREN  
OF KINGSTON UPON HULL.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**H**AD mine own thoughts not been strong enough to  
perswade me to slight any private concernments of  
mine in respect to the publick and your service, your pru-  
dent and courtecous letter of the 3d of February would  
have brought me over, though I had been at a greater  
distance. This is onely to assure you that I am making all  
the speed possible back, and that, with God's assistance,  
in a very short time you may expect to hear of me at the  
Parliament House; in the meane time,

I remaine,

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Frankfort, March 12, 1663.*

LET-

## LETTER XXI.

MR. RICHARD WILSON, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**B**EING newly arrived in town and full of businesse, yet I could not neglect to give you notice, that this day I have been in the House, and found my place empty; though it seems, as I now heare, that some persons would have been so courteous as to have filled it for me. You may please to be assur'd, that as my obligation and affection to your service hath been strong enough to draw me over, without any consideration of mine own private concerns, so I shall now maintain my station with the same vigour and alacrity in your businesse, which I have allways testify'd formerly, and which is no more then is due to that kindnesse which I have constantly experienced from you. So at present, though in much haste, saluting you all with my most hearty respects,

I remain,

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, April 2, 1663.*

LET-



## LETTER XXII.

MR. RICHARD WILSON, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last, wherein I gave you an account of my returne, I have not writ; because, upon communication with my worthy partner Colonell Gilby, whose vigilance and sufficiency might well have excused my absence, I found nothing here which might particularly relate to your service; nor have received any commands from you hitherto, which whensoever you shall have occasion to lay upon me, shall as gladly be received by me; as, by the assistance of so able a person as the Colonell, they will probably be effected. Therefore all the subject that I can find at present, to furnish the great delight I take in writing to you, is onely to acquaint you with some of the later passages here; supposing, that of former busineses you are sufficiently informed. There was an Act brought in for transferreing the tryalls of all forain contracts relating to Navigation, from the Common Law to the Court of Admiralty. But after two Days serious and earnest Debate, the Bill was rejected, and another ordered to be brought in: the sence of the House inclining to think, that those things may better be redressed by the law merchant, or *lex mercatoria*, and by Courts of Merchants to be erected in some few of the considerablest ports of the nation. *Complaint being made yesterday of one*

*greet abuse, in selling of offices and places of trust* in the Kingdom, a Committee was appointed to look into the defects of the law in that case, and also to receive the informations that should be brought of any such offices sold as aforefaid. To-day a Bill is ordered to be brought in against the increase of Debauchery and Profaneness. The House adjourned till Wednesday fortnight, and to be called the Munday following, and every one absent to forfeit five pounds. I suppose that when they meet again the sessions will not long continue; for I heare the King intends a progress, and it seemes to me that there is not much publick businesse remaining. You have seen, I believe, his Majesty's proclamation for all Priests and Jesuits, except those limited by the contracts of the two mariages, to be gone by the 10 of May next. With my due respect to you all, I rest,

Your most affectionate friend and servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*April 17, 1663.*

LETTER XXIII.

MR. RICHARD WILSON, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I HAVE something too long owed you answer to yours of 5th of May, being confident, that as whatsoever kindness and respect comes always welcome and timely enough

from you to me ; so that neither you will precisely reckon the differences of a weeke, or a post in my correspondence ; otherwise I could be as punctuall with you as any man living, and with none more willingly than with you, having never satisfied myselfe to the full in writing to you ; so much pleasure do I take in that conversation, which either the necessity of my attendance on your affairs, or the convenience of mine own, does limit me to for the most part, depriving me of that greet content which otherwise I might reape sometimes, in my presence and society with you. Our parliamentary affairs give me no great matter of discourse with you. Yesterday, indeed, was very busy with us, upon the commitment of the Bill for discovery of buying and selling of offices. The Committee, after long debate, was ordered to continue the retrospect to all that have been sold since 29 June, 1660. The House seems to have this business much at heart. *We sate, which is unusual with us, till 6 at night,* ordering also at last a *clause to be entered against buying and selling of honours.* A Committee is also inspecting all illegal patents, and grievances to the subject. Leave was desired yesterday to bring in a Bill for erecting a Court at Yorke, which gave much debate among the Yorkshire gentlemen, but nothing was done in it. The Earl of Carlisle is going upon an extraordinary embassage to Muscovy, in order to setting up the English trade again there. From thence he is to go to Sweeden and Denmark. I have no-

thing further, but the continuance of my hearty respects,  
and assuring you that I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*London, May 25, 1663.*

LETTER XXIV.

MR. RICHARD WILSON, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE House having adjourned yesterday, till Friday next, I have got some little leisure to salute you. I should do it oftner, were the businessse of the House so various or communicable as formerly. Beside the Bill to prevent the growth of Popery, that against Conventicles seems the most considerable; preparing many further remedies against refractory persons. The House hath taken very much pains in his Majesty's revenue, and strives to improve such parts of it as seeme to admit of it; but whether there will be yet any addition to the revenue, by further aids or levyes, before we adjourn againe, it is not easy to conjecture. The House is as zealous as ever for his Majesty, but *is sensible also of the necessities of the country.* There hath bin lately discovered a plott of the Old English army  
in



in Ireland, to seize upon Dublin and the Lord Lieutenant : there are also some rumors which I think are false, that the Conspirators should have taken some other places. For if human care be joined to God's providence, which watcheth so eminently over his Majesty, is there any danger from such extravagances but to the plotters? I am forc'd by some private occasions, but relating to the publick, to be something less assiduous at the House than heretofore ; but my worthy partner never fails ; neither shall I in any thing requisite be wanting to my best to continue,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*London, June 6, 1663.*

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LETTER XXV.

MR. RICHARD WILSON, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE relation I have to your affaires, and the intimacy of that affection I owe you, do both incline and oblige me to communicate to you, that there is a probability I may  
very



very fhortly have occafion again to go beyond fea ; for my Lord Carlifle being chofen by his Majefty, Ambaffador Extraordinary to Mufcovy, Sweeden, and Denmark, hath ufed his power, which ought to be very great with me, to make me goe along with him Secretary in thefe embaffages. It is no new thing for Members of our Houfe to be difpens'd with for the fervice of the King and the Nation in forain parts. And you may be fure that I will not ftirre without fpeciall leave of the Houfe ; that fo you may be freed from any poffibility of being importuned or tempted to make any other choice, in my abfence. However, I cannot but advife alfo with you, defiring alfo to take your affent along with me, fo much efteeme I have both of your prudence and friendfhip. The time allotted for the embaffy is not much above a yeare, probably may not be much leffe betwixt our adjournment and next meeting : and, however, you have Colonel Gilby, to whom my prefence can make little addition, fo that I cannot decline this voyage. I fhall have the comfort to believe, that, all things confidered, you cannot thereby receive any difservice. I fhall hope to receive herein your speedy anfwer. The Houfe, fince they have voted that the reliefe to the King's Majefty's neceffities fhall be by fubfidy, are daily about that bufineffe : four fhillings in the pound for land, and eight groates for goods, according to the old way of rateing in the fubfidy-books,

books, is like to be the proportion ; but how many of these subsidies shall be granted, not yet resolved. I remain,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDREW MARVELL.

[ { June 16, 1663.

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L E T T E R XXVI.

MR. RICHARD WILSON, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**H**AVING writ so lately to you, this is only to give you account, that the House hath this day voted the King four Subsidys : the two first to be paid in by the first of November, the others by the first of May, *nemine contradicente*, and Mr. Sollicitor ordered to bring in a Bill to that Purpose. The House itselſe to appoint the Commissioners. Four shillings the pound lands, eight groates goods, according to the prefidents of King James and King Charles, as to the manner of levying them. This is all at present. I remain,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDREW MARVELL.

Westminster, June 23, 1663.

## LETTER XXVII.

MR. RICHARD WILSON, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**B**EING this day taking barge for Gravesend, there to embark for Archangel, so to Moscow, thence for Sweden, and last of all for Denmark ; all which I hope, by God's blessing, to finish within twelve moneths time : I do hereby, with my last and seriouest thoughts, salute you, rendering you all hearty thanks for your great kindnesse and friendship to me upon all occasions, and ardently beseeching God to keep you all in his gracious protection, to your own honour, and the welfare and flourishing of your Corporation, to which I am and shall ever continue a most affectionate and devoted servant. I undertake this voyage with the order and good liking of his Majesty, and by leave given me from the House, and entered in the Journall ; and having received moreover your approbation, I go therefore with more ease and satisfaction of mind, and augurate to myselfe the happier successe in all my proceedings. Your known prudence makes it unnecessary for me to leave my advice or counsell with you at parting, yet can I not forbear, out of the superabundance of my care and affection for you, to commend to you a good correspondence with the garrison, as long as his Majesty shall think fit to continue it ; unto which, and all your other concerns, as Colonell Gilby hath  
and

and will be always mainly instrumentall, and do you all the right imaginable; so could I wish, as I do not doubt that you would upon any past or future occasion, confide much in his descretion, nor upon the extravagance of any military person, practise all that just rigour, which he will never deny you the use of; but that the consequences being prevented for the future, you will, upon reasonable satisfaction, flight any former misdemeanor. This I say to you with a very good intent, and I know will be no otherwise understood by you. And so renewing and redoubling my most cordiall thanks, my most earnest prayers, and my most true love and service to and for you all, I remain, as long as I live,

GENTLEMEN, MY MOST WORTHY FRIENDS,

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*London, July 20, 1663.*

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L E T T E R XXVII.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL ROBERT BLOOM, MAYOR,  
AND THE ALDERMEN HIS BRETHREN  
OF KINGSTON UPON HULL.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**I** HAVE not received any from you in answer to my letter before the fitting of Parliament. Our House, upon his Majesty's representation of necessity of further

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supplies in reference to the Dutch warre, and probability of the French embracing their interest, hath voted the King 1,250,000*l.* additionall, to be levyed in two years; beginning from 25 of December next, and to be raised in the same way of sements, at 12,000*l.* a month: the Bill had yesterday its second reading; to-morrow the House is to be in a committee concerning it. There are several other Bills in hand: as for the Incouragement of sowing Flax or Hemp; the taking away of Damage cleere; the Penaltys of Swearing, Drunkenness, and other Profanations; the restraint of Non-conformist ejected Ministers from living neare Towns-Corporate, &c. We shall have a short session, I believe not above a moneth. The term does not begin here till *October Martini*, and little to be done, but only the continuance. I am in some haste, but very cordially,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most affectionate friend,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Oxford, Oct. 15, 1663.*

L E T T E R XXVIII.

MR. ROBERT BLOOM, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**S**INCE my last to you I received yours of the 13<sup>th</sup> October. The House is still making all the expedition possible in the Bills before them, insomuch that I believe by



Saturday next, or Tuesday fe'nnight, we may be ready for dismissal. Yesterday they finished their Bill of the additional assessment, and sent it up ingrossed to the Lords. There is another Bill also in good forwardness to prohibit the importation of *Irish cattle, the fall of lands and rents being generally ascribed to the bringing of them over into England in such plenty.* Another Bill to prevent the imbezelling of prize goods, of which of late there have been so great faults committed; also the Bill I mentioned to you concerning ejected Ministers: Not much else of publick concernment. The King hath caused the Dutch ambassador's secretary here to be committed. The French ambassadors are discountenanced at court. The Bishop of Munster proceeds prosperously; so that 'tis the news here, that in Over-Yffel and those parts, they have drowned their country to prevent his farther irruption, and that they presse the States-Generall to make up a peace and restore the Prince of Orange. Our navy is speeding to chase the Dutch again off our seas. I am,

GENTLEMEN,

Your very affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDREW MARVELL.

Oxford, Oct. 22, 1665.

## LETTER XXIX.

MR. ROBERT BLOOM, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**B**EFORE my departure from Oxford, I would not omitt to let you know that on Tuesday last his Majesty was pleased to put a period to this session of Parliament. The ten Acts passed were these: For 1,250,000l. to his Majesty; for 120,000l. to his Majesty, to be bestowed on his Royal Highness; for Attainder of Dollman, Scott, and Bamfield, Englishmen that acted in Holland against his Majesty; for uniting of Vicarages; for debarring ejected Non-conformists from living in or neare Corporations, unlessse taking the new Oath and Declaration; for speedyer Recovery of Rents; for preventing unnecessary Suits and Delays in Law; for taking away of Damage cleare after 7 years; *for restraining of Printing without Licence*; and for naturalizing some particular Persons. The Bill for better preventing the Increase of the Plague could not passe, because the Lords would not agree with us, *that their houses, if infected, should be shut up*. His Majesty was pleased, at our departure, to witnesse his great satisfaction in all our proceedings, and signified that he thought he should not call us together again before Aprill, but in the mean time did prorogue us onely till the 20th of February next. Our House, at their rising, ordered some of their members to attend his Majesty, and request

request him that the officers of the Navy and Ordnance might give in their accounts the next session. *Our Bill against the importation of Irish cattell was not past by his Majesty, as being too destructive to the Irish interest.*

This is the summe of what hath been done this short session. I have no more at present but to beseech God to continue you in all health and welfare, and to assure you that I am,

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

Your most affectionate friend and servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Oxford, Nov. 2, 1665.*

L E T T E R   X X X .

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL RICHARD FRANK, MAYOR,  
AND THE ALDERMEN HIS BRETHREN,  
OF KINGSTON UPON HULL.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**R**EALLY businesse does so multiply of late that I can scarce snatch time to write to you. We are yet in the debate of what recompense for the chimney-money. The last in debate by sealed paper, in things of legal and publick concernment, but nothing yet resolved, nor yet the act brought in how to take away the chimney money to be debated

debated upon. The committee hath voted the Canary Company grievous, illegall, and a monopoly. A conference to-day with the Lords, to fatisfy them, in answer of theirs, of our reasons for prohibiting French commoditys. Bill for encouraging Flax and Hemp, with 2s.6d. for Tythe of an Acre, ordered to be ingroft. Committee about the Fire of London, and another committee to receive informations of the infolence of Popish Priests and Jesuites ; and of the increase of Popery. Have much businesse, excuse haft, I will make you amends as soon as I can, remaining,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Oct. 23, 1666.*

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L E T T E R XXXI.

MR. RICHARD FRANK, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN,

**S**INCE my last to you we have advanced very little either in the sale of the chimney-money, or finding out a compensation, if sold, in lieu of it for his Majesty ; and so consequently neither in any other way of raising the 1,800,000l. formerly voted, which is not from any want of  
ardor



ardor in the House to supply the publick necessities, *but out of our House's sense also of the burthen to be laid upon the subject, and a desire therefore to do it in the most prudent, eligible, and easy manner.* What hath past else of most consideration is the votes yesterday upon the opinion of the committee for receiving information of the insolence of Popish Priests, &c. that his Majesty be desired to issue out his Proclamation, that all Popish Priests and Jesuits, except such as not being natural born subjects of his Majesty's dominions, belong to the Queen-Mother and Queen-Comfort, be banished in 30 days, or else the law to be executed upon them; that all Justices of Peace and Officers concerned to put the laws in execution against Papists or suspected Papists, in order to their conviction, and Judges in their circuits, to give in charge, &c. that all officers, civill or military, not taking the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy within 20 days, be displaced; that all Papists or suspected Papists, who refuse to take the oaths, be disarmed; that *dedimus potestatem* be issued out to the Lord Generall for the army, Lord Chamberlain, &c. for the King's Household, to administer the said oaths, &c. that all muster masters lose their places, who shall muster any that have not taken the oaths and the sacrament, after the rites of the Church of England: And herewith the House sent to desire the Lords' concurrence, to which they have yet received no answer. Also 'twas ordered to desire his Majesty to re-

new



new his commission for all members of our House to take the said oaths. Many informations are daily brought in to the two committees about the Fire of London, and the insolence of Papists. I remain,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your very affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Oct. 27, 1666.*

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LETTER XXXII.

MR. RICHARD FRANK, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HOUGH, by reason of some extraordinary occasions, I was hindered from writing last Saturday, yet, if my time had served me, I should not have had much matter to fill up a letter; for our House hath been ever since my last intricatèd still in the way of raising this money for the King: whereby we have only gained that however, almost all possible expedients having been under debate, we are the riper to come to a result. For as yet the committee of the whole House, much less the House, have neither rejected or embraced any one of the proposals that have been under deliberation. The redemption  
of

of the chimney-money at 8 years purchase we are very fond of, but to make the King a compensation of 200,000l. a year perpetuall, which it is estimated at, to be upon as secure and certain a bottom, is the greatest difficulty, besides many others in the execution. Forain excise, home excise, a poll-bill, subsidies at the improved value at sixpence per pound, privy seals, sealed paper, a subsequent land-tax, have been all more or less disputed, with different approbation, but where we shall pitch I am not yet wise enough to tell you: for indeed as the urgency of his Majestyes affairs exacts the money, *so the sense of the nation's extreme necessity makes us exceeding tender whereupon to fasten our resolutions*; but I am prone to imagine that the chimney business will fail us, and that we shall after all be forced upon a subsequent land-tax, together with a poll-bill, or some other of the most tolerable projects to raise a summe of ready money. One thing I observe, that as the House is much in earnest to furnish his Majestyes present occasions, *so they are very carefull to prevent the perpetuating of any imposition.*

This day hath been wholly taken up in calling the House over. The defaulters are to be called over this day se'nnight, and then they, and who shall absent themselves in the meantime, to be proceeded against. I suppose you know that the King hath promised his proclamation about the Papists and

French commoditys, in purfuanee of the votes of both Houfes. I am,

GENTLEMEN,

Your moft affectionate friend to ferve you,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Nov. 6, 1666.*

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L E T T E R    X X X I I I .

MR. RICHARD FRANK, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**P**ERHAPS you may have already heard, from fome hand, part of our further proceedings: however, I fhall go on to continue from my laft letter. The Houfe refolved, that a poll bill, an impofition upon fealed paper, an impofition (which is likely to be by way of excife) upon forain commodities, and an eleven moneths tax upon land (but of how much *per menfem* not refolved; but refolved not of an hundred and twenty thoufand pounds *per menfem*) to begin from the expiration of the prefent taxes, fhould be the ways out of which to raife the 1,800,000l. ever fince that we have been in a Committee of the whole Houfe, toward the maturing and proportioning of thefe particulars. Firft, for the fealed paper, a Committee has been ordered to infpect all offices of judicature, &c. what quantities and number  
iffue

issue yearly of all papers and parchments belonging to law business, &c. that so a surer estimate may be taken of the revenues to arise thence, and of the proportion to be placed upon such papers, as they are of greater or less consequence. Then for the poll-bill the Committee hath prepared these votes, but not yet reported to the House, that all persons shall pay One Shilling per poll; all aliens two; all nonconformists and papists two; all servants one shilling in the pound of their wages; all personal estates for so much as is not already taxed by the land-tax, shall pay after twenty shillings in the hundred; cattell, corn, and household furniture shall be excepted, and all such stock for trade, as is already tax'd by the land-tax, but the rest to be liable. And thus we are still proceeding on the poll instructions, in order to preparing a bill. What the paper and this will not do, must fall upon the forain imposition, and subsequent land-tax. I have sent you here the proclamation against Papists; what was in our votes, and not these published, which I hear his Majesty is putting into the way of being executed by commission. The reports from the Committee of the Fire of London, and insolence of Papists, are almost ready for the House: things of extraordinary weight, and which, if they were not true, might have been thought incredible. I remain,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

*Westminster, Nov. 13, 1666.*

ANDREW MARVELL.



## LETTER XXXIV.

MR. RICHARD FRANK, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last to you, we have in a manner been wholly taken up with the instructions for the Poll-bill, which is now ordered to be brought in, and may, I suppose, by Thursday morning, be ready for its first reading. The chief of the instructions which the House voted upon report from the Committee of the whole House, were, beside that of twelve-pence on every head, and double on aliens and non-conformists of all sorts, twenty shillings in the hundred pounds for personal estates; three shillings in the pound for all offices and publick employments except military; lawyers and physicians proportionable to their practice. Several other limitations and restrictions. There is one Bill ordered to be brought in (perhaps you have heard it) of a new nature: that all persons shall be buried in woollen for these next six or seven years. The reason propounded is, because a matter of an hundred thousand pounds a year of our own manufacture will be employed, and so much money kept at home from buying forain linen, till our own trade of flax, &c. be grown up, as is intended by the Bill for the encouragement thereof, of which I gave you notice formerly. I have sent you the two proclamations about Canary wines and French commodities,



TO THE CORPORATION OF HULL. 61

commodities, if perhaps you have not yet had them from some other hand. I remain,

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Nov. 20, 1666.*

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L E T T E R XXXV.

MR. RICHARD FRANK, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN,

WE have received your letter concerning the Hull prisoners in Holland; whereupon we went to *Sir George Downing* and delivered him the list. Upon perusal of it he said, that he was confident severall and the most of them were already exchanged, which he gathered upon observing the places where most of them were prisoners, orders having been given for the exchange of them in those admiralties. He saith, that the first faire wind from Holland he will give us an account, for he never hath a list of the names of those which are dismissed, till they arrive here; and then, if any be left behind, he will procure their release also, with the soonest. For those which are prisoners in Zealand, he saith, there is indeed yet no order, but he will write speedily about them. We shall not faile to enquire of him and put him in mind from time to time of it. We propounded to

him whether those Dutch prisoners at Hull might not be a quicker dispatch than otherwise ; but he saith that signifies nothing according to the method in which that business is put, the prisoners, from whatsoever place of England, being discharged according to the several admiralities where they chance to be distributed in Holland at their taking.

This is all at present. We remain,

Your very affectionate friends,

ANTHONY GYLBY.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Nov. 22, 1666.*

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LETTER XXXVI.

MR. RICHARD FRANK, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I HAVE not had much to acquaint you with of late, nor yet much leisure, for we have been constantly taken up with perfecting the Poll-bill, at the Committee of the whole House ; that we may be ready to return it to the House. We have and are now sitting all day to perfect it, I hope it will be done to-night. The committee of grievances hath had much work, which still continues, about my *lord Mordant's* mis-government at *Windsor*, and my *lord Willoughby's* at the *Barbadoes* ; and to day we have very sad news,

news, most part of it too true, of *Lord Willoughby's* (and several ships, and great numbers of men) destruction by an hurricane in an attempt for *St. Christopher's*. The sea news is not good from severall places; but we are most follicitous for the *Smyrna* fleet which is upon returne; and the *Gottenburgh* fleet, and the successe of that whole affair, God grant good. For the *Scotch businesse*, truly I hope this night's news is certain of their totall rout. I remain,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Dec. 1, 1666.*

Pray write us still, whether you heare any thing of the returne of your Dutch prisoners.

LETTER XXXVII.

MR. RICHARD FRANK, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last to you, we have been constantly busied in the Poll-bill; the House sitting morning and afternoon; and it was yesterday perfected ready for engrossing, but that in the conclusion there was offered an enacting proviso, that for the better satisfaction of the people, &c. great  
fumms

summs of mony having been already granted, there should by this act be constituted so many commissioners of Lords and Commons to inspect and examine thorowly, the former expense of the 2,500,000l. of the 1,250,000l. of the militia mony ; of the prize goods, &c. The debate thereupon was very long, and at last upon division of the House, those that were against it being but 83, those for it 119, 'twas caryed for the provisos being committed : so that some time more will be spent in the committee of the whole House, for fitting of this proviso to the Bill, which I hope will be of very *good service to the publick*. This being all that occurs to me at present worthy your notice, I remain,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your very affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Dec. 3, 1666.*

LETTER XXXVIII.

MR. RICHARD FRANK, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**S**INCE my last the House hath sent up the Poll-bill and the Bill for the inspection of the accounts by 24 commissioners named in our House, to which they expect 12  
Lords



Lords will be added. And they have returned the Bill about Irish cattell again to the Lords, adhering to the word nuisance which the Lords changed to detriment and mischief, and at a conference, we delivered the reasons of our adhering. Also the Lords having sent us word they had not proceeded upon the Canary patent, because we sent up bare votes without our reasons; we have now prepared our reasons, to be imparted to them at a conference. To-day his Majesty writ to us to quicken us, signifying we should sit all but the great Holidays; and that we should conclude his business without any recess; because on the 15th of January the commissioners of the poll are to begin. Thereupon our House forthwith called all the defaulters as the first call of the House, and the Sergeant at Arms to be sent for them, and they not to sit till they had payed him fees. And the House to be called the 2<sup>nd</sup> of January; those that have since absented to be summoned, and if not then appearing, to be proceeded against as the former defaulters. Then the House voted that whatsoever wants in the Poll-bill (which is by the Committee, but not yet by the House, estimated at 540,000*l.* of the 1,800,000*l.*) shall be made up by eleven months Land-tax, so the Sealed Paper and forain Excise are out of doors. This is all. I remain,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Dec. 15, 1666.*

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## LETTER XXXIX.

MR. RICHARD FRANK, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last to you there is not much new ; we have now very neare finisht at the grand committee, the eleven moneths assesment to make up thereby the 500,000l. (at which we estimate the Poll-bill) 1,800,000. Other bills of lesser moment are in sufficient progresse ; those of more publick concernment, as of Irish cattell, Commissioners of Accounts, &c. are yet in suspense betwixt the Lords and our House. This day we read ingross, the impeachment of the *Lord Viscount Mordaunt*, Constable of Windsor Castle ; consisting of severall articles of misdemeanor and illegall and arbitrary proceedings, which is ready to be carryed up. To-day the *Duke of Buckingham* and *Marquesse of Dorchester* were, upon their petitions, freed from the Tower, having been committed for quarrelling and scuffling when we were the other day at the Canary conference. We have adjourned 'till Saturday next. I thank you for your kind present of our Hull liquor.

I am, &amp;c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Dec. 22, 1666.*

LET-

## L E T T E R XL.

MR. RICHARD FRANK, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

WE met again this day according to our adjournment last Saturday. This day a Bill was brought in by the city members, for regulating the building of the city, and was read the first time; also a conference was desired with the Lords, for impeaching *John, Lord Viscount Mordant*, of severall high crimes and misdemeanors: the Lords thereupon agreed to a present conference in the *Painted Chamber*, where our House exhibited the articles of impeachment against him. This was all was done to-day, and then the House adjourned till Wednesday next. The news is not much. I suppose you know that the *Duke of Buckingham* and *Marquesse of Dorchester* are again releast from the Tower; that the Duke afterwards, being at chapel before he had waited on his Majesty, was sent for by the King, and forbid the Court, but I hear is since admitted. Part of the Gottenburg fleet is arrived; I hope my next may give you account of the rest. Their convoy has taken three Dutch men of warr; and a privateer of *Sir William Batten's* has taken three good prizes, brought into Portsmouth. One of our ships from the Levant that could not keep company

with the rest was taken by two French merchants, the vessel was worth 20,000*l*. I remain,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Dec. 29, 1666.*

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LETTER XLI.

MR. RICHARD FRANK, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**S**INCE my last to you, we met upon Wednesday, and having begun the calling of the House, a message came from the Lords, for a present conference upon four Bills sent up to them : Coynage, which was of the least concernment ; Accounts ; Irish Cattell ; and Poll. On Thursday the report was made of the conference about Accounts: the Lords, without communication with the House of Commons, had, instead of our Bill, petitioned the King to issue a commission under the great seale to the same purpose, and told us that the King had done it ; our House voted thereupon without dividing, that this proceeding of the Lords was unparliamentary and a dangerous precedent, and ordered members to prepare reasons. Yesterday the report of the conference about the Irish Cattell: the Lords proposed, that instead of the word Nuisance, we should both Houses petition his Majesty

jeſty that he would grant no licences ; but our Houſe upon diviſion 116 againſt ſome 57, carried to adhere to our word Nuiſance ; and that the importation of Iriſh cattell ſhould ſo be eſteemed in law. To-day the report of the conference about the Poll-bill, wherein the Lords have made many materiall alterations, and returned it us. I obſerve one little particular, that they have added to you, whom we had inſerted Commiſſioners, Mr. Thomas Johnſon and Mr. Henry Crevett. Their firſt alteration (which took up our Debate all this day) was that aliens ſhould not pay double poll : but upon diviſion we adhered that they ſhould. There remains much, and when we have gone through all, we ſhall have ſeveral conferences with the Lords about all thoſe Bills. Theſe things I do not eſteem too high to intruſt with your diſcretions, but they may fit for your privacy, if not ſecreſy ; neither would I have you doubt, from the good temper of the Houſes, and his *Majeſty's princely prudence*, of a good ſucceſſe of theſe ſeeming clafhings in opinions and proceedings. A Bill has been read for ſetting the prices of wine as well upon the merchant as retaylor. Not much more worth notice. I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your moſt affectionate friend to ſerve you,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Jan. 5, 1666-7.*



## L E T T E R XLII.

MR. RICHARD FRANK, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I AM in some, that is, much haste. The news that you heard of Tangier is false; and so of the French. We have not advanced much this week: the alterations of the Lords upon the Poll-bill have kept us busy. We have disagreed in most: Aliens, we adhere to pay double; Non-conformists, we agree with them not to pay double, 126 to 91; to allow no exemptions of patents to free from paying, we adhere; that the Lords name no Commissioners in the Poll-bill, we adhere; that is to say, no Commoners; and we have also rejected a long clause of theirs, whereby they, as well as the Commoners, pretend distinctly to give to the King, and to-day we sent up our reasons. Sir Thomas Higon brought in a Bill, having married with the Lady of Essex, to recover 5550l. disposed of by an ordinance of Parliament; which, as contrary to the Act of Indemnity, was thrown out 63 to 88. A dispute of election for member of parliament, Mr. May, the privy-purse, against one Mr. Austen, a gentleman dwelling near the place: Mr. May lost it 63 to 138. A petition for French wines, ordered before the prohibition, and now in port, rejected. My *Lord Ross* his Bill for illegitimizing his children,



dren, to-day offered us from the House of Lords. The call of the House to be continued on Monday next. I am, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Jan. 12, 1666-7.*

L E T T E R XLIII.

MR. RICHARD FRANK, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**H**AVING given you lately a silent alarme of some appearing difference betwixt the two Houses, I thought it worth a letter extraordinary to signify to you with the first, the happy compliance renewed betwixt them; for yesterday the Lords sent to advertize us, that they had concurred with us in the Irish Bill, and as to the word Nuisance in it; as also that in the Poll-bill they had concurred with us to charge Aliens double; to leave out their own particular enacting clause, whereby they had pretended to give their own money apart; to allow no patents of exemption to discharge the payments of this Bill; to strike out the Commissioners they had added among the Commoners, as Mr. Johnson and Mr. Crevett at Hull; only they named Commissioners from among themselves, only to tax their own personal estates and offices: to which our House, being very well pleased with the rest, readily agreed. So that  
these

these two Bills being now happily dispatched, I hope also that the rest of our remaining businesse with them, will have the same successe; and that the remainder of the publick businesse in our House will go on as chearfully. Yesterday our House was called thorow. To-day was spent in a debate, by reason of the dearnessse of coals, to addresse to the King for convenient convoy, and to desire that 4, 6, and 8 men might in coale ships of 1, 2, or 300 tons, be protected still from pressing, from 1<sup>st</sup> September to 1<sup>st</sup> April; resolved in the affirmative upon division of 69 against 47. On Friday the defaulters upon the call of the House are to be called over; the House will be strict with them. I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

Jan. 15, 1666-7.

L E T T E R XLIV.

MR. RICHARD FRANK, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**S**INCE my last his Majesty came yesterday to the Lords' House, and there past five publick Bills. The Poll Act; the Act for Irish Cattell, with the word *nuisance* in it; an Act for an Imposition of 12000l. yearly on French Wines; for Defraying the Mint, that so all persons who shall bring  
in

in any Bullion or Plate, may receive the full Value in Sterling Mony, without any Deduction for Coynage; the Act for Burying in Woollen; and an Act about the Mofsetroopers on the Borders. Other private Acts he past, and then spoke to us; the chief matter of which was: that he was resolved to put an end to this session on Munday se'nnight, and that we should before then make ready what he was to dispatch. Then the Lords sent us down my *Lord Mordant's* answer in writing to our articles of impeachment; we have not yet read it. Having been upon calling of the defaulters in our House, there was a debate, question, and division, whether we should go through with the call; it passed in the negative 118 to 108: but then the first defaulters were called over and referred to a committee to consider their several cases. To-day we continued the grand committee for Bill of Sefment; a proviso to set apart such a summe of it to pay the seamen, took up most of our time, and is referred to a particular committee to rectify. Then we read the second time the Bill for attendance of members in parliament, and committed it. Our business in the Lords' House, on which we lay the most stress, is *Lord Mordant's* Canary Patent; Bill of Accounts. And in our own House a Bill for rebuilding London, and this of Attendance. I remain,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

Jan. 19, 1666-7.

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## LETTER XLV.

MR. RICHARD FRANK, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I WRITE this word of a Letter to inclose the King's speech, and our Speaker's; though perhaps you may have them from some other hand. You see the time prefixed for our rising. The Lords sent us word that they had ordered the hearing of my *Lord Mordant's* business on Saturday next: our House hath thereupon ordered members to manage it; but unless his Majesty prolong our days, that and severall other businesses of moment will *be nipt in the bud*. Our House yesterday perfected the proviso of 380,000*l.* of the Sefment Bill, to be appropriated for paying the seamen, from the first of January (this present month) for the year following, and so, perfecting the bill of assessement, ordered it to be ingrossed and read the third time next Friday. To-day we have ordered an address to his Majesty for the wines I writ you of; and committed the Bill for prohibiting French wines and commodities. Then heard the report of the Fire of London, full of manifest testimonys that it was by a wicked designe; and ordered the report of the insolence of Papists for to-morrow, and then to take both into consideration. Thus much at present. I am,

GENTLEMEN, &amp;c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Jan. 22, 1666-7.*



## LETTER XLVI.

MR. RICHARD FRANK, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**Y**ESTERDAY we sent the Bill of Assesment up to the Lords. To-day his Majesty sent us word by Mr. Secretary, that, out of his desire that the Bill for the Building of the City might passe, he had altered his resolution, upon request from the city, and gave us a day or two more. I believe it will be something longer. We made what progresse we could in it this morning, upon the amendment from the committee; but at eleven o'clock we went up to the Lords to manage the impeachment against Lord Mordant. Our managers observed that he sat in the House, and that he had counsell offering to speak for him; whereas he ought to stand at the barr as a criminall, and to have no *counsell to plead, or manage his cause*, but only for himselfe to resort to upon point of law. Hereupon the Lords retired, and debated; and will give their resolution on Monday morning. Then we returned, and have sat all day on the city bill, but are not got through the amendments, shall resume them on Munday. The Poll-bill is printed, but with so material errors that we must make an explanatory Act. I shall send it you as soon as possible.

Your most affectionate, &amp;c.

*Westminster, Jan. 26, 1666-7.*

ANDREW MARVELL.



## LETTER XLVII.

MR. RICHARD FRANK, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I HOPE you have received the Poll-act and the breviate ; if you find any thing perplext in it, I shall, upon your writing to me, resolve any scruple that you may have of its exposition : there is an explanatory act for some things omitted or ill expressed in it. I now believe that the Bill for Building the City will passe before our rising. There is, toward the building of it, twelve pence allowed for ten years on every chaldron of coals that comes within Gravesend. The Bill against Atheism and prophane Swearing we have sent up to the Lords ; our other publick busineses with them I doubt will scarce be perfected, as particularly my Lord Mordant's impeachment stops, because the Lords will not consent to have him come without the barr. We have lost Antego, Montferrat and St. Lucia ; and Nevis is besieged by the French. The Lord Willoughby (brother to the former) is going hence for the Barbadoes. We have some hope of a good alliance, or of a peace : God grant it. I believe we shall rise about the latter end of the next week. I am,

GENTLEMEN, &amp;c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Feb 12, 1666 7.*

## LETTER XLVIII.

MR. RICHARD FRANK, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**Y**ESTERDAY his Majesty was pleased to prorogue us till the tenth of October next. The publick Bills which he past were eight; whereof the most considerable: The Assesment of eleven Months; the explanatory Poll-bill; the Acts for preventing Law-suits betwixt Landlord and Tenant in London; and a Bill for Rebuilding the City of London. The foure others are of lesser moment. I shall look that you have them all as soon as printed, and his Majestyes gracious Speech at our departure. Here hath been an ill accident lately. The Patrick, a ship of 56 gunns, taken off Harwich by two Dutch men of warr; she had a fireship too in her company, which it seems ran away, and the Master questioned. The Captain of the St. Patrick was one Sanders; I hope ere long to write you some better news, and of higher importance, if it please God to give successe. I am sorry to hear of severall fires of late in your town, but by God's mercy prevented from doing much harme. Though I know your vigilance, and have been informed of the occasions, I cannot but out of the earnestnesse of mine own sense advise you to have a carefull eye against all such accidents. We have had so much of them here in the South, that it makes me almost superstitious. But indeed, as sometimes

times there arise new diseases, so there are seasons of more particular judgements ; and such as that of fires seem of late to have been upon this nation : but God's providence in such cases is well pleased to be frustrated by human industry, but much more his mercys are always propitious to our repentance. Excuse this digression, and if, during my stay here, I may be any way usefull to you, command,

Your most affectionate, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Feb. 9, 1666-7.*

LETTER XLIX.

MR. RICHARD FRANK, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**H**IS Majesty having issued out his proclamation for re-  
assembling this Parliament, I have sent it you here inclosed, and withall desire you, that you will therefore reflect among yourselves, upon any thing in your present condition, which you may think worthy of publick consideration ; that if you have any thing of that nature, I may be prepared in my place to co-operate towards your satisfaction : wherein you shall always find me as ready as *obliged*, being

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

*London, June 27, 1667.*

ANDREW MARVELL.

The Dutch begin to appear again near Gravesend.

## LETTER L.

MR. RICHARD FRANK, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HIS is onely to give you a short account that this day we have met in Parliament. The King sent a message, that concerning the House might be thin, he would have us adjourn till Munday next, when his Majesty intends to come to signify his pleasure. The House therefore only ordered, that the members of the privy-councell of our House should go to the King, to desire that if there be a Peace, his Majesty would be pleased to *disband all the new-raised land-forces*. This past *nemine contradicente*, and then we adjourned till Munday. The Dutch have been fighting with us in the mouth of the river, but I think with more damage to themselves than us. The peace truly I think is concluded: his Majesty will best tell us that news, as the best author. Yesternight at one o'clock a very dangerous fire happened in Southwark, but blowing up the next House in good time, there were but twelve consumed or ruined; besides the lives of some few persons. I cannot but advise you, to have especial care in your town of any such accident, or what you will call it; for I am sorry we can yet see no clearer by so many lights. The House is very full for the first day, and we expect every day fuller. I have no more at present, but am, GENTLEMEN, &c.

Yours,

London, July 25, 1667.

ANDREW MARVELL.



## LETTER LI.

MR. RICHARD FRANK, MAYOR.

GENTLMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**H**IS Majesty was pleased yesterday to acquaint us, that having summoned us in an exigency of his affairs, the Peace was now made, and therefore he could not please us better than by dismissing us at this season: that the articles of Peace should shortly be in print, and that he hoped to meet us again in October; and so prorogued us till then. When his Majesty's speech and the articles shall be made publick, I shall take care to furnish you with them. I have nothing further, than to assure you that I am,

GENTLEMEN, &amp;c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*London, July 30, 1667.*

## LETTER LII.

MR. RICHARD FRANK.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**E**XCUSE me if I have not writ before, and now so short; for really we are tired out with publick business, which I hope will tend much to the nation's and your satisfactions. Our greatest matter is the enquiry into the severall miscar-

riages of the late warre, which we are very ferious and earnest about. Yesterday the House sent to Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle to desire their information of all the miscarriages of the warre, according to their observation. They have promised in two or three days to return their narratives in writing. Secretary Morice is ordered to-day, to search out his letters of intelligence, and give account of them which he received about the time of dividing the fleet. Colonell Gilby and I have received this *Dedimus*, which we send you. I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your very affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDREW MARVELL.

London, Oct. 8, 1667.

L E T T E R LIII.

MR. RICHARD FRANK, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**I**N my last I inclosed to you a *Dedimus potestatem*. Mr. Stockdale I think told me some days agoe, that he should be out of town this day, which makes me more willing to write you a line or two to-night. We proceed daily

in examining the miscarriages of the late warre, and especially hitherto upon the not fortifying Sheernewe; and the burning of the ships at Chatham. This morning several members of our House did in their places move the House to proceed to an impeachment against the Earle of Clarendon, and layed very high crimes to his charge. The House proceeded in it with very much temper, and the result at last was no farther than to make a Committee to look out precedents against Tuesday morning (till when we adjourned) to report to the House, what way formerly they had proceeded in capital cases. Yesterday upon a new petition and fresh matter against the Lord Mordant, the House referred it to a Committee in order to receive his impeachment. The next week we shall have Prince Rupert's and my Lord Generalls account of the miscarriages of the warre in writing; also Secretary Morrice, his concerning the intelligence, whereupon the Fleet was divided.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*London, Oct. 25, 1667.*

L E T-

## LETTER LIV.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL ANTHONY LAMBERT, MAYOR,  
AND THE ALDERMEN HIS BRETHREN  
OF KINGSTON UPON HULL.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**R**EALLY the busineſſe of the Houſe hath been of late ſo earneſt daily and ſo long, that I have not had the time and ſcarce vigour left me by night to write to you ; and to-day, becauſe I would not omit any longer, I loſe my dinner to make ſure of this letter. The Earle of Clarendon hath taken up much of our time till within this three days. But ſince his impeachment hath been carryed up to the Houſe of Lords, we have ſome leiſure from that ; and now this is the third day that the Lords have, without intermiſſion of any other busineſſe, continued upon the queſtion. Whether upon our deſires to commit him to cuſtody, before we ſent up (which yet we have not done) the particular articles of our charge againſt him ; and this debate of theirs will ſcarce be ended before night, if then. Beſide we have upon the Duke of Albemarle's narrative, and other matter before us for this day or two, great debates, and long, about Commiſſioner Pett ; and many neglects and miſcarriages laid to his charge in the buſineſs of Chatham. At laſt the Houſe hath to-day voted, that the Committee of Miſcarriages ſhall draw up an Impeachment againſt Pett.



Now although the House be sharpe set upon finding out and punishing things of this nature, yet neither are other publick matters neglected. They have agreed to sit two days in the week in Committee of the whole House upon the balance of trade, and more particularly of the trade betwixt Scotland and England, in regard of the impositions which ly alternatively upon the importation of each others commodities into theirs or our country: wherein if any thing be particularly in your prospects, and touch the interest of your trade, you will do well to give us timely advice. The Bill for Accounts is ready for report. A Bill against Pluralities is committed. Several other things in expedition. I should be glad too to know your sense concerning a Bill that will be brought into the House for Naturalizing all Forainers whatsoever, who shall come to inhabit here, and take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, without infringing the Freedoms and Charters of Corporation, but otherwise naturalized to all purposes. The Bishop of Yorke being sick of the small-pox, appears in a very faire way of recovery. I am  
Your servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Nov. 14, 1667:*

*Wrote on the back of Letter dated Nov. 14, 1667.*

I heare the Lords are at last come to a resolution to desire a Conference to-morrow with our House, to show us reason why they should not commit the Earle of Clarendon before speciall articles.

L E T-

## LETTER LV.

MR. ANTHONY LAMBERT, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HREE or foure days of this week have bin taken up in examining, in our House, a matter of Bribery to some of our members; when in the former Session, after the prohibition of all French Commodities, our House was prevailed with neverthelesse to petition the King to suffer a great quantity of French Wines to be landed, upon pretense that the persons concerned had given orders for those Wines before the prohibition. The greatest fault herein hath been fixt upon Mr. John Ashburnham, he who belonged to the OLD KING. The House yesterday voted, that he having received 500l. of the French Merchants had committed an offense to the *dishonour of this House, and contrary to his duty as a member thereof*, and afterwards they voted that he be *excluded* the House, and a writ to be issued for *electing a new member in his place*. On Monday the House will be upon the remainder of this businesse, as to other members who received severall tierces of wine, &c. The Lords and we cannot yet get off of the difficultyes risen betwixt us on occasion of our House's demanding the Earle of Clarendon's imprisonment upon a general charge of treason: the severall Conferences we still have upon that account seem rather to heighten than allay the difference. The  
Bill:

Bill of general Naturalization of what Strangers soever come to inhabit here, taking the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, hath been once read. The Bill of Accounts is reported to the Committee, and the House are upon the Amendments. I am straitned in time for writing any further, so beg your excuse, and am

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate friend,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*London, Nov. 23, 1667.*

L E T T E R LVI.

MR. ANTHONY LAMBERT, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**S**INCE my last to you, we have had a free conference with the Lords, and so a mutuall debate of the reasons on each side for, and for not committing the E. of Clarindon upon our general charge. The Lords yesterday sent a message by Judge Archer and Judge Morton, that upon the whole matter, they were not satisfied to commit him, without particular cause specified or assigned; whereupon our House, after very long debate, voted "That the Lords not complying with the desires of the House of Commons in committing and sequestering from their House the E. of Clarindon,

Clarindon, upon the impeachment carryed up against him, is an *obstruction of the public Justice in the proceedings of both Houses of Parliament, and is the president of evill and dangerous Consequences.*" To-day the Lords sent down by Judge Twisden and Judge Brown another message to us, that they had to-day received a large petition from the Earle of Clarindon, intimating that he was withdrawn. Hereupon our House forthwith ordered Adresse to his Majesty, that care might be taken for securing all the Sea Ports lest he should pass there. I suppose he will not trouble you at Hull! Also ordered a Committee to draw up a narrative in justification of the proceedings of our House in this whole matter of his impeachment. I heare his petition is of five sheets, which will furnish enough hereafter for your information. The Lords go upon it to-morrow. When this message came, we were debating whether to commit the Bill of generall Naturalization; but hereupon adjourned the further debate. Mr. Stockdale gives you account in what good progresse your mony is that you lent, and I hope Mr. Recorder (though we cannot hitherto meet) gives you what is done in the companyes debts, which I will inquire of and assist according to my best opportunity. I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*London, Dec. 3, 1667.*



## LETTER LVII.

MR. ANTHONY LAMBERT, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I Have but leisure to tell you, that we are to-day adjourned till 6<sup>th</sup> of February. We have past five publick acts: Act of Accounts—of making Exchequer Orders assignable—for Commissioners to treat with Commissioners of Scotland for the opening the Trade betwixt both—for naturalizing Prize Shippes—for banishing and disabling the Earle of Clarindon. I have inclosed to you, upon communication with my partner, the Act for the Duke of York's mony. I beg your pardon, shall write to you more at large. I remain,

GENTLEMEN, &amp;c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*London, Dec. 19, 1667.*

## LETTER LVIII.

MR. ANTHONY LAMBERT, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THIS letter cannot acquaint you with much more than that to-day, according to our adjournment, we are returned to sit in Parliament. But our number appearing  
very

very small, we onely made one order, that the House would entertein no new businesse 'till it be called over. The day appointed for that before, will be the next Thursday, when it is probable they will be severe enough against those that are absent. So we adjourned till Munday next, when it is probable his Majesty will declare his pleasure to both Houses. The present news out of doors is, that as the Bishop of Rochester from Clerke of the Closet, so on Tuesday last the Bishop of Winchester was discharged from being Dean of the Chapell, and yesterday the L. Cornbury, the E. of Clarindon's son, being Chamberlain to the Queen, was dismissed from Court. No more at present but that I remain,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Feb. 6, 1667-8.*

LETTER LIX.

MR. ANTHONY LAMBERT, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I Have been so busy this weeke that I could not write before, and the House having sat to-day 'till five in the evening, so that I have but little time left me. I hope I shall have your excuse. You know, I believe, that the House

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ordered

ordered to take the matter of the King's speech into consideration after the report of the miscarriages of the late warre, and that report should be made after the calling of the House; accordingly the House was called on Thursday, and ordered that the absenters should each be fined 40l. and if they refuse to pay it, then to be committed to the Tower till they shall. The same order for any who shall be absent three days from the House without leave. Yesterday and to-day the House hath bin upon the Report of Miscarriages, and have made yet onely two votes: one that the division of the Fleet was a miscarriage; the other that the not revoking the order of dividing the Fleet after intelligence received of the Dutch coming out, was a Miscarriage. They proceed again on Monday upon the same report.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Feb. 15, 1667-8.*

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L E T T E R L X.

MR. ANTHONY LAMBERT, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last, the House hath for the most part gone each other day upon the consideration of the publick Miscarriages and the King's Speech, by turns; as to the last,

last, they have not yet voted any further supply, but that a Committee take an account of the last Poll mony, and of the mony registered on the eleven Months Tax: and what part thereof expended toward the warre, according to the intent of the Act, and what mony arising by the Poll mony hath likewise been applyed to the use of the warre. As to the miscarriages of the warre, they have further voted the not prosecuting the first victory to be one of the greatest miscarriages. And the not furnishing the River of Medway with a sufficient guard of shippes, though the king had then 18,000 men in pay, to be a great miscarriage; and the paying off the fleet with tickets, without mony, to be a great miscarriage. The debate upon setting the prices of wine upon the merchants having been adjourned to a further day is not yet resumed. Col. Gilby tells me he hath writ about the profer of the chusing what fishing places you will in Greenland. There is before the House a particular businesse concerning the L. Gerard, Captain of his Majesty's Guard, which will, and doth reflect highly upon his reputation and fortune. This is all at present, but to remain,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*W<sup>estminster</sup>, Feb. 22, 1667-8;*



## LETTER LXI.

MR. ANTHONY LAMBERT, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HIS is to acquaint you with the soonest that having sat till 8 at night yesterday in a Committee of the whole House; we voted a supply to his Majesty not exceeding the summe of 300,000. and that not to be raised either by Land Tax or by home Excise. To-day we have been considering of the way, but have adjourned the debate till Saturday, it being impossible so soon to come to a resolution. To-morrow we return to the further consideration of the report of the Miscarriages of the late warre. I have nothing more at present but to remain,

GENTLEMEN, &amp;c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Feb. 27, 1667-8.*

## LETTER LXII.

MR. ANTHONY LAMBERT, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**I**AM glad to acquaint you with the first of all the steps we make in the supply to his Majesty. I told you in my last the vote of the Committee of the whole House

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concerning a supply not exceeding 300,000*l.* neither by Land Tax or home Excise. Since that, they have voted towards that supply an additional duty upon forain commodities, to be layd at the Custom House, and not by way of Excise. The House hath not yet deliberated on, or pass'd these votes of the Committee, onely have ordered a select Committee, to consider what commodities are capable of that addition, and what estimate it may amount to. It is ten days before the Committee of the whole House sit again, severall busineses being appointed for the days between. As upon Wednesday (upon occasion of a complaint yesterday by severall members, of insolence of some people in their religious meetings to the affront of the ministers of the place) the debate is appointed upon that matter, and I hope will tend towards that composure which his Majesty recommended to us. On Thursday the Commissioners of the Navy are to be heard to defend themselves touching the matter of ticketts, which Miscarriage is layd much at their doores. Other things are of a privater nature.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Feb. 29, 1667 8.*

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## LETTER LXIII.

MR. ANTHONY LAMBERT, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

ON Wednesday last the House resumed the debate occasioned by the informations of several members concerning the insolencies of Non-conformists in some part of the nation, disturbing ministers in their churches, and setting up their own preachers; the House hereupon came to this conclusion, that they would, in a body, attend his Majesty, desiring him to reinforce, by his proclamation, the laws against Conventicles, and that care might be taken to secure the peace of the nation against the unlawfull meetings of Papists and Non-conformists; and that the House on Wednesday next will take into consideration the latter part of his Majesty's Speech. Accordingly they went next day, and his Majesty answered, "He would issue forth his Proclamation according to their desire, and doubted not but they would take the latter part of his Speech into consideration according to their own vote." When the Proclamation comes forth, I shall send you a copy. The House also, to be better satisfied concerning the informations which had occasioned this resolution, made a committee to examine them. Also they have sent for the Lieutenant Governor of Chester; he having writ up news that an  
apo-

apothecary of that town had received letters from one Clauell, a clerk in Mr. Secretary Morice his office, concerning the King being angry at the Houses former vote of desiring his Majesty to issue his Proclamation; whereas Mr. Secretary denied in the House, that he had, nor indeed hath any such clerke, nor knows any such man, and the apothecary is likewise sent for up. His Majesty having writ to the House to quicken them in his supply, some Members of the Councell proposed the necessity of 200,000l. more; but the House only proceeded to confirme what had bin thus voted at the Committee, "That they would raise a supply not exceeding 300,000l. and to be levied neither by Land Tax nor home Excise"; and since then the Committee of the whole House have sat daily about the manner of raising it. The Committee for adding a Custome on forain Commodities are not yet ready, but it runs much on Wines, and Tobacco especially, and on Linnen and Brandy; but we are yet very irresolute what way to pitch. There is a proposall on the Tunnage of Ships importing, but I hope *unlikely to take effect*. To-day it hath bin earnestly moved to raise 100,000l. of the 3 upon the dignified Clergy. Others add Pluralities. Some would have all raised on Deans and Chapters lands, but we rose without any question, but to sit again on Munday. Yesterday Sir R. Holmes informed, at the Committee of Mis-carriages, against Sir Jer. Smith, for his behavior in the



last fight. Friday is appointed to heare both their witneffes, when I doubt not but Sir Jeremiah will come off with full reputation. Col. Gilby tells me that my Lord Bellasis is sick, so that if you have not yet had answer concerning the late insolencies of the soldiers, that hath bin the hindrance. The Generall is to-day gone out of town for some ten days to refresh himselfe, being something indisposed. Thus much at present. I remain,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, March 7, 1667-8.*

I doubt not but before the end of the next week we shall have agreed in the way of raising the Supply.

LETTER LXIV.

MR. ANTHONY LAMBERT, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE House hath at last ordered, that for the raising of 100,000l. with the interest, for his Majesty, there shall be layd 4d. the quart on French wines; 6d. the quart upon Spanish wines; 6d. the quart on all other wines, and 12d. the quart upon brandy: and this sum to be raised within 18 moneths time, beginning from the first of May next, by commissioners for that purpose; and Mr. Sollicitor is ordered to bring in a Bill. Yesterday the Committee of  
Mis-

Miscarriages met in order to Sir Jeremy Smith's business; he gave in his answer, in writing, to the several articles delivered in against him by Sir Robert Holmes, and had his witnesses ready to have justified the truth of his said answer in all points; but the Committee conceiving generally that it was not so prudent at this time to foment dissensions among the officers of his Majesty's fleet, and reflecting upon the former hearing of this matter before his Majesty, the Duke of York, Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle, wherein Sir Jeremy had bin acquitted, thought not fit to examine the matter till they should receive the commands of the House whether they should proceed further, and I believe the House will be of opinion to cease all enquiry therein; most men, almost all, being satisfied that Sir Jeremy did nothing but what befitted a person of courage and experience, and that the charge against him proceeded rather from animosity than any good ground. Since my last to you, the House (upon new informations from some members of the multitude of people in several places frequenting conventicles) ordered a Bill to be brought in for continuing the former Act against Conventicles. To-day the Commissioners of Accounts gave in their narrative of their proceedings hitherto; the House thanked them, and approved what they had done, and promised them their assistance. I remain,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

*Westminster, March 14, 1667-8.*

ANDREW MARVELL.

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## LETTER LXV.

MR. ANTHONY LAMBERT, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**O-DAY the House, before a Committee of the whole House, sat and voted, that towards the King's supply of 300,000*l.* they will raise at least 100,000*l.* upon wines, and strong waters; and at the rising of the Committee, agreed with a new vote of theirs, that this 100,000*l.* should be levied by Commissioners; this is all hitherto: it is probable that it will be by foure-pence a quart upon French wines, and six-pence upon Spanish. Yesterday the debate concerning the latter part of the King's speech, wherein they seemed inclinable to abate the renunciation of the Covenant, the assent and consent to the dispensing with Ceremonies, the reforming the Bishops Courts, the taking away of Pluralities, the rectifying of Excommunications, the punishing of *scandalous Clergymen*, and severall things of this nature, but not being able to mature these deliberations at present, the King's supply pressing, and the House being to adjourn next week, for some ten days; the debate was adjourned 'till that day moneth, and the House to be called Munday three weeks. Yesterday morning also the Proclamation came out about the meetings of Papists and Non-conformists, which Col. Gilby sends you down. This is all at present. I remain,

GENTLEMEN, &amp;c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, March 17, 1667-8.*

## LETTER LXVI.

MR. ANTHONY LAMBERT, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE House rose yesterday 'till Thursday next. What they have done in the matter of supply stands thus: They have voted 100,000*l.* to be raised upon wines in the way I have writ you formerly; 18 moneths time given for levying it, but if the summe be collected in lesse time, then to cease immediately. For the 200,000*l.* remaining, another Poll bill, in which all that are not worth 20*l.* shall pay nothing either for themselves or children. They have not yet declared any further restrictions, onely if this Poll bill shall not rise to 200,000*l.* then that it shall be made up out of an additional duty that shall be layd on wines at the Custom-house. Yesterday the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Counsell of the City of London, sat from eight in the morning 'till three in the afternoon, and ended their debate in a resolution to attend the House of Commons at their next sitting, with their thanks for what they have done formerly in examining about the burning of the City; petitioning further, that the House will take it again into consideration, by reason of certain further informations they have received, which they intend to present at the same time with their petition. Monday last the petition of the Irish Adventurers against the Commissioners of Claims,



and the explanatory Act was read, and ordered that the petitioners should that day moneth be heard at the barre of the House: 'tis a businesse of very high concernment. The Act of Conventicles not yet brought in.

I remain, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, March 19, 1667-8.*

LETTER LXVII.

MR. ANTHONY LAMBERT, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**Y**OU know we returned to sit on Thursday. We are yet no further in the preparatory votes for the Poll bill, then that lay dignities shall pay but halfe what formerly; and a debate adjourned whether children under sixteen shall pay their poll. To-day Mr. Sollicitor brought in the Bill for raising 100,000*l.* upon wine upon the retailer; 'twas read once, and appointed the second time on Thursday next: it seemed at the first reading too severe much to the House, neither is it probable it can passe us without being polished and pared throughout; when we are forced to search for such ways of supply, 'tis difficult to make them effectual without some strictness extraordinary. I have little more worth your notice at present, but remain,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, March 28, 1668.*

## LETTER LXVIII.

MR. ANTHONY LAMBERT, MAYOR:

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**A**LTHOUGH it is I think a week since I writ last to you, and we have bin day by day upon the King's supply, we have not made any very considerable progresse as yet upon that Bill; the cause whereof is onely the due care to make this excise upon wines as tolerable to the subject and practicable for the King's occasions as the nature of such an imposition will admit. I think I have acquainted you already that the House hath layd up their thoughts of a Poll, and chosē to raise the whole 300,000l. on Wines, giving two years space, according to the rates I writ you for the collection, unlesse the sum shall rise in a shorter time; but if not in that time, then that for a third year there be an additional duty at the Custome-house, not exceeding foure pound a tun; and the Commissioners that execute this Act to give account from time to time to those Commissioners of Accounts of monyes given for the late warre. The Bill which is committed to the Committee of the whole House lyes all upon the retailer. We have made a late vote to direct us in the progresse hereof, that it is not intended by this Bill that any wines shall pay twice, which is not in respect of the first seller, unto such as shall buy any quantity of wine successively from one to another.

Truly this is all that I find materiall for the present to acquaint you with. On Munday 'tis intended to call the House. I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, April 4, 1668.*

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LETTER LXIX.

MR. ANTHONY LAMBERT, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE success of Wednesday's debate upon the King's speech, in reference to composition, was a question to desire his Majesty to call before him some persons of the different persuasions, to receive their proposals; the House dividing, it passed in the negative 167 against 70. After that they debated long concerning taking of the declarations of assent and consent, and concerning the covenant, and something of ceremonies, which debate at last was adjourned 'till Wednesday next. The House hath this week made some, but no great progress (I mean the Committee of the whole House) upon the Bill of Supply, not having yet gone through above seven sheets of seven and twenty. Leave hath been given to-day to bring in a Bill for reducing interest lower from six to five or four in the hundred. But it is a business of that weight that I scarce believe it can have a passage this session. The Commissioners of Accounts sent  
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in a narrative concerning the breaking of bulke of the two East India prizes; it lights very heavy on my Lord of Sandwich and others. The House adjourned the debate till Tuesday next, and in the mean time desired the Commissioners to send them in what more they could prepare on that subject; it is probable the House will then come to a severe resolution against several remarkable persons. Also Harman\* arriving in the Downs, the Duke of York sent an expresse to hasten him up to appear before the House to be examined about the not prosecuting the first victory; it is a business of great expectation, and in common opinion rests hitherto at Bronkard's doore. Harman probably will be with us by Munday or Tuesday at furthest. News comes from so good hands that it can scarce be discredited, that the Peace betwixt France and Spain is signed on both sides.

I remain, GENTLEMEN, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, April 11, 1668.*

L E T T E R LXX.

MR. ANTHONY LAMBERT, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE Bill of 300,000l. upon wines proceeds still, but many publick businesses intervening, we shall be much straitned, neither do I believe we can finish it, and the

\* Sir John Harman on the 25th of June 1667, with sixteen sail of the line, defeated thirty sail of the French, near Martinico.



the rest within the time limited us by his Majesty. To-day the Bill for the City of London was committed, which contains further directions for the building, large powers to be invested in the Mayor and Aldermen to that purpose, and more years than formerly allotted for that worke: the passing of it requires much time. Last week an impeachment was ordered to be brought in upon Tuesday next against Sir W. Penn, for breaking bulke in the East India prizes. On Munday next the Irish Adventurers will be heard at the barre, a great cause complaining of the settlement there as destructive to the Protestant interest. Yesterday Harman was brought to the House to give account of slackning faile in the first victory: he had a very good reputation at his coming in, but when he said that Mr. Bronkard onely used arguments, and justified the thing [himselfe, saying, "That he had bin a mad-man had he not done it," and other witnessses clearly contradicting this, and proving that Bronkard brought him orders in the Duke's name, he lost all credit with us, and yet more when, upon recollection, he confessed that Bronkard did bring orders as from the Duke; so he is committed to the Sergeant, and will doubtlesse be impeacht; both he and Mr. Bronkard, who also was heard, will probably on Tuesday next tast the utmost severity of the House.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

## LETTER LXXI.

MR. ANTHONY LAMBERT, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**H**IS Majesty has this week sent another message to us, signifying, that because 'twas possible he might have occasion to call us together again before winter, and many weighty matters were before us; he intended it should be but an adjournment for about three moneths, and therefore desired us to dispatch the Bill of Supply, and what else might be ready to passe, by the 4th of May. The Committee of the whole House hath now gone through that Bill, and to-day entered upon the report of it to the House. The impeachment against Sir William Penn is carried up to the House of Lords, who have thereupon ordered that on Munday he appear at their barre. The impeachment against Mr. Bronkard, who fled away, is not yet finisht by the Committee. The Act for continuing the Act against Conventicles is ingrossed ready for its third reading, and will, I believe, passe our House next week.

I remain,

GENTLEMEN, &amp;c.

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*April 25, 1668.*

## LETTER LXXII.

MR. ANTHONY LAMBERT, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

'TIS nine at night, and we are but just now risen, and I write these few words in the Post-house, for surenesse that my letter be not too late. We have now past the Wine Bill, which is to be sent to the Lords on Munday morn: so we cannot keep our day. And another reason too comes very unseasonably to detain us the longer. I have no more time then to tell you that the Lords having judged, and fined the *East India Company*, as we think *illegally*, upon the petition of one Skyner, a merchant, and they petitioning us for redresse, we have imprisoned *him that petitioned them*, and they have imprisoned severall of those that petitioned us; and we on Munday send to the Lords *severe votes against their proceedings: it is a businesse of very high and dangerous consequence*, but I hope we shall find out ere long some way of compofure; though it appears very ill at present.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &amp;c.

Your very humble servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*May 25, 1668.*

## LETTER LXXIII.

MR. ANTHONY LAMBERT, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I Suppose you may have heard ere this of the conference we desired with the Lords last Tuesday; wherein we gave them two votes: one that their taking cognizance and proceeding originally upon the petition of Skyner against the East India Company, was contrary to law; and the second of the like nature, as to that island belonging to the king of Jamba, which Skyner complained of particularly. It was Friday in the afternoon ere the Lords desired a Conference of us; wherein, with a preamble in writing of a *severe and high sense*, they gave us two votes in exchange: That our entertaining a scandalous paper of the East India Company's, and our proceeding thereon, was a breach of the privilege of the House of Peers, and of the good union that ought to be betwixt the two Houses; that what the Lords had done upon Skyner's petition was agreeable to law, and consonant to precedents both ancient and modern. These votes were backt with discourses of the Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Effex, Earl of Bridgewater, Lord Lucas, Earl of Anglesey, Lord Hollis, Lord Andover, which held us almost five hours. We went from thence back to our House, where we sat without intermission till five o'clock this morning. Our votes were, That the East



India petition contained nothing scandalous ; that in interteining and proceeding thereon, we had broke no privilege of the Lords, nor the good union, and had done nothing but what became us ; that a Message should be sent to the Lords as soon as they sat, that the House taking notice of their desires of a good union, and not being satisfied with their reasons given at the conference, is of opinion the best way of preserving that union would be the Lords surceasing all proceedings upon their order or sentence against the East India Company, and setting at liberty the members thereof that were in custody. This message was accordingly carryed ; the Lords answered they would return answer by messengers of their own, which the House taking for a refusal, voted, That whosoever should be aiding or assisting in execution of the Lords sentence or order against the East India Company, *shall be deemed a betrayer of the liberties and rights of the Commons of England, and an infringer of the privilege of Parliament.* The Lords went on in the debate of our message, and voted, they would not agree with us ; the King came and past the Wine Bill, which takes force from the 24th of June ; a Bill for liberty of transporting Leather ; a Bill providing further against importing Irish Cattell ; a Bill to cause Receivers of the late Taxes to pay in their Monyes to the King (nothing else of publick concernment) which shall take care to send you when printed. The Bill for providing further for building  
the

the City of London had not time to passe, nor the Bill for continuing the Act of Conventicles. The King took notice of the difference betwixt us and the Lords, and hoped to find an expedient in this interval to compose the matter, and bad us goe to our House and adjourn till the 11th of August, and if he had not need of us at that time, would advertise us by proclamation. We went and adjourned presently, but the Lords sat on, and sentenced Sir Samuel Barnardiston, upon his knees, to pay 300l. fine, and be under the black rod without baile till he payd it; Sir Andrew Ricaut was dismist; Mr. Roland was dismist; Mr. Boon (these foure being members of the East India Company, and of the Committee for drawing up the petition to us) to be under baile till our next meeting. Having done this, the Lords likewise adjourned. Col. Gilby and I have been with Sir John Bennet, the post-master, who promisses to write this night to Mr. Mawson (which letter you may please to call for) to redresse any error, and I am sure that nothing will be exacted of you contrary to the Act: if there should, I will undertake, upon the least notice again from you, to see it rectified. This day foure persons were hanged, drawn, and quartered for the late insurrection of apprentices. I have no more news nor time. I take great pleasure in writing to you, more in serving you to my ability, and shall always remain,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL,

*Westminster, May 9, 1668.*

## LETTER LXXIV.

MR. ANTHONY LAMBERT, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**I** Thinke it is fit to give you this word, that yesterday we met, and were, by Commission under his Majesty's broad seale, prorogued till the 19th of October. This further his Majesty declares on all occasions, that he is resolved not to part with this parliament. Alsoe my Lord Keeper declared openly at his house, at the sealing of the Commission, and gave those present leave to report it, that whereas there was a rumour of a new parliament, his Majesty to his knowledge was resolved to continue this, and that if there was any necessity of calling a Parliament before that time, his Majesty knew an expedient, notwithstanding this prorogation, to call us again together for his service. This is all I had to say, but that

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &amp;c.

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*London, March 2, 1668-9.*

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## LETTER LXXV.

MR. ANTHONY LAMBERT, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**Y**OU understand I believe by this time that we have sent up the Bill of Supply: the remarkablest things in it are that Vinegar pays as well as Wine. The retrospect since October last on the merchant by his entrys at the Custom-house, that he may upon oath discover to what retailers he has sold, or else pay the duty himselfe. The retrospect since October was twelve moneths upon retailers that have imported. The search in merchants cellars upon 24<sup>th</sup> of June went for what Wines already imported. The 8 yeare to the King; but when the Speaker delivers the Bill to the King, he is to mention, among other reasons, the damage the Duke hath and will sustain in his Wine Licences by the Wine Acts. The Licences nevertheles continue, unless the King and the Duke together can agree upon some expedient. The Bill for Grazing and Tillage is sent up, giving Licence to export all Corn, and setting an high custom upon forain Corn when ours is a good marketable rate; for exporting Butter and Cheefe, and all Flesh at lower rates; for exporting Cattell, Horses, &c. a Bill certainly very useful. A Bill was sent up yesterday declaring the law that no Englishman may be transported prisoner beyond the sea, and imposing great penaltys on all that shall



be any ways assisting therein; it had but a narrow passage, there being only 100 for it against 99. The Commissioners of Accounts were heard about the Dover ships, and after some defence upon the Commissioners of Dover side, the House rose without declaring any opinion. We are this night upon the report of the City Bill. The crowd of business now toward our rising obliging us to sit both forenoon and afternoon, usually till nine o'clock, which indeed is the occasion that I have the less vigor left at night, and cannot write so frequently to you. The Lords have read the second time a Bill to assure those that shall purchase the King's fee-farm rents. They are now the third day upon the Bill of Conventicles, and make many alterations in it, which will occasion conference betwixt the Houses. The Lord Roffes Bill was on Thursday ordered to be read the second time as this day, 41 persons and 15 proxys against 42 persons and 6 proxys; to-day being read it was committed, 45 persons against 41, and proxys so many as made 12 odds in all. The Bill to prohibit Brandy hath bin read once with us, and Munday appointed for the second.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*March 19, 1669.*

## LETTER LXXVI.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL HUMPHREY DUNCALF, MAYOR,  
AND THE ALDERMEN HIS BRETHREN,  
OF KINGSTON UPON HULL.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE Parliament being now shortly to sit, though I know you want no remembrancer in those things which concerne you, yet I thought it proper for me to give you notice of it, and that I shall, God willing, be present at the opening of the session; therefore if there be any particular that may more nearly relate to your affairs, you will be pleased to consider thereof, and advertize me timely, that so I may be instrumental to serve you therein, as farr as my capacity will carry, and my obligation binds me. And so wishing that you, and the kingdome, may have reason to rejoyce in the happy successe of this our meeting, which is of so great importance and expectation, I take leave at present, and remain,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*London, Oct. 7, 1669.*

## L E T T E R LXXVII.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL JOHN TRIPP, MAYOR,  
AND THE ALDERMEN HIS BRETHREN,  
OF KINGSTON UPON HULL.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HIS is onely to give you account that according to the day prefixed we have met in parliament, where his Majesty did in short signify to the Houses the necessity he had of mony, desiring them to take it into effectual consideration: and further signified, that he had taken care in Scotland for appointing Commissioners to treat with Commissioners, to be named also by the Parliament of England, for making an union of the two kingdomes: the Lord Keeper (to whom his Majesty referred to speak larger of those points) did also say, that his Majesty hoped that if there were any debate betwixt the Lords and Commons, there would be such a spirit of moderation as should prevent all ill consequence. Our House returning thence, ordered, that one Chiswell, a bookseller, should be summoned before us to give an account of a book lately printed by his order, called, The Grand Question concerning the Jurisdiction of the House of Lords, upon occasion of Sir Samuel Barnardiston's business last session; this book seeming of most dangerous consequence to the Libertyes of the Commons of England. Next they appointed a Committee to inspect

inspect the Lords books for their proceedings against Barnardiston last session; then voted, that Tuesday come se'night should be the day to take his Majesty's speech in consideration: That the House (being indeed but thin) should be called on Munday next, when 'tis likely they will be very severe against those that are absent. So we adjourned till Thursday morning.

I remain,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*London, Oct. 19, 1669.*

L E T T E R LXXVIII.

MR. JOHN TRIPP, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last, our House, upon examination of the printer of that book about the Lords Jurisdiction, ordered, that Mr. Speaker direct Mr. Attorney to prefer an inditement against him in the King's Bench, for printing such a book without legall licence; the printer onely having alledged for himselfe, that he had it from my Lord Hollis. Sir Samuel Barnardiston being asked at the House barre

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whether



whether he payed the fine fet upon him by the Lords, fatisfyed the Houfe 'twas contrary. For indeed it was a colluffion, the mony having been pay'd into the Exchequer by a third perfon, and probably pay'd him back again onely, to confirm fo upon record a fubmiffion to the Lord's judgment: therefore the Houfe voted Sir Samuel Barnardifton had behaved himfelfe in the whole matter like a good commoner of England, and ordered that all our arguments at the conference laft feffion with the Lords fhould be fully entered on our journal, and a Bill to be brought in to declare the Lords have no right to try originall caufes touching Life, Liberty, corporall Punifhment, or other Punifhment, nor of Title or Property of Lands, Tenements, &c. nor to tax damages for any injury. Also that none fhall be molefted for any thing in petition to the Commons, except at the faid Commons profecution; alfo to vacate and rafe all records and proceedings concerning Sir Samuel Barnardifton, &c. which Bill was accordingly red the fecond time and committed to-day. To-day the Commiffioners of Accounts brought in their report, which the Houfe being wholly intent on their Bill, they ordered it to be read Saturday next, and in the mean time to be fealed up by the Speaker. They ordered on Wednesday fe'nnight to confider the fecond part of the King's fpeech. Then they adjourned till Friday, that the Committee might fit till then, morning and night, to perfect the Bill. The  
Houfe

TO THE CORPORATION OF HULL. 117

House was called yesterday, and gave defaulters a fortnight's time, by which if they do not come up they may expect the greatest severity.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*London, Oct. 26, 1669.*

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LETTER LXXIX.

MR. JOHN TRIPP, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**B**EING yet in adjournment till to-morrow, and these papers coming out in the meane time, I thought them fit to be transmitted to you, that you might, as you have so cleare understandings, receive also as early intelligence of what passes. And having nothing further at present,

I remain,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*London, Oct. 28, 1669.*

LET-

## LETTER LXXX.

MR. JOHN TRIPP, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**M**UNDAY was spent in the House about Sir John Griffith, whose exacting of mony from the boats coming up from Medway, &c. was voted first a grievance, next an high extortion, and so represented from the House to the King, who has returned a Message that he had therefore displaced him: and the House hereupon voted their thanks to his Majesty. *'Tis well that something exemplary has been done therein, for we are informed that the like trade was set up by severall governours of the forts adjacent.* On Wednesday the Earl of Orrery appeared, and having the favor to sit by reason of his extremity of the gout, made his defence in his place, and so fully to every point, that though otherwise he might probably have been brought upon tryal by impeachment, yet the House upon division, 121 against 113, dismiss the accusation. Thursday the House voted the way of raising the 400,000l. to be upon Wine and Brandy, and a further imposition on French Linen, and on Munday next to proceed further in taking the measures of years and proportions otherwise as may fit the summe resolved. Yesterday was Sir G. Carteret on the three last observations. The 8th being an inconsiderable summe they past by, but the 9th and 10th voted misdemeanors ;

meanors ; and on Wednesday next to debate in what manner to proceed against him. To-day the House adjourned till Saturday next ; and after long debate what to do with the Lords in point of *our Libertys* now, we have thrown out one anothers bills, and voted that a Conference be desired of them touching those former matters, and a Committee which shall propose matter for that Conference against Munday or Tuesday. This is the most of what is at present news. I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

Nov. 4.

LETTER LXXXI.

MR. JOHN TRIPP, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**W**HAT occurs since my last is this, that upon a motion made in our House, it was ordered that we should goe in a body to give his Majesty thanks for the late Proclamation against Conventicles, and to desire the Lords concurrence ; who have to-day answered that they agree, and will send to his Majesty to know his time when the two Houses shall wait upon him. Also the Bill of Conventicles hath bin read once, and Saturday appointed for the second reading.



reading. Upon some debate yesterday on the second part of his Majesty's speech, ordered, that on Tuesday next the House will dissolve into a grand Committee about that business. The Commissioners of Accounts upon the House's order brought in the answers of those persons who seemed concerned in their Report, of which Sir George Carteret is the first; also the short estimate of how much of the money given was expended properly to the use of the warre: which were by order sealed up with the Speaker's seale till to-day, when they were opened, and the estimate read, and the rest put off till Saturday, when 'tis likely those businesses will be closely sifted. To-day that great and important Bill of the Lords Jurisdiction, entitled, An Act concerning certain proceedings in Parliament, was sent up to the Lords: God send us an happy issue of it. Excuse, I beseech you, my haste, for there is much business.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*London, Nov. 4, 1669.*

L E T-

## LETTER LXXXII.

MR. JOHN TRIPP, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

ON Saturday we were taken up for the most part in reading over the papers which Sir G. Carteret had given in to the Commissioners of Accounts all along for his discharge, and the rest of them we deferred till Munday. Saturday in the afternoon the Houses went to wait on the King, whose answer was in these same words, "My Lords and Gentlemen, I thank you for this marke of your affection to me: I doubt not of the continuance and concurrence of it in other things as well as in this of my Proclamation. I recommend to you that you would weigh well what I say and desire in it, toward the welfare and peace of the nation. In order to which, as I shall be always ready to contribute my utmost endeavors, so I hope you will never be failing in yours to inable me to do it." On Munday we resumed Sir G. Carteret's papers, and heard what he said of himself, and then voted upon Wednesday next to proceed upon the criminal part of what is reported by the Commissioners concerning his malversation in his office. To-day the House sat in Committee of the whole House upon the motion for the King's supply, and after a considerable debate came to

this vote, To desire the House to sit again this day se'night upon the motion for the King's supply, which was accordingly ordered; for the House was content to take some respite in this matter till they might perceive what the Lords will do with our Bill of Jurisdiction, which they have not yet read, but 'tis supposed they may to-morrow. The defaulters have not yet been called over in our House. The Bill of Conventicles hath not yet been called for to a second reading; 'tis probable it may shortly. There is a Bill for regulating of abuses in the chimney money, and complaints against excisemen referred to the same Committee. *A Bill once read against giving of interteiments of meat or drink, or giving money, or barganing for elections to parliament, depriving those so electing of votes, and the elected of sitting that parliament, with other fines.* A Bill for setting the Poor on work, and some other things, whereof I shall give you account at more leisure.

I remain,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Nov. 9, 1669.*

LET-

## LETTER LXXXIII.

MR. JOHN TRIPP, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last, Wednesday appointed for Sir G. Carteret's business was consumed in the debate of committing or not the Bill of Conventicles upon the second reading; at last it was committed. Thursday, Friday, and this Saturday have been most part employed upon Sir G. Carteret; and because Sir G. would have offered to the House something new, which he had not produced to the Commissioners of Accounts (his proper place of Judicature) the House on the one side to give the fairest play to him, being a Member of the House, and on the other to give the just honor to the Commissioners of Accounts, and witness the confidence they have in them, and to acknowledge the authority with which those Commissioners are vested by Act of Parliament, did tacitly leave him to offer any thing he had to say onely unto them, but would not enter on any new examination themselves, and therefore the House adjourned the debate of him till Wednesday next; the calling of the House till Munday se'nnight; the motion of the King's supply till Friday next; and lastly to witness the great stress and whole weight there lye upon the Accounts, and particularly Sir George's, that no other



business might be considered, they adjourned themselves also till Wednesday next. The Lords have thrown out our Bill, *nemine contradicente*, as I hear; but my Lord Bristole is preparing another. I wish it find a good passage when it comes to us. Our late debates in Sir George's businesses having not passed without some acrimony, was the occasion that one of our members, a person of quality, has bin reproved, and hath acknowledged in his place; which as it were to be wisht it had not happened, so nobody much troubles themselves that Mr. Bronkard's name was thereupon revived, who had offered in the interval to Sir J. Morton. He was in the former session expelled the House, you remember on what reasons, and is now by order taken into the custody of our Serjeant at Arms, and other things will probably be improved against him. Sir George *is likely to pass the pikes*. Let not my willingness to acquaint you with affairs be made too common or prejudicial!

I am,

Your humble servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

Nov. 13, 1669.

L E T-

## LETTER LXXXIV.

MR. JOHN TRIPP, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**R**ETURNING after our adjournment to sit upon Wednesday, the House having heard what Sir G. Carteret could say for himselfe, and he then commanded to withdraw, after a considerable debate, put it to the question, whether he were guilty of Misdemeanor upon the Commissioners first observation, the words of which were, That all monyes received by him out of his Majesty's Exchequer are by the privy seales assigned for particular services, but no such thing observed or specified in his payments, whereby he hath assumed to himself a liberty to make use of the King's treasure for other uses then is directed. The House dividing upon the question, the ayes went out, and wondered why they were kept out so extraordinary a time; the ayes proved 138 and the noes 129; and the reason of the long stay then appeared: the tellers for the ayes chanced to be very ill reckoners, so that they were forced to tell several times over in the House, and when at last the tellers for the ayes would have agreed the noes to be 142, the noes would needs say that they were 143, whereupon those for the ayes would tell once more, and then found the noes to be indeed but 129, and the ayes then coming in proved to be 138, whereas if the noes had been

content

content with the first error of the tellers, Sir George had been quit upon that observation. This I have told you so minutely because it is the second fatall and ominous accident that hath fallen out in the divisions about Sir G. Carteret. Thursday was ordered for the second observation, the words of which are, Two hundred and thirty thousand seven hundred thirty and one thousand pounds thirteen shillings and nine-pence, claimed as payd, and deposited for security of interest, and yet no distinct specification of time appears either on his receipts or payments, whereby no judgement can be made how interest accrues; so that we cannot yet allow the same. But this day was diverted and wholly taken up by a speciall report ordered by the Committee for the Bill of Conventicles, that the House be informed of severall Conventicles in Westminster which might be of dangerous consequence; from hence arose much discourse: also of a report that Ludlow was in England, that Commonwealths-men flock about the town, and there were meetings said to be, where they talked of New Modells of Government; so that the House ordered a Committee to receive informations both concerning Conventicles and these other dangerous meetings; and then entered a resolution upon their books without putting it to the question, That this House will adhere to his Majesty, and the Government of Church and State as now established against all its enemyes. Friday having bin appointed, as I

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told.

told you in my former letter, for the House to sit in a grand Committee upon the motion for the King's supply, was spent wholly in debate, whether they should do so or no, and concluded at last in a consent, that the sitting in a grand Committee upon the motion for the King's supply should be put off till Friday next, and so it was ordered. The reason of which kind of proceeding, lest you should thinke to arise from an indisposition of the House, I shall tell you as they appear to me to have been the expectation of what Bill will come from the Lords instead of that of ours which they threw out, and advise to redresse and see thoroughly into the miscarriages of mony before any more should be granted. To-day the House hath bin upon the second observation, and after a debate till foure o'clock, have voted him guilty also of misdemeanor in that particular. The Commissioners are ordered to attend the House again on Munday, which is done constantly for the illustration of any matter in their report, wherein the House is not cleare. And to say the truth, the House receives great satisfaction from them, and shows them extraordinary respect. These are the things of principall notice since my last.

I remain,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Nov. 20, 1669.*



## LETTER LXXXV.

MR. HUMPHRY DUNCALF, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**B**USINESSE does so multiply (*of which whatsoever it is I thinke it becomes me not to leave you without some notice*) that I chuse to write it off hand before the end of the week. *Sir George Carteret* is voted guilty of three articles more, 5, 6, 7; the 3 and 4 postponed because relating to the Commissioners of the Navy. On Munday 'tis ordered to go upon 8, 9, and 10. I send you the Copy of all those the Commissioners observations, which I not having another copy, pray returne me this next post. But we have other great matters spring daily upon us. On Munday at the Committee of Informations, after some particular indiscreet and dangerous words of some Conventiclers alledged, the discourse ran much upon Mr. Henry Nevill, his being in town (which some thought of much, others of less moment) and thence it ran of something obliquely; girding upon the *Duke of Buckingham*, but without making that impression which some apprehended. After that, a Member imparted a message from the Generall that there was some great and evil designe on foot, and many old Army Commonwealths and Councill of Statesmen, and Out-laws and Forainers about town. This being reported from the Committee

mittee to the House, they sent their thanks to the Generall on Tuesday. Yesterday the Earl of Meathe brought in a petition in way of impeachment to the Committee of Grievances against the Duke of Ormond, but the direction being erroneous in form, the Committee dismissed it. To-day one Fitzharris, and another Alden, whose characters you will learn hereafter, brought into the House, and avowed an impeachment against the Earl of Orrery, a Member of our House. The House divided 182 against 144, whether the question should be put, whether there were treasonable matter in the charge; 'twas in the affirmative: he being ill of the gout a sergeant's man was ordered to attend him as for security till he can come to make his answer, which he will not delay a minute longer than his health will allow him. This week is not yet at an end. That is not news, but the remainder of these two days will probably make the news much greater. To-morrow is you know ordered for the motion of the King's supply; Saturday to read the Bill the Lords have sent us of Jurisdiction: God send us moderation and agreement!

Your's,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Nov. 25, 1669.*

## LETTER LXXXVI.

MR. HUMPHREY DUNCALF, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**H**AVING writ to you last post saves me the labor of a long letter this. Yesterday the House, upon the motion of a supply to his Majesty, did, without taking cognizance of his Majesty's debts, or upon that foundation, vote an aid to his Majesty not exceeding the summe of 400,000l. and that not to be raised either by land tax or home excise. On Thursday next they consider of the way; which 'tis likely therefore must be on forain trade, and that perhaps for a continuance of two or three years of the imposition upon wine. To-day the whole debate, which was very long and serious, hath bin upon the Bill of Jurisdiction, sent down to us in lieu of ours, which they threw out. In the conclusion, the House having read it the first time, this morning voted, that it should not be read a second, which is the same thing as to be thrown out. This done, a debate arose concerning doing something further in relation to our *common Libertys*, and Sir Samuel Barnardiston's, and the East India Companyes case, which debate is adjourned till Wednesday. Other things, of which I have writ to you formerly, have as yet no further progresse.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &amp;c.

*Westminster, Nov. 27, 1669.*

ANDREW MARVELL.

## L E T T E R LXXXVII.

MR. HUMPHREY DUNCALF, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**P**ERHAPS it may not be news to you, that on Munday the House voted the Imposition on Wines: this Act should be layd at the Custome House upon the Importation. The Secretary then (the House having voted to proceed on Thursday upon the Mony Bill again) delivered a message in writing from the King, wherein his Majesty signified he would give us leave to adjourn till February, but desired we would expedite the Mony Bill before Christmasse; the House neverthelesse did not alter their day, nor seem to judge themselves in a capacity to finish that Bill before their meeting in February. Tuesday was spent most in preparatory matters, when we should desire Conference with the Lords; Wednesday in like manner. At the Committee of Grievances, in the afternoon, Sir Philip Monnoux delivered in a petition, and a charge of severall great extortions against Mr. Benson, and a day was appointed to heare witnesses at our next meeting. Thursday the Committee of the whole House voted the proportion upon wines to be 8l. French, 9l. Rhenish, and 12l. Spanish, the tunne. But this question was carryed not without long debate, and upon division the King's officers and Privy Counselors of the House contending



highly that it might be but 4l. French, and 5l. Spanish, and their reason, lest if it were higher, we should prejudice the Customs as much as we increas't them; those against them being unwilling to let it so low lest they should be obliged to give so many years for raising this 400,000l. that the Imposition would slide into a perpetuity. The Speaker then took the chair, and the chairman reported the votes, which coming immediately from a Committee of the whole House, are used to pass'e forthwith without any debate; but the same gentlemen beginning to speak and interpose, the House grew warme, the doors were ordered to be shut, and the keys were layd upon the table. And so much vigour appearing, the opposition was soon at an end, and the votes pass't. Yesterday, after a very long debate, an 100 dividing against 97, Sir George Carteret was suspended the House, and further debate of proceeding against him adjourned till Munday se'nnight after our next meeting. To-day the Members, observing the thinness of the House, had intended to adjourn till February, but news coming that his Majesty, in his princely *wisdom*, had resolved to prorogue us, they debated to send to the King that Sir George might be expelled the court, and deprived of all offices; in this time came the Black Rod, and going up we were prorogued, by Commission, till 14<sup>th</sup> February. It is enough to tell you that Prorogation makes all Bills, Votes, and Proceedings of this Session null and voyd, as if nothing had bin don or said.

TO THE CORPORATION OF HULL. 133

said. *God direct his Majesty further in so weighty resolutions!* I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most humble servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Dec. 12, 1669.*

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L E T T E R LXXXVIII.

MR. HUMPHREY DUNCALF, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**W**E are again returned to sit in Parliament, which I pray God may be an happy meeting to his Majesty and the nation. I send you here inclosed his Majesty's speech, together with that of the Lord Keeper. The House hereupon made a vote that they would on Thursday next take his Majesty's Speech into consideration, and ordered that the same day the Commissioners of Accounts should attend, and then adjourned themselves 'till Thursday. This is what passed yesterday. I shall not neglect, as there is occasion, to give you notice of what is done among us, where you have so much concernment, as I have to be,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Feb. 15, 1669-70.*

## LETTER LXXXIX.

MR. HUMPHREY DUNCALF, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**W**E have kept ourselves these three days to so hard duty, that you will excuse me if I be shorter than ordinary. However, you will in the few words following discern that we have not laboured in vaine; the result of the Committee of the whole House, and afterwards of the votes of the House being, that the King's supply shall be upon Wine, excluding Land Tax or home Excise: that the first buyer shall pay of Wines imported to be sold; of Wines not imported to be sold, the first importer; that the imposition shall be at halfe the rate of what in this last act; that it shall last for seven years, beginning from Midsummer next; that Mr. Sollicitor prepare a Bill to this purpose. This is all at present, but that

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &amp;c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Feb. 19, 1669-70.*

LET-

## LETTER XC.

MR. HUMPHREY DUNCALF, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**Y**ESTERDAY the Commissioners of Accounts were before our House, and presented them a report concerning what the last importation upon wines would yearly have amounted to if it had been duly payd, and concerning some miscarriages therein, in which one Mr. Wadlow, a vintenor, one of the undertakers, was represented as notoriously faulty. This businesse ended in refering it to a Committee. But that which made me more willing to write to you so soon again is, that the King having sent yesterday to the Lords and Commons to attend him in the Banqueting House this morning, told us that he had ordered the record in the exchequer concerning the payment of Sir Samuel Barnardiston's fine to be cancelled; as also all things concerning Skyner's businesse in the counsell books, and recommended it therefore to the Lords and Commons to rase all records in their journals of that matter, that all memory thereof might be extinguisht. Our House thereupon did presently and unanimously vote the entry of this speech in our journal, and to go *in a body on foot* to give the King thanks, and to rase the records in our journal. A message was forthwith sent to desire leave to wait upon the King. So we have  
been



been twice at Whitehall in one morning, all infinitely satisfied with the King's prudence, justice and kindnesse in this matter, and I doubt not but all good Englishmen will be of the same mind; and indeed though the Lords are not come to a resolution this day, and have enjoyned their clerks secrecy, there is no reason but to believe the next news will be, that to-morrow they have as well complied on their part also.

I remain,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Feb. 22, 1669-70.*

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LETTER XCI.

MR. HUMPHREY DUNCALF, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE Act for Wines has had its first reading. The merchant before the landing of his Wines, upon his entry in the Custome House, is to become bound with two sufficient securityes for the whole duty. He that buyes first of him must receive from him a ticket of the quantity sold, and carrying it to an office for that purpose, become bound for so much, whereupon the merchant is to be discharged for so much; but he and his securityes stand bound

for the remainder; the merchant paying down the duty in ready money is to be rebated blank *per cent.* for Leakage, &c. blank *per cent.* all merchants (strangers) must pay the duty down in ready money; the officers of the office have liberty to enter into any ship the same as customers have; these officers, upon receiving the ticket before mentioned, must give warrant to the merchant for issuing such a parcell: they are the judges of the sufficiency of the securities. Thus severely is the Act brought in at first penning; but because beside the discouragement to merchants, so exact a rigor may perhaps prejudice the duty itselfe, by lessening importation; perhaps it may be mitigated upon second thoughts, which we shall see at the second reading to a Committee of the whole House on Monday next. Tuesday is appointed for the old businessse of Brandy, upon severall petitions then to be read; one of the farmers, the other of the merchants, about the 4d. and 8d. per gallon; another for the totall prohibition of Brandy. The Lords have rased all the records of Skyner and Barnardiston. We debated one day the *Union with Scotland*; but the businessse being so weighty, adjourned it to be continued next Wednesday. I thinke it will end in an Act of Parliament for Commissioners to treat with the Scotch, but what they treat not to be binding 'till reported and <sup>o</sup>past in a distinct Act of Parliament. Upon a petition from *Boston against the Customers there exacting unlawfull fees*, several other

ports complaining in like manner, there was a Committee appointed, who have to-day ordered that the Customers of all ports send up, by the 14th of March, a table of such fees taken, 4<sup>o</sup> Jacobi, and in the reign of King Charles the first, and since his Majesty's restoration, and by what authority they demand such fees; the same to be signified to the merchants also, that they may then inform the Committee what they have from time to time payed. The orders will not be ready till Munday, when I will take them out for you also, and send them by the Tuesday's post, that if you have occasion you may execute them, or if there be no necessity you may let things continue as they are. Dover has petitioned for a further time to continue the imposition for their Pier. But the House instead thereof ordered a Committee to inspect their Accounts, and why in all this time that work, and with so much expense, has not bin finished. On Munday we expect a Bill according to order to be brought in against Conventicles. The Lord Barclay intends for Ireland the tenth of next moneth. This is all I have at present, when I have added that I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Feb. 26, 1669-70.*

LET-

## LETTER XCII.

MR. HUMPHREY DUNCALF, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I Must beg your pardon this post, being called of by some unavoydable occasions: but I have given Mr. Stockdale my notes, who I doubt not will inform you particularly of what hath passed this week. I have not had any word from you, or any other of Hull, since I writ to you about the Customers fees, which makes me conceive that all is right in your port, and makes me omit sending you an order. But upon the least intimation from you, I will inclose an order by the same post, and it will be time enough still for the Customers or Merchants then to correspond with it. I remaine, in hast,

GENTLEMEN, &amp;c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, March 5, 1669-70.*

## LETTER XCIII.

MR. HUMPHREY DUNCALF, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

BEING in your debt since last weeke, I shall now write so much the sooner, and more largely to make you amends. On Munday last the Committee of the whole House



and afterwards the House, finding the Bill of Supply as it was first drawn to be something impracticable, have changed in a manner the whole frame of the Bill, having voted a clause to be brought in upon these grounds; that the merchant importer shall pay the duty at the Custom House; that no defalcation of this duty shall be allowed upon the exportation of the same wines; and that severe provision be made against all frauds upon the importation; and this Mr. Solicitor is to present to the House to-morrow morning: but the precedent votes do still continue concerning forain Vinegar, to pay the same duty as Wine. To examine merchants cellars the 24th of June next, what wines are yet unfold, that they may pay this duty, and to prevent, and, in discount of the third yeare to be layd at the Custome House, to supply what falls short of the 300,000l. upon Wines by the last Act. To consider what imposition to be layd upon forain Brandyes, or totall prohibition. What recompense to be given the King for his damage thereby, and how to make the forain Brandy already imported and unfold pay its dutyes. What recompense to the Duke of Yorke for his damage by this Wine Act in his Wine Licences, in order to take them of during this seven years Act, or even for perpetuity. Also the clauses subsequent of abatement to the merchant for leakage run, and decayed wines, and of rebate upon paying down the duty in ready mony, stand to be filled up, but not agreed yet

yet how much *per cent.* Also it is yet to be provided what time shall be allowed to the merchant importer not paying down ready mony, to discharge the duty: as soon as any thing further appears in this Act I will informe you. Upon Tuesday the Bill of Conventicles with its amendments was reported from the Committee and ordered to be ingrosed. A member of the House reported that his Majesty being informed that one Fox, a teacher of some fanaticall people in Wiltshire, did conventicle there, and that he or some of them had sayed they owned no King, but that the King and the Duke his brother (they are words so odious as scarce to be written) were bastards: Ordered that the Attorney General do profecute, and that he, the said member, asking his Majesty's leave to acquaint the House with it, his Majesty had given him permission so to do: whereupon the House ordered their thanks to his Majesty by the members of the Privy Councill, and to desire that his majesty, as he profecutes those, would also see the laws put in execution against Conventicles, which are of the same nature in or neare London and Westminster; and further (it being put to the question) they voted to desire his Majesty to cause the laws to be put in execution against Popish Recufants. Also they voted at the same time that a Law should be brought in for the better conviction of the said Popish Recufants. Yesterday having bin to confider of the Lords vote, and for our concurrence to desire his Majesty to name Commissioners to

treat with the Scotch about Union; the House divided, whether first they should not read the Bill of Conventicles ingross, and 'twas agreed to read it first by 118 against 101. The Bill was read importing, That the Act of 35 of Eliz. is still in force, and for further remedy, because seditious sectuaries, under pretence of tender consciences, do contrive insurrections at their meetings, that from the 3d of April next, if any person of 16 years, or upward, shall be present at any meeting, under pretence of religion, in other manner then allowed by the Liturgy and practice of the Church of England, at which meeting there shall be five persons, or more than those of the household, or if in an house, field, or place where no family inhabits, then where any five persons or more are assembled, any one, or more justices of the county, liberty or division, or the chief magistrate of the place, are enjoyned, either by confession of the party, or oath of witnesses, or by notorious evidence, or circumstance, or in default of evidence, unlesse the offender can by two witnesses upon oath prove that he came upon other lawfull business, to make a record of such offence under his or their hands and seals, and this record shall be in law a full and perfect conviction, and thereupon he or they shall fine the person five shillings, which conviction to be certified at next quarter sessions: the next offence as before, but the fine ten shillings, or (as I remember at the justices discretion a months imprisonment) and oft so as he offends; fines to be  
levyed

levyed by distresse and sale, or in case of his poverty, then upon the goods and chattells of any other person convicted of the same conventicle: constables, headboroughs, tithingmen, churchwardens, overseers of the poore required to levy the fines by warrant, under justice's hand or chief magistrates, one moiety to the justice for the poore of the parish, other moiety to such persons or person as the justice, &c. shall appoint, having regard to the persons industry in discovering, dispersing and punishing of the said Conventiclors: every one that preaches there, being convicted in the way before, to be fined for the first 50l. but if a stranger, or fled, or poore, it shall be levyed on the goods of any one or more persons that were there, and distributed as before; and upon second preaching 100l. and levyed in same manner, &c. upon one or more, if he be stranger, or, &c. whoever wittingly and willingly suffers such meeting in his house, barn, woods, or grounds, 50l. and if he be poore, then on one or more as before: justice or chief magistrate, and also constables, &c. by their warrant may and shall enter, break open any house or place where they are informed such Conventicle is, and may take into custody; lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, or any commissioned officers of the militia, or other of his Majesty forces, with troops or companyes; also sheriffe and other magistrates or ministers of justice, under certificate of any justice required to repaire to the place, and disperse the Conventicle, and take into custody



custody constable, &c. who knowing shall not informe a justice, fined five pounds; justice that wittingly omits his duty in this Act fined 100l. one moiety to his Majesty, the other to the informer. If any one be sued for executing this Act, he may plead generall issue, and give the speciall matter in evidence; and if the plaintiffe be nonsuited, or verdict passe for the defendant, the defendant shall have treble costs; this Act, and all its claufes, to be construed most largely and beneficially for the justification of all that executes it, and no record, warrant, or mittimus made by virtue of this Act, nor any proceedings thereupon, shall be reversed or avoyded by reason of any default in forme, or other defect whatsoever. If any offender inhabit in, or fly to another country, the justice of peace where the offence was may certify to a justice there, and this last may levy the fines; none punished unlessse prosecuted within three months after the offence; none punished by this Act shall be punished for the same offence by any other Act; husbands pay the five and ten shillings for their wives; all aldermen of London qualified to execute this Act as if justices, and finable 100l. if failing; jaylor that gives liberty fined 100l. This Act passed, upon division 138 against 78, and is sent up to the Lords. I have bin more particular to you herein that inconveniences might better, and in time be prevented, and because this and the Mony Bill will be the principall products of this session. To-day the House sent up to the  
Lords,

Lords, and voted their concurrence with them, for desiring his Majesty to name Commissioners to treat with Scotch Commissioners, &c. Then we heard the Commissioners of Accounts concerning Prize Ships in the severall ports, and fixed most upon Dover, where yet it seems that 21 ships have bin disposed without warrant. The Governor, a Member of our House, hath 'till Munday to answer it, having been one of the Prize Commissioners. A report also further but not yet read concerning Sir G. Carteret. There was this day a strong motion also for an Act to take away Oaths imposed since his Majesty's coming in, and it seemed to gaine good footing; but another inlarging the motion toward a general toleration, after an hour's debate, it fell of, and the House went to their other businesse. To-morrow I said was the day for the new clause of the Wine Act, and Saturday is for the great debate between the farmers and merchants of 4d. or 8d. upon Brandy for the time past. I am now tired; I beseech you excuse me for I intended more, but the post also is upon going.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, March 10, 1669-70.*

## LETTER XCIV.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL RICHARD ACLAM, MAYOR,  
AND THE ALDERMEN HIS BRETHREN,  
OF KINGSTON UPON HULL.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HAT which is most extraordinary since my last to you is, that his *Majesty hath for this whole week come every day in person to the House of Lords*, and sat there during their debate and resolutions. And yesterday the Lords went in a body to Whitehall, to give him thanks for the *honour* he did them therein. As for business in our House, we have sent up to the Lords the City Bill upon Thursday, the longest Bill perhaps that hath ever past in Parliament; the Lords have not yet had time to give it the first reading. The two Bills, one for prohibition of Brandy, and the other pursuant to a vote of the House, that Brandy ought to have paid 8d. the time being limited ever since November 1666, are both yet proceeded no further then to a commitment. Most other business is of our hands. But the next weeke there will come down from the Lords, for first they have made very many materiall alterations in the Bill of Conventicles, and now at last have added a reserving clause for his Majestyes ancient prerogative in all ecclesiastical things; whereby it is supposed by some, that it is and will  
be

be in his Majesty's power to dispense with the execution of the whole Bill. They finisht all herein yesterday, but our House hath not yet received it. The severall points will require some considerable time and conference before they are likely to be agreed betwixt both Houses. Then their Bill for my Lord Rosse's marrying againe is to be red, and ingroft on Munday morning, which will probably take them up all that day; and if it then passe them, must have its three severall readings in our House. Neither have they yet done with their Bill for felling the fee-farms, that must also come down to us, and many other, most of them private bills we have sent them, for which they have had little leifure, being so intent upon the two bills of my Lord Rosse and the Conventicles, yet they fate, *bishops and all*, the whole morning yesterday, so that one thing considered with another, although it were to be wisht that we had finisht our work before Easter, and the King did twice presse us by message, I doubt things will so fall out that we must sit againe aftere the holydays.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Marsh 26, 1670.*



## LETTER XCV.

MR. RICHARD ACLAM, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**I** Must desire you to do me the favour, as excuse both to yourselfe and the bench that I give you no account this post of our affairs, for really we are so thronged now toward the conclusion of our session, that it is in a manner impossible to attend the House and do any thing else; we have sat all this day though it be Easter Eve, and so shall Munday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday; I have besides *communicated my notes* to Mr. Stockdale.

I am,

SIR, &amp;c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, April 2, 1670.*

## LETTER XCVI.

MR. RICHARD ACLAM, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**I** Was in good hope that I might by this post have given you an account of the end of this session, but there are some remainders of business not yet perfected betwixt the two Houses, which will detain us still unto Saturday at the soonest,

foonest, but I doubt longer; for though the three notablest Bills, that of Supply, of Conventicles, and of my Lord Rosse, are now fully agreed by both Houses; yet that for prohibition of Brandy is not yet past our House to have its progresse with the Lords; and our Bill for Brandy paying eight-pence ever since November 1666, dos yet indure a great debate with the Lords. Neither have they yet gone thorough the Bill for rebuilding the City, wherein they have made so many materiall alterations as will take up some considerable time to be agreed in our House. We have sent them up to-day a Bill for the incouragement of building great ships, and with *high penaltyes upon any of the king's commanders of men of warre who shall carry merchandise*. Our House is now grown very thinne, scarce more than an hundred for the most part: by my next it is likely I may send you news of our rising.

I remaine,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, April 7, 1670.*

LET-

## L E T T E R XCVII.

MR. RICHARD ACLAM, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last, we have returned the Bill of Commissioners to treat with the Scotch to the Lords, which will undoubtedly passe. We have sent them up this morning the Bill for prohibition of all forain Brandy, which though it goes up so late, I believe will passe before our rising. The City Bill has been sent down with many alterations, which yet we have gone thorough and agreed to, except in one point which they will certainly concur in, and may be reckoned as past. The Lords have agreed with the Bill of retrospect upon Brandy, to pay 8d. since 1666. The Lords have, as we heare, thrown out that part of our Bill for shipping, wherein we provided against men of warre trading in merchandise: *truly in an ill season*, when so many merchants complain, and *the Turks take prizes in our channell*; I doubt it will hinder the Bill from passing with us. Sir John Pritiman, who serves for Leicester, was yesterday suspended from sitting in the House, and from all privilege 'till he find out Humes (a most notorious fellow otherwise) whom he suggested to be his meniall servant, whereas he was a prisoner for debt, and thus by Sir  
John's

John's procurement has escaped his creditors. The serjeant was sent into the speaker's chamber with the mace, to bring him to receive the sentence upon his knees at the barre. Hereupon the House being disappointed (for in the meane while he was escaped by the back doore; *ordered that doore to be nailed up for the future*) have revived their votes of 1663 against all paper protections, against protection for any but meniall servants, and to-day, after a long debate for expelling him the House, have for some good reason given him 'till the second Tuesday after our next meeting to appear; when that will be is not yet evident; some say before Midsummer, others toward winter. But however I hope we shall rise on Munday, or at furthest on Tuesday; for it is high time, having much ado to get forty together to make a House, and when we divided about the fee farms, being in all but 114: the next meeting I hope will be better attended.

I am,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, April 9, 1670.*

L E T-



## LETTER XCVIII.

MR. RICHARD ACLAM, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**Y**ESTERNIGHT about five o'clock the King commanded us to the Lords House. There were in all 38 Acts passed, but most of them private; the publick were—An Imposition for 8 Years upon Wines and Vinegar—for the rebuilding of London—for Improvement of Grazing and Tillage—Commissioners to treat of the Union—for regulating the Measures of Corn and Salt—for selling Fee Farms—for repairing the Highways—for the Payment of 8d. the Gallon on Brandy since November 1666—against Conventicles—against stealing Cloth from the Racks—against spiriting away Children beyond the Sea—against killing of Catell and burning Ricks of Corne—for repairing Yarmouth Peere—and for remarrying the Lord Rosse. The King said in few words that he could not dismiss us without first signifying the satisfaction he had received in this meeting, in the unity betwixt the two Houses, in the steps made toward the Union of both Kingdomes; and he thanked us for his Supply, which he would make goe as far as he could, and now believing we might have a mind to retire into the country, he was content we should adjourn ourselves till the 24<sup>th</sup> of October next.

Our

TO THE CORPORATION OF HULL. 153

Our Speaker returned to the House, and there we adjourned accordingly. The Bill for prohibition of Brandy is not passed; nor that of prohibiting men of warre to trade in merchandize; nor that for inabling the city to call to account such persons as detained mony in their hands given charitably in the time of the plague. The King is this morning gone for Newmarket. As soon as our Acts are printed I shall take care to send you them.

I remain,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, April 12, 1670.*

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LETTER XCIX.

MR. TRIPP, MAYOR.

S I R,

**T**HESSE two Acts being printed before the rest, I have in the meane time sent you them inclosed, till I can have the other, and have an opportunity of sending you them all together.

I am,

S I R,

Your's, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, April 16, 1670.*

VOL. I.

X

## LETTER C.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL GEORGE ACKLAM, MAYOR,  
AND THE ALDERMEN HIS BRETHREN,  
OF KINGSTON UPON HULL.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**I** Thinke it my duty to give you account that yesterday, according to the adjournment, the Parliament met. His Majesty, and the Keeper by his command, told us, that in and since the late warr the King of France had exceedingly increased his forces both by land and sea; as also had the United Provinces; and were making great preparations against the next spring. That it was fit the King should be in a condition at least to keep pace with, if not to outgoe his neighbours: *Lest we being unprovided might give temptation to some of them to offer us an affront, or do us some more signall prejudice.* That the King was obliged by the triple allyance betwixt England, Sweden, and Holland, for the peace of Christendome to contribute his proportion, and likewise by a particular treaty betwixt England and Holland mutually to lend them assistance; he then enumerated the severall advantageous treatyes besides, which the King had made with other princes; as particularly with the King of Spain, who had made an absolute cession to the English of the soveregnity of Jamaica, and our other  
islands

islands in the West Indies, with liberty for our ships to careen and victual in any of his ports there. The treaties with the King of Denmark, whereby the English are disburdened of all late exactions there, and impowered to trade with the same advantage and conditions as any other; a treaty with Portugal; a treaty with Savoy, whereby the English have a free port at Villa Franca, to vend their own manufactures into that country, and the richest parts of Italy; treaties of Commerce now carrying on with France and with Holland, wherein his Majesty should have a great and particular regard to his subjects profit. In short, that all princes of Christendom fought at present to his Majesty, if not for their security, yet as to one without whose friendship they could not promote their affairs; all which things considered, he was confident we should not be wanting on our parts. That the late imposition upon Wines did not answer neither the Parliament's intentions, nor his expectation. That the expence of the Navy had ever since 1660 been about 500,000*l.* a yeare. That he owed still, notwithstanding all possible fidelity and care of his treasurers, a great summe of money upon interest; that he must necessarily arme out fifty great ships the next spring, beside others, and those which he must keep out for the safety of the merchant in the Mediterranean; that this expence would amount to 800,000*l.*; he therefore desired that the Parliament would supply him with this 800,000*l.* for his



Navy, as also that they would pay off all those debts which he owed at interest, and that they would finish this before Christmase, as well that he might have time in hand to mature his preparations for the season of the yeare, as that men might attend their own occasions in the country, and make their *neighbors tast of their hospitality, and keep up their authority and interest there, which is so usefull and necessary to the publick.* This is the summe of what was said, as well as I can remember; if it be printed (there is some doubt of it) I shall send you one. Our House, after this, voted to take the King's Speech into consideration on Thursday; when it is probable there will be a considerable progresse made toward effecting his Majesty's desires; for so in the conclusion of his speech, he recommended *speed and efficacy.* The House then adjourned itself till Thursday, that men might have leisure to consider in private how it is possible. They ordered the Speaker to issue out writs for the vacancies, which are 18 or 19. This is all at present. If there be any particular service relating to the towne, or any of yourselves, wherein I may be usefull to you during this time of my station, pray oblige me by commanding me, for I am,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Oct. 25, 1670.*

## LETTER CI.

MR. GEORGE ACKLAM, MAYOR.

S I R,

I Have received your's, and am very glad that you and the rest of the gentlemen of the Bench take any little thing kindly of me, as I should be happy to serve you and them in any matter of greater importance. I desire you would be pleased to acquaint them further, that since the 24<sup>th</sup> the House hath sat onely Thursday and yesterday, when, because of the two holydays, they adjourned 'till Thursday next. The King's and the Keeper's speeches were, by order from the Lord Artington, prohibited printing, but you will neverthelesse receive a written copy. The Keeper's was last Thursday read again in the House, and thereupon they presently voted, without any debate, to give his Majesty a supply proportionable to the occasions. It was then moved to give the King the thanks of this House for his care and the advantageous treatyes he had made for the nation, and further for his vigorous prosecution of the Act against Conventicles, and to give him account of the vote of Supply: but it being alledged that our having complied with his desires was the best and most proper thanks of the House, these motions slipt of. Yesterday according to order the Lords of the Treasury brought in a paper of his Majesty's debts at interest, amounting to one million three hundred

hundred and fourteen thousand pounds; the debts out at interest making it above two millions. It was alledged that from last Michaelmas to this, there had been issued to the offices of the navy and ordinance onely 691,000*l.* part upon interest; that one million payd at ten, and the odd 300,000*l.* at six *per cent.* interest. The paper being in generalls, the House voted a Committee to examine when, to whom, and for what these debts are contracted, and then that on Thursday next the House be turned into a Committee of the whole House. The private Committee have issued orders pursuant to their instructions. There are two publick Bills before us for increase of the woollen manufacture, and of hemp and flax.

I am,

S I R,

Your's,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Nov. 1, 1670.*

LETTER CII.

MR. GEORGE ACKLAM, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HIS is but my third letter since our sitting; the frequent intermission of holydays and adjournments taking of the occasion hitherto of writing oftener. For  
even

even yesterday also the House hath adjourned till Thursday morning; so that our businesse stands thus: the committee of the whole House had, as I told you formerly, voted an addition of 15d. the barrell of strong beere, and 6d. the small; I meane beere and ale in publick houses. And whereas there was an indeavour to have cleared us at once by a vote from any jealousy of excise for beere and ale brewed in private families, by an addition to the question it past in the negative. The reason which then prevailed seemed to be, because the major part believed that this addition of 15d. &c. would rather diminish then increase the former excise; forasmuch as people to evade so great a payment would probably fall to brewing their own drinke, and therefore it might be necessary to have recourse also to private houses, and in order to that for avoyding the turbulence of officers entering and searching, that in all private houses there should be payd halfe a crown yearly for every head; so that the Committee chose to keep this as a troublesome payment still in reserve, in case they could not find out some other botome upon which the mony intended might be raised with lesse grievance. Neither did the Committee yet make report to the House of their 15d. &c. that so they might yet be more open for further expedients. And accordingly after another debate, it having been voted that towards the King's supply there should be an imposition upon some forain commodityes; they agreed



on Friday last to debate in order upon Tobacco, forain Silks and Stuffs, forain Linen and Lace, forain Salt, forain Iron, forain Woollen Cloth, Sugar, Drugs, Paper, Spice, Fruit; whether and what imposition they might beare, and in the meane time the members might have leifure to informe themselves. So yesterday the Committee entered upon that debate beginning with Tobacco, which severall affirmed might beare 6d. a pound, so that it were not raised by way of custome; others controverted it as usuall; but the discourses growing long and intangled, one of the members, a person of good parts and equal confidence, rose up, and propounded and undertook to make it good, by as able security as any in England, to raise for the King 500,000l. a yeare if that rate of imposition and necessary clauses which he would offer might be accepted, upon the additional 15, &c. on Beere and Ale, without any charge on private house, Tobacco, forain Silks and Stuffs, forain Linen, Salt, Iron, Sugar, Druggs, sealed Paper, without any diminution to his Majesty's customes or excise as they now stand, and with allowance for exportations; these rates were, as in tobacco 3d. a pound Virginia, 6d. Spanish; in salt, 1d. home salt, 2d. forain, 1d. halfpenny Scotch, and salt upon salt an halfpenny, and yet that the fishery should be provided for, that their salt might not be raised, and so on in other commodities. This motion seemed specious and welcome to the Committee; only sealed Paper,  
which

which he had rated at 40,000*l.* they excepted, as they having not ment paper so in their catalogue; this being a project of further consideration and intricacy, and of higher value (for it had been estimated in some former sessions at 80,000*l.* a year.) In conclusion, the motion being new, and surprizing to the Committee, and to the King's officers, and the gentleman not willing nor prepared to delineate his whole propofal, and his requisite clauses, they asked him when he would be ready; he said by Thursday: thereupon resorting to the House to desire leave to sit next Thursday, the House also thought fit to adjourn it selfe and all Committees to the same day. Thus we are not yet knotted, but even other things if this take not will come in also, as I heare there was an intention that same day to have moved for the 20th part of every man's estate, and many do declare upon occasion in the House that though so exceedingly grievous, yet rather than the King be unsupplied, they will yield both to Land Tax and home Excise: so that there appears a great disposition and some forwardnesse to gratify his Majesty's utmost expectation; however, as yet there has been no particular resolve to what summe they will supply him, neither any other thing yet formed, either as to the time or manner: but all things will be perfected doubtlesse with all possible maturity. These things I have been thus carefull to give you a plain account of, not thinking a perfunctory relation worthy your prudence, but must in

exchange desire you will not admit many inspectors into my letters ; for I reckon your Bench to be all but as one person ; whereas others might chance either not to understand, or to put an ill construction upon *this opennesse of my writing and simplicity of my expression* : this perhaps is needlesse ; but 'tis necessary that I be, and I assure you I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDREW MARVELL.

Westminster, Nov. 8, 1670.

LETTER CIII.

MR. GEORGE ACKLAM, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE Committee of the whole House sit dayly in debate of the impositions on forain Commodities, upon Tobacco, as I thinke I told you before, of the Plantations 3d. the pound, Spanish, 6d. upon Salt (the gallon) forain 2d. Scotch, 1d. native of Salt Water, 1d. Salt upon Salt, 1d. and that in Ireland the imposition be forain 2d. Scotch 1d. English, 1d. Irish, 1d. on French Lockrams, 106 ells to the piece, 7s. 6d. Normandy, and all other forts of French Canvas, 106 ells to the piece, 6s. on Germany and all other imported Linnen and Callicos the same price ; I mean imposition, as in the book of rates, to be payd by the first

buyer; Lawns only and Cambricks are excepted; on Tape, Inkle and Thred in like manner; on forain Ticks 3s. each; on wrought Silke, to be payd by the first buyer, double the proportion as at the Customes; on thrown Silke 1s. 4d. the pound. Thus farre the Committee has proceeded, and will still goe on upon the propofals which are before them, which are on iron the tun 20s. on Sugars, Muscovados of Brafile, 1d. other Brafile Sugar, 3d. Muscovados of the Plantations,  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. other Plantation fugar, 2d. the pound; on Fruit, Currants *per cent.* 5s. Raifins of the Sun, 2s. Malaga and other Raifins, 1s. 6d. Figgs and Prunes, 1s. on Spice, Nutmegs, the pound, 1s. Cinnamon, 1s. Mace and Cloves, 1s. 6d. on all Drugs as in the Book of Rates; on Paper imported, 4d. the reame; on Glafs Glaffes, Stone and Stone Ware, Earthen Ware, as in the Book of Rates; on Copper and Latten from Cake or Bar imported, *per cent.* 5s. on Stuffs mixed with Haire or Wool imported, 10l. on Sope forain *per cent.* 5s. Native, the barrell, 4s. This is as I take it all yet before the Committee, who will go on to debate whether those rates respectively be proper to be imposed. Colonell Gilby and I red your letter by the last post together this day, and intend to return you answer on Thursday. I have no more at present, but to remain,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDREW MARVELL.

Westminster, Nov. 15, 1670.



## LETTER CIV.

MR. GEORGE ACKLAM, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last on Saturday, yesterday the members for Boston asked leave to bring in a Bill ; to-day it was read the first time : it contains onely sixpence upon every chaldron of coales unladen there, and two-pence a tun upon merchandise in like manner ; so that the Colonell and I did not see any thing therein fit to be objected against it : *If you should foresee yet any prejudice therein, you have yet time to advise us ;* otherwise it is fit for us rather to promote it, both to gaine friends, and example if you should have occasion. You will be pleased to reflect seriously upon what Col. Gilby and myself have written to you about your business. As for time I cannot foresee now but we shall sit long enough. But as for those of your neighbours, who are served by your port, and will therefore take the imposition too as laid upon themselves, you must take your measures lest they oppose us. Boston owns 200l. a yeare revenue that they have ; be pleased to consider what yours is, and comparing what now writ with all last post, be pleased to fix your resolutions, that we may know what to expect and do. We sat yesterday till five at night upon the commitment of Mr. Hays and Jekell ; that which was labored was indemnity, and to suspend proceedings against the Lord Mayor and Lieutenant at Law ; but the House only voted, that

that what had been done in committing Mr. Hays, they approved of as done for the preservation of his Majesty, and the peace of the kingdome, and what as to commitment of Mr. Jekell, that it was in order to the preservation of his Majesty, &c. Whether Mr. Hays and Jekell will hereupon think fit to let fall their proceeding at law I know not, but Friday next was the day appointed for the tryall in the Exchequer. The judges in the Common Pleas upon the *Habeas Corpus* for Bushell, and the other jurymen who have hitherto stood committed, enlarged them, taking their baile for one another, and have themselves taken till the second day of the next terme to give their opinions concerning the legality. The House is now to-day, I mean the Committee, gone through all in the catalogue I gave you of forain commodities. To-morrow I perceive there will be some more proposed, and then perhaps the customers may be ready (to-day they were not) to give in what quantities of those commodities were imported for the three last years. I forgot to tell you that on occasion of Mr. Hays and Jekell's businessse, ordered, a Committee to inspect the defects of the Act of Militia and of Conventicles, from which Committee I suppose will arise the matter of greatest importance this session; also ordered an information by Mr. Attorney against Mr. Hays for attempting to corrupt and threaten Sir Samuel Sterlin from performing his duty; but I suppose this last may rather produce a contrary effect to what was there-  
by

by intended. I shall here break of, having not more time, so that you will I hope both excuse the hast and defects.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

LETTER CV.

MR. GEORGE ACKLAM, MAYOR.

S I R,

I Have received your letter: I have not much leifure to write, neither have we done much since I writ. But have at last got through our forain Excise at the Committee: Forain Sope 5s. *per cent.* Raw Silk, 6d. the pound; Forain Twine and Cordage, double what in the Book of Rates; French Hats, 2s. 6d. 5s. and 10s. To-day the Committee made report to the House, and the House has agreed in Tobacco and Salt, adding 1d. more on forain Salt in forain Ships. Jekell's and Hays his businesse has, instead of an Act of Indemnity for the Lieutenancy, produced a very good thing, of which we are in certain expectation, an univerfal Act of Grace from his Majesty. Those that took the Customs, &c. at 600,000l. are now struck of again, and Sir R. Howard Bucknall and the Brewers have them as formerly projected. Pray, Sir, present my service to your brethren. I am,

S I R,

Your very affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

Westminster, Nov. 26, 1670.

## LETTER CVI.

MR. GEORGE ACKLAM, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE Committee of the whole House have still been upon the forain commodities, and the House having now gone through their report with little alteration, have ordered that a Bill be brought in: they have layd 10l. on every forain Horse, Mare or Gelding imported, and fifty *per cent.* upon forain Coaches and Wearing Clothes, and that a particular be brought in of all the *French Curiosities and Trinkets, of which our people are so new-fangled, that such an imposition may be layd upon them as may in consequence amount to a prohibition.* The House will now shortly determine what the value of this Bill is like to be by the year, and accordingly for how many years to give it; for some would hope that the additional duty on Beere and Ale, and this forain Excise, might satisfy all the King's occasions in some few years; but I doubt there will also be taxes of other natures granted, and those will not be admitted as sufficient. Col. Gilby and I had a letter from you this post, to which we intend to return answer next Thursday.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &amp;c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Nov. 29, 1670.*



## L E T T E R CVII.

TO MR. POPPLE \*, MAYOR.

S I R,

COL. Gilby promised me to write to you to-night, and I intended the same, but cannot call that writing which is in so much haste. The Bill for Excise of Beere and Ale is not yet brought in; neither that for Excise on forain Commodities. But these three days last past, and Munday and Tuesday next wholly set apart for new propofalls towards the Supply, and then to open the *basket*. On Thursday we wholly excluded Land Tax, upon a division of 152 against 109. Since, after many propofals, we have yet fixt only upon Parchments and Papers upon occasions of Law Grant or Contract from Patents under the great Seale down to Bills and Bonds, which we are half gone thorow, and will make a great addition at the Committee of the whole House. Among the rest to-day we have voted, every Dispensation for a Plurality shall pay 10l. Our House will be in so great an hurry till Christmas, though probably then we shall not neare have finisht, that little opportunity will be for particular businesse. The House has ordered that on Tuesday se'nnight the House be called over. Made a Committee to report the ways of levying Fines upon Members for their absence; ordered that

no

\* Mr. Popple was brother-in-law to Mr. Marvell.

no member have leave to goe out of town, but after desiring and allowing betwixt eleven and twelve o'clock. It was propos'd to publish their names who are absent in the news book: these things are not without cause: I would you could acquaint your neighbors with it. A Bill sent down to-day from the Lords for naturalizing all Forainers that shall take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. I am mindfull of all your businesse, and am,

S I R,

Your humble servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Dec. 3, 1670.*

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LETTER CVIII.

MR. GEORGE ACKLAM, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

WHEN it is time I sent my letter to the post I can but just begin it, having sat late at the Committee upon the Merchant's petition for taking of the 4l. a tun upon Wine. We sit again on Munday, when I hope we may find that the Act has bin satisfi'd, and so procure the taking it of. There is not yet brought in either the Act for addition on Beere and Ale, nor that of Excise on forain Commodities;

nor are the House yet resolved what value they set upon them, to judge how farre they have yet complied with his Majesty's occasions; but this Act is ordered for to-morrow, and Saturday to be the last day for any farther proposal towards the King's Supply. The House hath ordered another Bill of imposition upon all proceedings in all the Law Courts; not excepting those of the Bishops. We shall have much ado to get businesse of so various nature into fashion before Christmasse: we yet thinke that we can scarce rise before Lady-day. The rol. upon Licences for Pluralities the House hath quite struck of. Col. Gilby hath told you of the rubbs to the Boston Bill. The Committee hath adjourned it till a week after our next sitting: the opposition of neighbours concerned give it this stop, and may probably quite dash it. The Bill for Conventicles hath bin twice read and committed: it makes them henceforth riots, and orders that who cannot pay his 5, or who shall refuse to tell his name or abode, shall worke it out in the House of Correction: Also that Constables may break ope House by day, by warrant, for a distresse. There is a Bill come in for regulating Servants Wages. The strange escape of the Duke of Ormond you have in the Proclamation. There are foure of their horses taken: sure themselves cannot long escape. Sir J. Benet insists upon the right of what you complain of, and will refer himselfe either to counsell

or

or law therein. Concerning the other matters in your letter I shall not be wanting to an opportunity. My attending thus late makes me more abrupt then I should be, but you know how to excuse,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most humble servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Dec. 8, 1670.*

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LETTER CIX.

MR. GEORGE ACKLAM, MAYOR.

S I R,

**T**HE House hath sat all this day long without intermission, so that I must be very short. Yesterday having bin appointed for an estimate of the three Bills of additional Excise upon Beere and Ale; of forain Excise; and of the Imposition upon all Proceedings at Law, which Bills are not yet come in: the House came after a long debate to a division betwixt those who valued them higher, and those who reckoned them but at 400,000*l. per annum*, and the last carryed it; so that hereby those that were for



raising further the greatest summe of ready mony, the next day obtained much of their end. And this day the King sent for the House to Whitehall, representing to them that the French Ambassador last Wednesday night told him, that his master would next Aprill be at Dunkirk with 10,000 foot and proportionable horse, but without intent to disturbe the peace. This and other arguments the King used for the necessity of 800,000*l.* in ready mony. The House in this debate had occasion to divide twice, once 128 against 112, another time 124 against 111; so that at last the question was carried, that the Grand Committee should find ways to raise a summe about, and not exceeding 800,000*l.* and that it should not be by a Land Tax; and Wednesday is now appointed the last day of receiving proposals to that purpose. This is all at present.

I am,

S I R,

Your very affectionate friend,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Dec. 10, 1670.*

LET-

## L E T T E R CX.

MR. GEORGE ACKLAM, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I Suppose you have heard the vote of the Committee, that the summe about, and not exceeding 800,000l. should be raised by way of Subsidy, according to the present rent, with respect also to mony, goods and offices. They have since voted that 100l. in money shall pay 10s. that all money in the hands of bankers shall pay 15s. per 100l. That all money which shall be lent the King, or transferred upon security of these acts for the future shall not be taxed. That the King shall be in this Act impowered to give seven *per cent.* That stock for trade (deducting debts) shall pay 6s. *per cent.* Stock on Land and Household Stuffe not to be taxed; Offices and profitable Places two shillings in the pound; and upon Land, the question being put whether 8d. or 12d. the pound, 'twas carryed by 103 against 96, that it should be 12d. The Committee are to report tomorrow; none of the other three Bills is yet come in. We are like to sit on 'till we have done our work. *I humbly thank you for my ale.* I am in hast,

GENTLEMEN, &amp;c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Dec. 15, 1670.*

## L E T T E R C X I .

MR. GEORGE ACKLAM, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**S**INCE my last, the House has agreed with the Grand Committee in all the votes about the 800,000*l.* It is to come in in one yeare, in foure quarterly payments ; the first quarter to end in Midsummer next ; deduction to be made for debts, annuitys, fee farms, rent charges, rents reserved : Commissioners to be named by the King ; they, the assessors, witnesses all to be upon oath. So a Bill is ordered to be brought in ; none of these foure Bills are brought in as yet ; so that we are like to have tedious worke of it. The Committee for the 5*l.* per tun at the Custom House upon Wine voted yesternight that the 310,000*l.* with interest, was already payd, secured or recoverable ; upon which report, the House voted to-day, that his Majesty be desired to take of that payment, and the members of the Privy Councill to present the said desire to his Majesty, which there is no doubt but it will be granted. We have a Bill ready to be reported for liberty for exporting Beere. What is your opinion at Hull of the Bill from the Lords for general Naturalization of all Forainers that shall take the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy ?

TO THE CORPORATION OF HULL. 175

macy? we have not yet given it a reading. Pardon my abruptness.

I am,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Dec. 17, 1670.*

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LETTER CXII.

MR. GEORGE ACKLAM, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**H**IS Majesty yesterday sent a message to the House, that they might adjourn themselves from this day till Thursday se'nnight. None of the foure Bills ordered for Supply are yet brought in, which is the reason of so short an adjournment. There is a day appointed after our next meeting for the first reading of the Bill of Naturalization. A Bill is reported, and ordered to be ingrossed, for exporting English Beere, Ale and Mum, at one shilling per tunne, for six years from Midsummer seventy-one. The members of the Privy Councill to-day gave account to the House, that his Majesty had bin pleased upon the House's request



to take away the 4l. per tun upon Wine at the Custome House. The House, before their rising to-day, ordered, that on Munday come fortnight the House be called; that the Sheriffs of all countyes give notice accordingly; that all members not then present should be rated double in the Bill of Subsidy, so that it will concern them in the country to be up by that time, and if sooner, the better. One moved that a fregate might be built particularly out of that mony, and she might be named, the *Sinners Fregate*. After this the House adjourned till the 29th of December. I shall observe what you write in yours of 16th, and am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate friend and servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Dec. 20, 1670.*

L E T T E R CXIII.

MR. GEORGE ACKLAM, MAYOR.

S I R,

**W**HAT hath been done of late requires methinks no letter to the Bench, but may by this word to yourfelfe be communicated as you thinke fit. On Tuesday the 800,000l. Bill had its first reading, and its second reading ordered

ordered on Tuesday next. Yesterday the Bill of forain Excise, and its second reading ordered on Thursday next week. To-day the additional Excise on Beere and Ale, the second reading ordered to be this day fortnight. And so we adjourned till Munday next, when the House is to be called, and will probably be very rigorous to those that are absent. If the House be full, 'tis likely many things in all the Bills may be moderated to the better. No mention hath yet been made of Sir John Coventrye's misfortune, but will be shortly.

I am,

S I R,

Your very affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Jan. 5, 1670-71.*

LETTER CXIV.

MR. GEORGE ACKLAM, MAYOR.

S I R,

**I**N answer to the letter to Colonell Gilby and me from yourselfe and the other gentlemen concerning your Wines, the case is indeed very considerable, but I doubt there is no remedy to be expected; I am sure none from

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our House: severall merchants in many places are concerned in the same manner, but have thought it in vaine to attempt that way. I understand that those of London address themselves to the King therein, but their petition was rejected; so that all I can imagine is, either to use means with the customers of your port to delay the returning of any account since December, untill such time as the whole of what was before collected shall be stated in the Treasury; or else that you would however try a petition to his Majesty, expressing your case, and recommend it by my Lord Bellaffes his hand, who being so lately qualified as High Steward of your towne, will doubtlesse as most willing, so be the most able to serve you herein: though indeed, considering all the circumstances, I am jealous, as I said before, that you will very hardly attaine your end; I beg your pardon not being able to give you better advice, assistance, or encouragement herein, but am,

S I R,

Your most, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Jan. 10, 1670-71.*

LET-

## LETTER CXV.

MR. GEORGE ACKLAM, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**Y**ESTERDAY the House was called ; no excuses then made, but the defaulters ordered to be called over on Munday next, when the House will probably proceed severely toward their penalties, and allow none but very plain and urgent excuses. The House was very full and fills daily, many being upon the way. When Dorsetshire was called for, which Sir John Coventry serves, his uncle Sir William, made his excuse, upon the freshness of his wounds, which made him yet no fit spectacle for the House. Hereupon the House resenting it, presently voted that it should be taken into consideration the first business as this morning; accordingly to-day Sir Thomas Clarges, a member of the House, having been one of the Justices of Peace who examined the fact, made a perfect narrative of the matter, and after a long debate till three in the afternoon, they voted at last, *nemine contradicente*, that a Bill be prepared prefixing a day to the offenders, by which time if they shall not appear, then to be banished the kingdom, &c. and a clause to be inserted for pardon to such of the malefactors (not being principal contrivers and actors therein) as shall make a full discovery ; and a Committee was



appointed for the drawing of this Bill, and that untill this Bill be past, the House shall have no other businesse whatsoever taken into consideration, and so they rose. Hereby the Bills of Supply are retarded for a while, but I believe within foure days at farthest we shall have dispatched it to the Lords. This is all at present from,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most humble servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Jan. 11, 1670-71.*

LETTER CXVI.

MR. GEORGE ACKLAM, MAYOR.

S I R,

**Y**ESTERDAY the House read the Bill about Sir John Coventry the first time, and forthwith adjourned; to-day they read it the second time, and committed it to a Committee of the whole House, which forthwith sat, and continued their debates upon the Bill till foure o'clock; they past through the whole body of the Bill which relates only to those who were guilty of that assassinate, but the House having given leave for a clause to prevent all such things for the future, and such a clause being presented, which

which makes it felony, without clergy, to wound, or strike, or bruise any Parliament man during his attendance on the House, &c. the Committee, some disliking it, and others desiring it to be in another Bill distinct; the third party, who were for proceeding upon it, and amending it, carried it upon division 85 against 78; so it being late, the Committee desired the Speaker to take the chaire, and leave to sit again to-morrow. It will therefore probably be Saturday before the Bill can be agreed, ingrossed the third time, and sent to the Lords. We admit no other bufinesse whatsoever.

I am,

S I R,

Your most affectionate friend,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Jan. 12, 1670-71.*

The 16<sup>th</sup> of February is prefixed, by which time the malefactors, if they come not in, are excluded from all pardon, unlesse by Act of Parliament expressing them by name.

L E T-

## LETTER CXVII.

MR. GEORGE ACKLAM, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE House hath been constant to their vote, and not medled with any other businesse till they finished the Act concerning those that assassinated Sir John Coventry. It hath been something changed in the Committee; for after the clauses against Sir Thomas Sands, Captaine O'Brian, Parry and Reeves, it is further inacted, that whoever after the 16<sup>th</sup> of February next shall put out the eye, cut the lip, nose or tongue of any of his' Majestye's liege people, upon malice forethought, or without provocation, shall be guilty of felony without benefit of clergy. And whoever shall in any other manner wound or maim any Parliament man, or any of the House of Lords during their attendance, or their coming or returning from Parliament, shall be imprisoned for a yeare, pay treble damages, to be assessed by the jury, be bound to the good behaviour for life, and be deprived and made incapable of all offices whatsoever. This Bill was to-day sent up to the Lords, and read there the first time. I heare they have ordered the like Bill against those that some time agoe set upon the Duke of Ormond. Our House have ordered that upon Munday after the call of the  
De-

TO THE CORPORATION OF HULL. 183

Defaulters, and severity upon them, they will read the 800,000l. Bill of Subsidy the second time.

I am,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Jan. 14, 1670-71.*

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LETTER CXVIII.

MR. GEORGE ACKLAM, MAYOR.

S I R,

SINCE I writ on Saturday last, the House upon Monday called the Defaulters, and afterwards ordered that the House be called againe that day fortnight, and whosoever should goe out of town without leave, and should be absent at the call, should incurre the same penaltyes as those absent at the first call. On Thursday they sate in a Committee of the whole House upon the Bill of Subsidy, and made little progresse further than to change the imposition of 10s. upon 100l. in mony, to be onely upon mony at interest. Yesterday was taken up wholly in a debate concerning ordering a new writ for Devonshire in the place of the



the young Duke of Albemarle, and being controverted whether he though a peere, being not of age to sit in the Lords House, did not yet retaine the right which he had of sitting during his father's life as a member of the Commons ; but the House ordered at last a new writ to issue in his place ; *and further there appearing some undue proceedings of late in that county, in order to forestall the election, voted, that all Warrants, or Letters like Warrants, or Letters to be communicated to Freeholders, Constables, Petty Constables, &c. when there was to be election of Knight or Burgesse to Parliament, were a violation of the privilege of Parliament, and of the just freedome of Elections.* And had not the gentlenesse of the House prevailed, one or two of their own members were in great danger to have been censured on that account. To-day the Committee onely passed the 7l. *per cent.* for those who shall lend mony upon the Act.

I am,

S I R,

Your very affectionate friend,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Jan. 19, 1670-71.*

L E T-

## LETTER CXIX.

MR. GEORGE ACKLAM, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**O-DAY several gentlemen of the country made complaint concerning the incroachments of the collectors of Hearth Mony, upon pretense of certain instructions sent downe, and particularly of their gathering it upon smiths forges: of ovens none complained, which I remember you formerly spoke of; but publick ovens are certainly within the Act: Friday come se'nnight is appointed by the House for that matter; against which time if you please to state to us particularly wherein any of your town are agrieved in those matters, I suppose we may do you service therein, for the House is become very sensible of it. To-day we sent up the Bill for exporting of Beere and Ale; also we sent to remind their Lordships of a Bill lodged with them at our former meeting, for prohibiting foraine Brandy. The Lords sent us down to-day the Bill about Sir John Coventry; the House goes upon it to-morrow. I suppose you have heard already that on Saturday 124 against 114 carryed it still for the 12d. against the 8d. a pound upon Land. Yesterday was all spent upon Mines of Coale, Lead, Tin, and Alume, all which are voted to be taxed. To-day words were put in concerning the taxing of lands, that it should be according to the cleare value (which we reckon

will give scope to deduct rates, for the poore, highways, &c.) and that it should be according as they are let, or are worth to be let at the time of the assessment, which will also admit deduction upon the fall of rents. And further, whereas there was a clause that the Commissioners should be upon oath, that also is revoked, so that they will still have hereby a more beneficiall latitude for the subjects ease.

I am,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Jan. 2, 1670-71.*

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LETTER CXX.

MR. GEORGE ACKLAM, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE mine, wherein I gave you notice of the order to debate on Friday next the irregularities in the gathering of Chimny Mony, I have perused the notes you formerly sent up, of what grievances were voted therein the 7<sup>th</sup> of December 1667; so that I think you need not trouble yourselves to give further memorials therein, unless there be something in the late practice further to be complained of: but severall members of us having consulted of these matters, we cannot find among us all a copy of the late Instructions by which the Collectors thereof pretend to act; perhaps we

may by that time : but for more fureneffe, if you can in the mean while procure us a copy of them, it may be of good use, for I scarce believe but that the debate will be put off somewhat longer, the House having advanced so little of late in the two great busineses of the Subsidy Bill, and Sir John Coventry's. Since I writ to you last, we spent two days on the Lords Amendments upon Sir John's Bill, with which we disagreed, and gave them the reasons at a conference; since which the Lords have been busy, and adhered to their most material differences with us, as I hear, but they have not yet done their debates, nor sent down to us. The most considerable thing lately past in the Subsidy Bill is that, although the oath of the Commissioners is struck out, the oath of the Assessors is voted to continue. To-day the House was called, and then ordered that the Grand Committee do bring in a clause of double Subsidy, to be inserted in the Bill of Subsidy, upon all the members absent and not excused, and their names are to be inserted in the Act. Also the House is to be called this day fortnight, and upon the same penaltyes; but beside all this, there is a much severer censure intended against those who, after an utmost day, shall persist to absent themselves.

I remain,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Jan. 31, 1670-71.*



## LETTER CXXI.

MR. GEORGE ACKLAM, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last to you, the House hath proceeded still upon the Bill of Subsidy, I mean in a Grand Committee; and they have now past through the whole Bill, excepting some clauses of difficulty which were postponed; so that I suppose some day the next week the Committee may be ready to report that Bill to the House. Yesterday the Lords sent to desire a Conference to be had this day at eleven o'clock, upon our last Conference about Sir John Coventry's Bill, and so to-day shewed their Reasons why they were not satisfied with the Reasons given by our House against their alterations. Our House upon debate have continued in the same mind; especially for having a day certain by which the offenders shall come in, or else stand attainted; whereas the Lords still insist to have it 25 days after the royall assent to this Act, and that recorded in the Lords Journall, and also that the clause which the Lords have wholly left out, for the defense of Parliament members during their attendance, may continue. The Committee of Grievances yester-night, upon complaint of the Masters and Owners of Leverpoole and Chester, voted, a Patent for Light Houses on the Irish Coast, whereby a 1d. and 2d. per tun was collected, to be illegal and a grievance; so that

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that upon report to the House on Wednesday next, 'tis likely to have the same fortune there. The Boston Bill, upon disagreement of the neighbours, is in a manner extinct. The debate of Chimney irregularitys is put of till next weeke.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most humble servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Feb. 4, 1670-71.*

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LETTER CXXII.

MR. GEORGE ACKLAM, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**Y**ESTERDAY upon complaint of some violent arrests made in several churches, even during sermon time; nay of one taken out betwixt the bread and the cup in receiving the sacrament, the House ordered that a Bill be brought in for better observing the Lord's Day. After this, complaint was also made of the growth of Popery; one gentleman particularly affirmed that in Monmouth and Herefordshire there were more Popish Priests than orthodox Ministers, and that in six hundreds of that county, three were grown in a manner all Papists, and whereas of late years

years there were not above 400, they were now grown to betwixt 4 and 5000; another said, that notwithstanding his Majesty's sincerity in the Protestant Religion, there were some eminent persons whose example gave encouragement to the contrary. A Committee was ordered to inquire into the growth of Popery, and to bring an Act in to prevent it: the Jews were also added into the question. Yesterday we had a free conference of several hours with the Lords about Sir John Coventry's Bill: we shall perceive shortly what effect it has had with them. The Grand Committee hath voted, in the Bill of Subsidy, that every debtor may deduct six shillings for every 100l. he owes at interest, and to-day a clause where a man desires to call his money out of the banquier's hands, that he may lend it at 7l. per 100l. to the King; there to enforce the banquiers to give them assignments in the Exchequer of such money as is there due from the King to the banquiers, and that the King be so far discharged of what he owes to the banquiers at 10 *per cent.* The debate of Chimny Mony is yet put of by other business. To-morrow we expect the Report from the Committee who have voted the Irish Light Houses to be a grievance.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDREW MARVELL.

Feb. 7, 1670-71.

## LETTER CXXIII.

MR. GEORGE ACKLAM, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I Have but little leifure this post, however we would let you know thus much, that yester day after a very considerable debate, the House voted that the Patent for the Irish Light Houses was a common grievance, and that his Majesty be desired to null the Patent; and the Members of the Privy Counsell are to acquaint his Majesty therewith, who I doubt not will agree therein, as formerly this same Parliament in the case of the Lights upon St. Ann's Head by Milford. The Lords had this day a free conference with the Commons upon Sir John Coventry's Bill; the matter thereof to be reported to our House to-morrow morning, who will then consider a-fresh how far to agree with them. The Committee have considered of the reasons of the growth of Popery, which they have reckoned eleven, and voted to report them to the House to-morrow morning. The Committee of Conventicles have also gone through with their Bill, and voted to report. This is what I have leifure to tell you at present, and that I am,

S I R,

Your very affectionate friend to serve you,

*Westminster, Feb. 9, 1670-71.*

ANDREW MARVELL.



## LETTER CXXIV.

MR. GEORGE ACKLAM, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last to you, his Majesty sent word to the House of Commons, that he had given command to extinguish the Patent for the Lights in Ireland; and further, that understanding some Bills were past both Houses, he desired that what Money Bills were near perfecting might be dispatched, that he might pass them together about the 22<sup>d</sup> of this month, and that he had given orders to the Judges to adjourn the Goale Delivery at the Old Bailey till the 10<sup>th</sup> of March; that is the utmost day prefixed in the Act for the coming in of the malefactors in Sir John Coventry's matter. The House has to-day perfected the Bill of Supply in order to be ingrossed; so that to-morrow it is ordered the Committee about the growth of Popery do make their report, and nothing to intervene, and after that to proceed upon the list of absent members; for though the clause for their double Subsidy was thrown out to-day by a division of 115 against 98, yet the House intends to be severe upon them in another manner. On Munday there is order to report the Bill of Conventicles. We are like to sit on I doubt this two or three months still, having the four Bills—of Salt—of Proceedings at Law—of Addition on Beere and  
and

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and Ale—and Excise on forain Commodities, still to go thorough.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

*Westminster, Feb. 16, 1670-71.*

ANDREW MARVELL.

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LETTER CXXV.

MR. GEORGE ACKLAM, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE Bill of Subsidy is gone up to the Lords; also our House have drawn up a very grave address to his Majesty concerning the dangerous growth of Popery, desiring his Majesty to put the laws in execution; they have sent it up to the Lords to desire their concurrence. The House hath also considered the list of the absent members, and about twenty of them are not excused, but ordered to be fetched up by the serjeant, and to pay his charges, and to be brought in custody to the barre of the House, and so to be committed to the Tower; and the House is ordered to be called a fortnight hence, and upon the same penaltyes. The Bill of additional Excise upon Beer and Ale hath been red the second time yesterday, and the de-

bate of it appointed for to-morrow. I do not know what fortune it will have, but many do believe that it will be a Bill of very ill consequence, and not answer the end. I will take care to get you a copy of this addresse to the King about Popery as soon as may be. I have but little time more, nor matter at present, therefore breake of.

I am,

GENTLEMEN,

Your very affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Feb. 21, 1670-71.*

LETTER CXXVI.

MR. GEORGE ACKLAM, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last to you, the House hath been in a manner wholly taken up with the Bill of Excise upon Beere and Ale; they have altered the 15d. strong, and 6d. small, unto 9d. and 3d. They have struck out that clause of prohibiting private Houses which had not brewed before from Brewing: this revenue they have given for six years. There was to day a long debate for bringing in an inacting clause, that it should be appropriated towards paying the King's debts; but upon division it past in the negative 71 against 62. The Lords have to-day sent us down the Bill of Subsidy, with some amendments, which the House goes upon

to-morrow, and I think will not take up much debate; so that it is likely the King may pass this and other Bills which are ready this weeke. The Excise upon Beere and Ale is ordered to be ingrossed. The Lords will now I suppose consider of the address concerning Popish Recufants. There is a Bill ready for our House for the better convicting and proceeding against them. On Saturday night last, or rather Munday morning at two o'clock, some persons reported to be of great quality, together with other gentlemen, fet upon the watch and killed a poor beadle, praying for his life upon his knees, with many wounds: warrants are out for apprehending some of them, but they are fled.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Feb. 28, 1670-71.*

LETTER CXXVII.

MR. GEORGE ACKLAM, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**S**INCE my last to you the House hath been in conference with the Lords upon their desire, about the address intended to the King concerning Popish Recufants. The Lords concurred in most things thereof, onely would be satisfied concerning some matters of fact inserted by the



Commons, and not evident to them, whereof our House will shortly informe them to the full, and then I believe they will join unanimously. Also the Bill against Papists has bin twice read, and the Committee have almost perfected it. The Bill against Conventicles is re-committed. All things in the Subsidy Bill are agreed betwixt the two Houses, so that and the Bill for Excise of Beere and Ale are now ready for the King, and we are proceeding on the Bill of forain Commodities. The House this day gave instructions upon its commitment; it should be layd not as an Excise, but in the same nature at the Custom House as the former additional duty; also to consider of the Eastland commodities, which being imported at so much advantage in their native shipping, destroys our navigation. There is a Committee appointed upon the complaints for Chimny Mony. Ordered to-day at the Committee for Dover Peer, that the members of the Out Ports be desired to write to their severall corporations to send up particular accounts of all money payd by all masters and owners to any person toward the repair thereof, from June 24, 1662, to the 24th of June 1669, by Wednesday come se'nnight. If we had it in quarterly and yearly accounts from you it would be to very good purpose.

I am,

Your servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*March 4, 1670-71.*

## LETTER CXXVIII.

MR. GEORGE ACKLAM, MAYOR.

S I R,

**B**EING in some haste I only acquaint you that yesterday his Majesty passed such Bills as were ready; the principall of which were—the Subsidy Bill—the Bill of Excise upon Beere and Ale—the Duke of York's Bill, exchanging his Wine Licences for 24,000*l.* a year out of the Excise of Beere and Ale, and this Bill which is only yet printed; the rest I shall send you when they come out. We are now proceeding on the Bill of forain Commodities, to be payd at the Custome House in three months. To-day whereas it was 6*d.* we have at the Committee voted 4*d.* on Spanish Tobacco, and instead of 3*d.* on Virginia three halfe-pence.

I am,

S I R,

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, March 7, 1670-71.*

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## LETTER CXXIX.

MR. GEORGE ACKLAM, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**E**VER since his Majesty passed the Bills which were ready, and desired the House to hasten what more they had before them of publick nature, the House has always sat or been in a grand Committee upon the Bill, especially of the new impost at the Custom House upon forain Commodities, both forenoon and afternoon; it continues 1d. a gallon forain Salt imported in English botomes, and 2d. imported in forain. As for our home made Salt it is like to escape any imposition: there is a good clause referred by the House to the Committee, which I think will passe, that when Wheat is under 48s. the quarter, Rye under 30s. Barley under 28s. here in England; the exporting merchant shall have allowed him at the Custom House 4s. 6d. the quarter for Wheat, 4s. for Rye, and ten groats for Barley exported. Some other things the House hath attended, as having given satisfaction to the Lords of their doubts in the addresse about Popery; both Houses have agreed therein, and the Lords having sent to know his Majesty's pleasure, he hath ordered them to attend with the addresse at Whitehall on Munday morning. The House hath also passed to-day the Bill against Popery, and sent it up. The Bill against Profanation of the Sabbath is under

com-

commitment. The Bill of Conventicles is ready to be reported from the Committee to the House. Munday will be the great tryall at the Old Bailey of those that wounded Sir John Coventry; Simon Parry only hath rendered himself, beside Wroth and Lake, which were under baile.

I remain,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate friend and servant,

*Westminster, March 11, 1670-71.*

ANDREW MARVELL.

L E T T E R CXXX.

MR. GEORGE ACKLAM, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**I** Told you in my last of a clause of encouragement to be given by the King for exporting of Corne, which is since passed by the Grand Committee thus: that when Wheat exceeds not 48s. Rye 36s. and Malt and Barley 28s. the quarter, the customers shall allow the exporter 4s. 6d. 4s. and ten groats a quarter respectively. Also for encouragement of exporting Coale, that Sea Coale, the chaldron, Newcastle measure, exported, shall in English vessels pay but 1s. London measure, 8d. and Pit Coale, 8d. but in forain vessels, 8s. Newcastle measure; 5s. 4d. London measure; Pit Coale, the tun, and so where I mentioned it before, 5s. 4d. There is a severe prohibitive clause against importing



importing of Brandy put in by the Grand Committee into this Bill, because the Lords delay to passe the Bill of Prohibition which we sent them up long ago. Yesterday we being toward the conclusion of this Bill on forain commodities, the Grand Committee divided whether there should be an estimate how much this Bill amounted to, casting up what had bin defalked, and what additions made in it since the first project, but it was carried in the negative by 108 against 74. Then they divided whether it should be given for nine or but for six years: it was carryed for nine years by 105 against 78. We conceive this and the addition on Beere and Ale amount to 300,000*l.* a year at least; so that the one for nine years, the other for six years, are sure a very faire supply to 1,300,000*l.* debt, besides the Subsidy Bill given over and above, and the Law Bill, which for ought I see we must yet enter upon and go through with. His Majesty, upon the addressse of both Houses on Munday, about Papists, said, he would issue his Proclamation against Priests, &c. and cause the laws to be executed against those that had lately turned; but he must have respect for such as had bin so educated, and merited in the service of himself and his father. I doubt not but that we shall hinder the Dover Peer from coming into a Bill, or however from passing.

I am,

Your humble servant,

*Westminster, March 16, 1670-71.*

ANDREW MARVELL.

## L E T T E R CXXXI.

MR. GEORGE ACKLAM, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my laſt to you the Houſe hath been for the moſt part taken up with the Bill upon forain Commodities, which to-day has been red and ingroſſed. The claufes of exporting Coals and Corn upon the conditions I writ you do ſtand ſo in the Bill, only this addition as to Corne, that only our own ſhips ſhall receive that allowance of ſo much a quarter upon exportation, the encouragement of our own navigation having prevailed againſt that of the land owners, after ſeveral long debates. Though we have ſat to-day morning and evening, yet ſo many things are offered by addition after the ingroſſing, that we ſhall not have ended till to-morrow ; eſpecially one long proviſo for the prohibiting of Brandy, impoſing 3s. per gallon upon what ſhall be found after the 1ſt of May 1671 ; but that if any export it before the 1ſt of November, to be repayed his mony, or ſecurity vacated. The Bill of Conventicles hath bin re-committed, and ready again to be reported. The claufe that makes them riots is thrown out, and ſeveral other claufes ſoftened, ſo that the moſt material thing now left in it, is only indemnity to ſuch as have exceeded in proſecuting the law, except ſuch as have not reſtored overplus of diſtreſſes, or have detained the fines in their own hands.

The Paper Bill hath bin once red. We do hamper the Dover accounts so well at the Committee, that we shall keep them of from bringing in any Bill this session.

I am,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most humble servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, March 23, 1670-71.*

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LETTER CXXXII.

MR. GEORGE ACKLAM, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**A**LTHOUGH we have sat but one day since my last, and all that we have done since hath been to expedite the Bill of forain Commodities, which is now ready to be sent up to the Lords on Munday; I thought it convenient to give you notice thereof, in order to give you account of the success of the petition concerning the Swedish shipping, and the advantages they have over us: the matter thereof was upon the debate of the House, among other things, referred to the Grand Committee, and although we spoke with the members of several ports, who did concern themselves likewise therein, yet between the consideration of the treaties betwixt the two crowns, and the retaliation that we were in this case to expect from Sweden; we could

not make strength enough to get through it, and though nevertheless at the reporting of the Bill from the Committee to the House, they were again moved therein, yet it would not passe, so that there is no remedy at present to be had but for others also to make themselves capable of the Swedish privileges, and iron stands no otherwise regulated than to pay the 10s. per tun, according to this additional Bill, which though we are very sensible of, and of your being frustrated of so reasonable an expectation, yet we are confident you will not attribute to any defect on our part, but however acquiesce in the present judgement of the House, which we must all submit to. This is all I have at present, but to remain,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, March 25, 1671.*

L E T T E R CXXXIII.

MR. GEORGE ACKLAM, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HAT I have not writ so lately has bin for no other cause but that the House having bin taken up with the imposition upon proceedings at law, that Bill does not



afford much matter for a letter. Yet on Thursday last the Bill of Conventicles was reported; the debate turned into that principall question, whether there should not be indemnity as well for those who have bin punished by the former law as for them who have overacted in the execution of it; this being carryed in the negative by 77 against 53, the question for ingrosment passed without dividing the House again; so it was yesterday red the third time and sent up to the Lords; but our House divided upon it 74 against 53: the Lords red it once, and divided for throwing it out, but it was retained by the odds of two voices. The Lords have not yet returned our Bill upon forain Commodities, wherein they have made many very considerable alterations, having particularly thrown out the whole clause concerning Brandy, as contrary to the proceedings of Parliament betwixt the two Houses; so that we are like to have very great and hazardous conferences with them upon that Bill. It is impossible we should rise before the very brinke of Easter.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your very affectionate, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*April 6, 1671.*

We still stave of Dover peere.

## LETTER CXXXIV.

MR. GEORGE ACKLAM, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE Bill upon Proceedings at Law hath since my last been sent up to the Lords, and they have made so good dispatch with it, that it is returned to us already without any amendment: it is given for nine years. A debt that his Majesty hath long owed to the Prince of Orange, was used among other inducements to give it for so long a time; and it is voted that the Speaker, when he shall deliver the Bill to the King, shall mention it; but whereas there was a motion made to apply a clause to this Bill, whereby all these Mony Bills, except that of Subsidy, might be affixed to the payment of his Majesty's debts, it was upon debate rejected as impracticable, by reason of the anticipations upon his revenue; and the Speaker only ordered at the same time also to desire his Majesty that he would appropriate a summe equivalent to these aids to the discharging of his debts. We have now to-day considered of their Lordships amendments unto the Bill of forain Commodities, wherein they have made many alterations in many matters, having altered the impositions on Sugars, thrown out the clauses of Corn, of Coales, of Brandy, in which our House hath wholly disagreed, ordered a Committee to consider of reasons for a

conference, and have besides made a solemne vote, That aids given by the Commons ought not to be altered. In-  
much that considering the present temper of both Houses,  
there is some hazard that this Bill may be lost betwixt them;  
but however Brandy may more probably continue at the  
old 8d. per gallon only; the Houses being in that point so  
farr intangled in the manner of their proceedings, that it  
will be very difficult to find the right way back to an agree-  
ment. We daily expect an Act of Grace from his Majesty  
for the kingdome, which will come very welcome, and is  
already prepared. We labour every day and night almost  
at the Committee to hinder the report from the Committee  
of the necessity of continuing that Act, and hitherto we  
have prevailed. The Lords and we have agreed on an  
addresse to his Majesty, that *he weare no forain manufacture,*  
and *discountenance whether man or woman at court* that shall  
weare them. We have sent up the Bill for the Lord's  
Day.

I am,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most humble servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*April 13, 1671.*

LET-

## L E T T E R CXXXV.

MR. GEORGE ACKLAM, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last to you, we desired a conference with the Lords upon their amendments of the bill of forain Commodities. Our Managers there being so directed by the House, did not insist upon our general vote, that no aids given by the Commons ought to be altered in the value by the Lords; but only that no impositions upon Merchandize ought to be altered (which was the proper case of this Bill) and over and above gave particular reasons against each amendment, according to the nature of the matter respectively. The Lords hereupon have voted, *nemine contradicente*, that what they have done in this bill is as to the matter, measure, and time, a fundamentall and inherent right of their Lordships; and from which they could not depart; and since that they have been preparing themselves with reasons and precedents in order to desire another conference with us. But we have not yet heard from them, and however it is at present certainly supposed that both Houses are so firme to their contrary resolutions, that this Bill will fall betwixt us; and therefore, that his Majesty, passing such Bills as are in readynesse, and he approves of, will to-morrow, or next day, prorogue us. And I hear the Commission for proroguing us is ingrossing; most say the prorogation will be for a very short time, that  
so



fo this Bill, the bone of contention, being cut off thereby, another may be offered next meeting of the fame nature, but more confonant to the inclination of both Houfes. Others fay the prorogation will be till next February; but of thefe things I believe I fhall next poft be able to give you the certainty. The Bill againft Papifts, and againft Conventicles, are both alfo like to fall by this means. Yefternight, at 10 o'clock, the Committee gained a vote to report their opinion to the Houfe, that an Act fhould be brought in to continue the levy for Dover Peere upon fhipping, but they have not bin able to get the report in, and it likewise will fall to nothing. Here is a thing in motion, not in Parliament, but by his Majesty's favor, *to make Hull a free port, and he is for it*: I fhall write you more of this fhortly. The Act of Grace will fcarce come down, becaufe we have not given all the Aids. I am,

Your humble fervant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*April 18, 1671.*

L E T T E R CXXXVI.

MR. GEORGE ACKLAM, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**O-DAY the Houfe of Commons having defired a conference of the Lords, read and delivered to them an anfwer to what the Lords had delivered to them at a former  
con-

conference. To speak in short, the two Houses were so directly contradictory in their assertions concerning the power of the Lords in altering of rates, &c. that his Majesty, there being no present medium of reconciliation to be found, thought fit to-day to prorogue us; so that the Bill of forain Commodities is fallen to the ground, and the other Bills that I write of in my Tuesday's letter, except that of the London Ministers. I shall take care that you have the paper of the Lords, and ours; this last, indeed, deserving all men's curiosity, and, I think, approbation, though the Lords have voted our reasons unsatisfactory. We are prorogued till the 16th of April next. Dover Peere was not able to get in its report, so that matter is expired. I have sent you a cursory catalogue of the Bills now past, all which have something of publick nature; but in all there were foure or five and thirty: when they are in print I shall take care to send you them:

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most humble servant;

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, April 22, 1671.*

## LETTER CXXXVII.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL DANIEL HOARE, MAYOR,  
AND THE ALDERMEN HIS BRETHREN,  
OF KINGSTON UPON HULL.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE Duke of Monmouth returned on Saturday from Newmarket. To-day I waited on him, and first presented him with your Letter, which he read all over very attentively, and then prayed me to assure you, that he would, upon all occasions, be most ready to give you the marks of his affection, and assist you in any affairs that you should recommend to him; with other words of civility to the same purpose. I then delivered him the *six broad pieces*, telling him, that I was deputed to *blush on your behalfe for the meannesse of the present, &c.* but he took me of, and said, he thanked you for it, and accepted it as a token of your kindnesse. He had, before I came in, as I was told, considered what to doe with the gold; and, but that I, by all means, prevented the offer, or I had been in danger of being reimbursed with it. I received the Bill which was sent me on Mr. Nelehorpe, but the surplus of it exceeding much the expence I have been at on this occasion, I desire you to make use of it, and of me upon any other opportunity, remaining, GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate and humble servant,

Westminster, Oct. 20, 1674\*.

ANDREW MARVELL.

\* By some accident we have a gap in this valuable man's correspondence of above three years.

## LETTER CXXXVIII.

MR. DANIEL HOARE, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HIS day, as his Majesty had formerly appointed by his Proclamation, such members of parliament as were in town (and I thinke they were neare 200) met in the House with their Speaker. The Black Rod being at the Doore the Speaker took the Chaire, and being summoned to attend the Lords Commissioners, we went to the Lords House, where was read the Commission for prorogation, and accordingly the Parliament was declared by the Lord Keeper to be prorogued untill the thirteenth of Aprill next insuing. The same morning the Earle of Arlington, and the Earle of Ossory tooke leave of his Majesty to goe for Holland. The Dutch Embassador Odijek went also, so that now of the foure there is onely Van Beunighen remaining! The Lord Latimer too went along with them. It is generally discourfied as if the Prince of Orange would be here this Christmässe, and that he should marry the Duke of York's daughter. I have nothing further but to desire that you retaine me in your good affection, being,

GENTLEMEN, &amp;c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Nov. 10, 1674.*



## LETTER CXXXIX.

MR. DANIEL HOARE, MAYOR.

WORTHY SIR,

I Received your kind letter of the 25<sup>th</sup> of January, and also the *barrell of ale*, for which I returne my thanks to yourselfe and brethren. I have not yet had the good fortune to speak with the Duke of Monmouth, &c. but understand that the vessells were well delivered according to order, and accepted upon the first opportunity: nevertheless I shall not faile to obey your commands. Here is at present all the appearance of a fitting of parliament when the prorogation expires. I have here sent you inclosed the resolutions of his Majesty in Councill upon Wednesday last, which came out in print yesterday. I have nothing further at this time worthy your notice but to give you my hearty service, and desire you to recommend the same to the worthy Bench of Aldermen, for

I am,

S I R,

Yours and their most affectionate friend,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Feb. 6, 1674-5.*

LET-

## LETTER CXL.

MR. DANIEL HOARE, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE Parliament having assembled this day, I must not neglect to give you account of what hath passed. His Majesty having called the Commons before him in the Lords House, told them the occasion of this session was, that he might know what further he could do towards the securing of their religion and property, and to establish a durable correspondence betwixt him and his people: he tooke notice that there were some pernicious persons who did indeavour the contrary; but testified his great satisfaction in this Parliament, the most of which had in their own persons, or were descended of those who had signalized themselves in his service: that for his part he should always maintaine the Religion and the Church of England as now established, and be all his life constant in that profession; that the Navy did stand in need of repairing and increasing, that something might be done in it this summer, for otherwise a whole yeare would be lost; and that he intended a long session, not being now seasonable to meet the Parliament again in winter. The Keeper spoke very largely to the same purpose, but no account was given of that to the  
Commons

Commons by their Speaker; and I must desire you not by this summary relation I give you of his Majesty's speech, to conceive of it accordingly; for by reason of the shortness of my memory and conception, I do it much wrong, both as to the matter and the expression: when printed I will send it you. The Commons in sense of so acceptable a speech, after some hours time for the wording of their thankfulness, voted, That the humble thanks of this House be returned to his Majesty for the gracious promises and assurances expressed in his speech of maintaining religion and property as established by law, and for calling the parliament at this time for the said purpose. The Lords I hear also voted generally thanks to his Majesty. This is what this day hath produced, and I hope all the rest of this session may prove proportionable. If you have any particular commands for me I shall be very glad to obey you, being,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate friend

and humble servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, April 13, 1675.*

LET-

## LETTER CXLI.

MR. DANIEL HOARE, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**S**INCE my last, at the opening of the session, the House of Commons began yesterday to debate concerning some records, the one of an Act of Parliament (as it was proposed) in the 2d of Richard the 2d, containing that all Bills and Petitions should be made into Statutes, or receive a reasonable answer from the King before the Parliament were dismissed, which not being to be found in the Booke of Statutes, 'twas moved that it should be printed. The second matter was of a printed statute in the 4th of Henry 4th, wherein a clause extant in the record was omitted, against the pressing of men; the third was against the committing of men by the King's warrant: the House ordered those records should be brought in as this morning. Then they entered into debate concerning the Earle of Guildford, D. Lauderdale, and they renewed their resolution of making a new address to the King for his removall, &c. in the same terms, as in the former session; but that first a Committee should draw up reasons of this desire, to be presented at the same time to his Majesty. In the afternoon the Speaker and House attended his Majesty at Whitehall with their thanks; in returne of which, his Majesty assured them of his good  
opinion



opinion of the House, and that he would always be constant in securing their religion and property. This morning the Records were brought in, being in Old Law French, and red; which concluded, after long and mature discourses in a Committee, ordered, to translate the said Records into English, and to bring them this day se'nnight into the House, when they will proceed upon the printing, or otherwise, as shall be judged expedient. Some of the Lords have entered their Protests against the generall thanks of their House, having rather desired that they should have been limited, much after the same manner as by the House of Commons. The Lords ordered that the King's and the Lord Keeper's speeches should be printed, which we expect will be out to-morrow morning.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most humble servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, April 15, 1675.*

L E T T E R CXLII.

MR. DANIEL HOARE, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE House of Commons hath this two days been in a Committee of the whole House concerning Religion; the occasion of which rose from the motion of a member

of the House concerning the growth of Popery; for giving ease to Protestant Dissenters, and other good things of the same tendency. The Committee first, and then, upon their report, the House have voted, that a Bill be prepared for a test upon the members of both Houses, that none may be capable of sitting there without taking it; that another Bill be prepared for the speedy conviction of Papists; that the penaltyes be placed not in the crowne, but either in the church, or the justices of peace, for buying in impropriations or other publick uses; that there be therein a clause to distinguish between Papists and Protestant Dissenters; that a very considerable reward be therein allotted to whosoever shall discover a Romish Priest, who shall be proved to have said masse, or officiated as a Romish Priest, or to have taken Romish orders beyond sea or here; that those who shall be found to have bin present during such officiating, shall incurre such penaltyes as shall be mentioned; that this law shall not derogate from any former laws against Papist Priests: and the House resolved to enter Tuesday next upon further consideration of the same subject. On Munday is appointed a Bill to be brought in against levying mony without or beyond the consent of Parliament. There have bin once read—a Bill against transporting of Wooll—a Bill for better Packing of Wooll—a Bill for continuing the Act for Transportation of Leather

—a Bill for repaire of Churches, and recovery of small  
Tithes in poore Vicarages.

I remaine,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, April 17, 1675.*

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L E T T E R CXLIII.

MR. DANIEL HOARE, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**S**INCE my last, the House of Commons have read the  
first time a Bill against transporting any beyond sea into  
prisons, being a subject of England; and another for the  
speedy and effectual granting of Habeas Corpus upon im-  
prisonment at home; a third for making it Treason to raise  
mony without or longer then consent in Parliament. Yester-  
day also that House ordered an Addresse to his Majesty,  
for recalling his subjects that are in the French service, and  
the forbidding of any going over for the future. His Majesty  
being informed thereof, and desired to signify his pleasure  
when the House should wait on him with that Addresse,  
has appointed to-morrow at three of the clock. The Bill  
for the better Packing of Wool hath been cast out. A Bill

prohibiting New Buildings about London being red also to-day was rejected, but another ordered to be brought in more free from exceptions. The Committee for the Address concerning the Lord Lauderdale, with reasons of their request, will be ready to-morrow or next day to report. The Lords having to-day red the second time their Bill imposing the Corporation Oath upon the House of Peers and Commons, debated till foure o'clock whether it should be committed or no; but, after so long a contest, adjourned the same debate 'till to-morrow: the matter being of so much weight, that it will, I believe, *exercise their best deliberation.*

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate humble servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, April 20, 1675.*

LETTER CXLIV.

MR. DANIEL HOARE, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE House of Commons was yesterday in a Committee of the whole House concerning Religion, and voted (which the House agreed to) that in the Bill intended there should be a clause for regulating the Atturney Generall as to his



entring non-prose against Papists; another clause for the speedyer levying the fines upon them; and lastly, a particular Committee was appointed to prepare the Bill upon all those heads which had been already voted. In the afternoon they waited on the King with their Adresse for recalling his subjects out of the French service, to which his Majesty answered, that the matter was of too great importance for a present answer, but that he would consider of it, and returne them an answer. To-day the Recorde concerning not proroguing the Parliament till reasonable answer to all Petitions, or that they were made into Statutes; that wherein a printed Act, a clause for Pressing (I mean against it) was omitted; and the third, concerning not committing subjects upon the King's warrant, were brought in translated. A Bill was read the first time, that any member of parliament *who shall hereafter accept any office after his election, there shall be a new writ issued to elect in his place*; but if his Borough shall then the second time elect him, it shall be lawfull: upon the question whether it should have a second reading, 88 carryed it against 74. The Bill against Imprisoning Men beyond Sea was read the second time and committed. Ordered, that the Commissioners of the Navy bring in the state of the Fleet and Stores. A Committee to inspect what defects in the Acts of Militia, and what abuses. A Committee to consider what ill manage of the Revenues of Hospitalls. The Lords  
fate

sate the whole day yesterday, till ten at night, without rising, (and the King all the while of our addressees present) upon their Bill of Test on both Houses, and are not yet come to the question of committing it; they adjourned themselves then and the debates till to-morrow. The test is: *I A. B. do declare that it is not lawfull upon any pretense whatsoever to take arms against the King, and that I do abhorre that traytrous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him, in pursuance of such commissions. And I do sweare that I will not at any time indeavour the alteration of government either in church or state.*

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

April 22, 1675.

LETTER CXLV.

MR. DANIEL HOARE, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE House of Commons having received a report from the Committee for drawing up the addresse concerning Duke Lauderdale were informed by them, that Dr. Burnet being examined whether he knew any thing of bringing

bringing over any army into any of his Majesty's dominions, told them, that discourfing of the danger of rigorous proceedings againft the Prefbyterians in Scotland, while his Majesty was engaged in a war with Holland, the Duke faid he wifhed they would rebell; and in purfuit of that difcourfe faid, he would then hire the Irish Papifts to come over and *cut their throats*: but the Doctor replying, that fure he fpoke in jeft, the Duke answered, no, he faid it in earneft, and therefore repeated the fame words again. Further, that being asked whether he knew any thing of bringing the Scotch army into England, the Doctor had answered the Committee that he had acquainted them with that of Ireland, becaufe no fecret, but what the Duke had faid alfo the fame to others, and particularly to the Ducheffe of Hamilton; but that if the Duke had faid any thing to him fingle, if he knew any fuch thing, he asked their pardon, and fhould not reveale it but upon the utmoft extremity. Hereupon the Houfe thought fit to fend for the Doctor, and having acquainted him with the *authority* that Houfe had of *punifhing him*, if he delt not candidly with them, he at laft faid, that in September 1673, fpeaking about the declaration, the Duke told him all had forfaken the King but himfelfe and the Lord Clifford, and then asked him whether he thought, if the English Parliament were untoward, *Scotland would not affift the King*; the Duke replied, he thought not, for the Prefbyterians to be fure would not come in, neither did he conceive the  
Royalifts

Royalists would, who were discontented; but the Duke replied, the coming into England would draw a great many. The House deferred the consideration of these informations till next Thursday, but passed their addressse upon the two reasons, that of his saying the King's Edicts were equal to Laws, and to be observed in the first place; and the other of the Act passed in Scotland, while he was Commissioner, that the Scotch army of 22,000 men should be ready, upon order from the Privy Councill there, to march into England in case of, &c. and at any time else when the King's honour or greatnesse were concerned. The King hath ordered the House to attend him on Munday next at three of the clock with that addressse. To day Mr. Pepys, according to the House's order, brought in the state of the Navy Stores and Provisions, which the House will consider of next Tuesday. The Lords were yesterday again till foure o'clock upon their Bill of the new Test, and are not yet come to the committing of it: for they dispute it by inches, and those against it seeme rather to get ground. I send you the Protestis entered in their journall by some of them upon the former question. I had almost forgot a vote made to-day by the House of Commons after they had received the state of the Navy: that his Majesty be moved by an addressse from this House, to cause that there be no further anticipation or charge upon the customes, it being a disservice to himselfe and the nation. The other day at the  
King's



King's Bench, in open court, were produced articles signed and sealed betwixt Sir Robert Viner and Emerton, reciting the marriage solemnized between the son and daughter, and severall advantageous covenants for Sir Robert, and all this while in the time he was treating with the Lord Treasurer to marry her to Lord Dunblane: *'Tis a detestable and most ignominious story*; to which if the consideration be added of his late enterprising to subvert in all manners the libertyes of the city, and then how miserable he is plunged by the stop of the Exchequer, I do not know a man *more unfortunate*, or under *lesse compassion*.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

*Westminster, April 24, 1675.*

ANDREW MARVELL.

LETTER CXLVI.

MR. DANIEL HOARE, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE House of Commons have this two days been in a manner wholly taken up with the inclosed articles, in which yet they made little progresse, and therefore the things inclosed concerning very great persons, and the  
successe

ſucceſſe yet uncertain: I need not admoniſh your prudence to be reſerved in communicating them. They waited on the King yeſterday in the afternoon, who returned them this anſwer, that the paper concerning the Duke Lauderdale was long, he would therefore conſider of it, and returne them an anſwer ſhortly. I am in exceeding haſt, but,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your moſt affectionate ſervant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*April 27, 1675.*

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LETTER CXLVII.

MR. DANIEL HOARE, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE Houſe of Commons was taken up yeſterday with a ſecond patent (a former had bin conſidered the day before, and voted no ſufficient cauſe of Impeachment) which alſo determined in the ſame reſolution; and theſe patents being the onely proofs produced upon the firſt article, it paſſed that upon that article there appeared no cauſe of impeaching the Lord Treafurer. This day had been a weeke agoe appointed to reſume the conſideration of Dr. Burnet's teſtimony againſt the Duke Lauderdale. But, his Majeſty not having returned yet particular anſwer of his pleaſure therein, the Houſe thought fit to adjourn this

matter againe till this day se'nnight. The Bill of Habeas Corpus was read the second time and committed. The Bill for issuing out a new writ in case any member hereafter elected should receive an office, was upon the second reading, and the question of commitment, rejected by 145 against 113. The House resolved to proceed to-morrow again upon the remaining articles against the Lord Treasurer. Order was granted to summon such witnesses as the managers of the accusation desired: among the rest, summons to the Lord Mayor, and to Brandley, the minister, said to have married Emerton and Mrs. Hide. The Lords sat again this whole day till six o'clock about their Bill of Test, and advanced very little. I have inclosed this paper to you for your judgments, there being a Bill to come in to this purpose: Newcastle will of course strongly oppose it.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*April 29, 1675.*

The King's answer to day to the Commons, upon their addressè to him against Anticipation of the Customs, was, that he would consider of it, but so much he would tell them at present, that whatsoever he had been before, *he would henceforward be a very good husband.*

## LETTER CXLVIII.

MR. DANIEL HOARE, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE House of Commons yesterday proceeded upon the second article of Impeachment. Severall questions were delivered to the Speaker, upon which to examine the Lord Mayor, who was summoned as a witness; but those questions being one by one put to the question, were cast out, and one onely of the least weight remained; then 'twas put to the question whether the Lord Mayor should have a chaire, and it was carryed in the affirmative, upon division 141 against 137: he was called in, and answered according to what was asked; so then it was resolved upon the question, that there appeared not in this article any sufficient cause of impeachment. Ordered to proceed upon Munday on the rest. To-day the House fate not. I have inclosed to you some of the latest proceedings of the Lords; so that I hope shortly neither will they be so taken up with that Bill, nor the Commons with Impeachment, but that more usefull and publick business may be resumed. I forgot to tell you that some days agoe the King sent to demand the Lord Clarindon's key, which he wore in quality of Chamberlain to the Queene: He asked leave to render it into the Queene's hand, which he had and did: I heare not that the place is yet disposed of. Some criticall persons ob-



erving his name among the protesting Lords, would re-  
marke, that he loseth his key against that oath which was  
first invented and inacted by his father; but these things  
are *too curious*.

I am,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most humble servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*May 1, 1675.*

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L E T T E R C X L I X .

MR. DANIEL HOARE, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**W**E are but just risen now, almost at ten o'clock at  
night, from the Committee of Elections; so that I  
have scarce time to tell you that the House of Commons  
spent yesterday in acquitting the Treasurer upon the five  
remaining articles. And to-day having considered the state  
of the Navy, voted, that a Bill be brought in to appro-  
priate the Tunnage and Poundage by Act of 12<sup>o</sup> of this  
King, to the use of the Navy, for three years if the  
duties so long continue (that is if the King so long live).

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*May 4, 1675.*

## L E T T E R   C L.

MR. DANIEL HOARE, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**H**AVING writ to you every post since the Parliament's meeting, what I have further at present is, that yesterday the House of Commons voted a second addressè to his Majesty, for recalling his subjects out of the French service, and prohibiting others to goe over, and to desire him to issue his Proclamation in that behalfe: and the Privy Counsellors in the House to know when his Majesty pleased they should wait on him with this addressè. They have not yet received his Majesty's pleasure herein. Then they voted a second addressè to his Majesty, that he would be pleased to send them an answer to their late request concerning the Duke of Lauderdale. This day has been appointed to consider of Dr. Burnet's testimonyes concerning the said Duke, but after a debate 'twas carryed by a division of 146 against 132, to adjourn it till Friday se'nnight: the reason of which seems to have been because they reserved the application of this further testimony till they perceived what answer came from his Majesty. The Lords having voted yesterday that an oath should be tendered by their Bill (not what oath) to the members of both Houses, some nineteen of them have entered now their fourth protestation.

in this Bill. The Act against transporting Men into Prison beyond sea is past the Commons, and sent to-day to the Lords; that of Habeas Corpus, and that of levying no Mony but by Parliament, is under commitment. That against Pedlars and Hawkers, &c. will have its second reading to-morrow. The Bill of applying the old Customes only to the use of the Navy, and that against Popery, are ready to be brought in from those who were ordered to draw them. Some reports you may chance to heare of *a speedy recessse, but not rashly to be believed.*

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

May 6, 1675.

L E T T E R C L I.

MR. DANIEL HOARE, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**H**IS Majesty (not having yet appointed a time for receiving the second addresse about the Duke of Lauderdale) was pleased yesterday to send to the House of Commons concerning their first addresse, this answer, that as to the words charged upon him, they were however spoke, if spoken, before the Act of general Pardon, and as  
he

he had observed the great fruit arising from the Act of Indemnity, so he was thereby the more inclined to keep this late Act of general Pardon inviolate, lest it should disquiet the minds of his people. And as to the Act of 22,000 men from Scotland to march upon occasion, &c. into England; the first act of that nature was passed in 1663, when the said Duke was not yet Commissioner, and the second in his time was but in pursuance of the former. The House debated a considerable time upon this answer, and thought fit to adjourn without resolution till Tuesday the further reasoning of that matter. In the afternoon they waited on the King with their address the second time about the forces in France, and his Majesty said he would returne answer by writing as this morning, which he did, “ That as to recalling his troops out of the service of the Most Christian King, which were there before the conclusion of the peace with Holland, and which he was not thereby obliged to recall, he took it to be contrary to his honour and dignity, and that it might prejudice the peace, which he had publickly promised to entertain with all his neighbours, and that those troops were now very few in number: but for the prohibiting of any more to go over, he would set forth his Proclamation in the most effectual manner.” The House after severall motions thought convenient to adjourn their further consideration of this answer till Munday next. I have sent you the copy of the Lords  
fourth



fourth Proteſtation, in the carrying on of their Bill of Teſt : they are yet earneſt in that Bill, having continued ſitting yeſterday till five of the clock.

I am, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Weſtminſter, May 8, 1675.*

LETTER CLII.

MR. DANIEL HOARE, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**A**LTHOUGH ſince my laſt, the Houſe of Commons hath both days been long and very buſy, the relation falls within a litle compaſſe: for the Committee of the whole Houſe, having all day debated yeſterday the King's anſwer concerning recalling his ſubjects out of the French King's ſervice, divided upon the queſtion whether there ſhould be a further addreſſe to his Majeſty for a fuller anſwer ; but the tellers not agreeing of the numbers upon dividing, it cauſed a miſunderſtanding in the Houſe, which made all the Committee's worke fruitleſſe ; and the gentlemen, all of them man by man, ſtanding up in their places, were ordered to oblige each their honour, not to take any reſentment or diſlike of whatſoever had then happened. So that to-day the Houſe itſelfe reſumed that buſineſſe, and came  
to

to a question, whether a further address should be made to his Majesty to recall *all* his subjects out of the French King's service; the word *all* was first put and carried upon division, by 173 against 172, to be left out; the remaining question was then put and carried unanimously in the affirmative. This is all which is fit to say at present, after I have subscribed myself,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, May 11, 1675.*

L E T T E R   C L I I I .

MR. DANIEL HOARE, MAYOR.

WORTHY SIR,

**I** MUST beg your pardon that I have not mentioned and thanked you for your particular letters; having been always on the writing nights in an hurry, by reason of the Committee of Privileges long and late sitting: but to day proves an holyday, so that I have better leisure to bethinke myself, and acknowledge your favor and my omissions. The House of Commons yesterday received the Bill which they had ordered of appropriating the customs for three years, &c. to the use of the navy; it hath not been yet read. They received also the report from the Com-

mittee of the Bill for redressing several incroachments in the Chimney Money, and went thorow part of the amendments, the rest to be resumed to morrow: They ordered also, that one Doctor Shirley should be taken into custody for bringing an appeale in the Lords house, against one Sir John Fag, a member of the House of Commons; and, whereas the Lords have proceeded on the appeale, and Sir John Fag hath appeared before them, they ordered that he shall not answer or appeare further without leave of the House, which may possibly raise some debate of privilege between the two Houses, and that the House of Commons may censure and punish Fag for having appeared. The Lords sate the whole day yesterday upon the same test untill nine o'clock at night, and yet it is not past their Committee of the whole House. This inclosed having been offered by the Marques of Winchester as an addition to that oath, indured severall hours debate and was at last rejected. I pray, Sir, impart these things with my service to the Bench. I ow you in particular a singular respect for yours to me, and am,

S I R,

Your very affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*May 13, 1675.*

L E T-

## L E T T E R CLIV.

MR. DANIEL HOARE, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE unhappy misunderstanding betwixt the two Houses increaseth for these two days, because the Lords have proceeded upon an appeale against Sir John Fag one of the Commons. An ill accident hath come in, for a servant of the Commons House having the Speaker's warrant to seize Dr. Shirley the appellant, and finding him in the Lords lobby, shewed the Warrant to the Lord Mohun, who took it and carried it away into the Lords House, where they kept it; the Commons sent to demand justice against the Lord, and the Lords sent that the Lord had therein done his duty, and by their own messengers sent to ask whether the Commons would own that warrant; they have answered in words not very obliging, that they would consider of it; and then voted this message of the Lords unparliamentary; but these things are but circumstantiall to the main matter, the appeale, and that will be carried on with no less vigour; yet I hope there will be some good expedient found out, the rather because I can not imagine what it may be; for when there is a necessity, prudence or God's providence step in by more extraordinary methods. I dare write no more lest the post leave me behind, and I have therefore exprest myself so hastily, that



I must advise you rather to diminish then heighten your conceptions of this matter, nor be forward to communicate 'till further leisure.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most humble servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

May 15, 1675.

LETTER CLV.

MR. DANIEL HOARE, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**W**E are sitting in the Committee of Elections between Colonell Worden and Mr. Williams for Chester, and it will be more then midnight before they can be up, so that I steale these minutes only to acquaint you, that the House yesterday debated a question, whether any more Bills should be admitted before the recess mentioned in his Majesty's speech beside those already ordered by this House, or which might come down from the Lords. 'Twas moved to add these words, *unless upon extraordinary occasions*, but they were rejected by 169 against 121. Then the main question past, that no Bills of Money can be brought in this sitting; no member to go out of town but upon leave after ten o'clock; the House to be called

called on Wednesday come se'nnight. The contest between the Lords and Commons goes on, and I do not yet see the way out, but hope the best, neither do I perceive yet whether it will prolong or shorten our sitting.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, May 18, 1675.*

They have put of their Test 'till Friday.

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LETTER CLVI.

MR. DANIEL HOARE, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE Committees which were appointed for drawing up the two Bills against Popery, which I mentioned in the beginning of the sessions, have now brought them in, and they have had their first readings; to-morrow is ordered for their second: the first is a Test for the members of both Houses, containing a large renunciation of the most distinguishing doctrines of the Papists; the second a general Bill for the speedier conviction of all Papists. The Bill for appropriating the customs for three years to the navy was

was yesterday read the second time and committed. The third addresse to his Majesty for recalling his troops in the French King's service was read this day; but forasmuch as Mr. Secretary assured the House that there was a Proclamation prepared to that purpose, they adjourned the further consideration of the addresse till next Wednesday, by which time they will have seen the Proclamation. Very much of the House's time is spent in Conferences with the Lords concerning their privileges in this point, of calling up their members thither upon appeals during the sitting or privilege of Parliament; the Lords asserting, the Commons denying it; and diverse repugnant votes have been entered in both their books. The whole contest is too voluminous for letters; but it resembles that which you may remember upon account of Skinner and the East India Company, but differing by how much members of Parliament are herein concerned: but as long as there is no denial yet of conferences I hope reason will prevaile. To-morrow I suppose both Houses will adjourn till next Wednesday.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*May 20, 1675.*

LET-

## L E T T E R CLVII.

MR. DANIEL HOARE, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE House of Commons yesterday read the Bill of Test for both Houses the second time and committed it. The second Bill against Popery they had not leisure to read, being taken up with the conference which the Lords desired upon the reasons offered them by the Commons: much time slips away in this contest, so that the publick Acts cannot be so soon matured as were to be wished, nor are so secure of passing. The Houses have in respect of the holydays adjourned themselves yesterday untill the next Wednesday. The Committee for the Bill of appropriating the Customs have sate, and are ready for a report. I have inclosed you his Majesty's Proclamation, which came out yesterday. It is expected now daily to heare of some great action of the French King in Flanders. I shall take leave at present, having not further then that.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &amp;c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, May 22, 1675.*



## LETTER CLVIII.

MR. DANIEL HOARE, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE House of Commons was taken up for the most part yesterday in calling over their House, and have ordered a letter to be drawn up from the Speaker to every place for which there is any defaulter, to signify the absence of their member, and a solemn letter is accordingly preparing, to be signed by the Speaker: this is thought a sufficient punishment for *any modest man*; neverthelesse, if they shall not come up hereupon, there is a further severity reserved. To-day hath been chiefly imployed in reading and committing the Bill for conviction of Papists, and distinguishing and exempting Protestant Dissenters from this or any other law made against Papists. Every day beside hath its part in the contest betwixt the two Houses. The Lords have agreed for to-morrow another conference in that matter: these and other diversions withhold them from proceeding in their Committee of their Test with the same vigour and assiduity as formerly; yet I think at last the Bill may find the way down to the Commons.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &amp;c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*May 27, 1675.*

## LETTER CLIX.

MR. DANIEL HOARE, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE House of Commons was yesterday (but this is set apart to celebrate its welcome commemoration) employed in a manner wholly about their business with the Lords; for the Lords having absolutely refused them to conferre about their Judicature, they resolved to send on Munday to them to desire a conference with them about that message, which conference though perhaps the Lords should grant, yet will not probably better the prospect betwixt the two Houses, and the Commons further upon a most solemn and long debate have resolved, that there lyes no Appeale to the House of Lords from any Courts of Equity; and have further voted, That no member of their House shall prosecute any such Appeal before the House of Lords. In the former mentioned great resolution there was a division of the House, whether the question should now be put, which being carryed in the affirmative by 124 against 116, the main question passed without contradiction. I wish my next may bring you news that their controversy with the Lords in this fatal matter can admit an expedient.

I have inclosed to you the only letter which I received last post: it is of a very new and strange nature to me; I can-

not tell whether it be a true or a fained name, whether well or ill ment, whether from a friend or enemy; but it seeming to me that you are no lesse concerned therein than myfelfe, I could not withhold it from you, but earnestly desire you to let me know how you understand it, and having read it, that you will returne the same originall letter by the first post to,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*May 29, 1675.*

*P. S.* The House further ordered to take in consideration the excesses of the jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery, and appointed on Munday to proceed upon his Majesty's answer concerning the Duke of Lauderdale.

LETTER CLX.

MR. DANIEL HOARE, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**Y**ESTERDAY the forme of the letter was brought in by those appointed to draw it, whereby the absence of several members is signified to their respective corporations; and it was approved by the House, and next Thursday

day the letters will be sent by the post. Then the House ordered, That the Council that pleaded last Friday before the Lords upon an Appeal out of Chancery against Mr. Demehoy, a member of the House, should be summoned to appear at their barre. After that, they took his Majesty's answer concerning the Duke of Lauderdale into consideration, and after a long debate, and then a division of 136 against 116, they ordered another addresse to the former purpose should be drawn up against the said Duke, to be presented to his Majesty. Then they went up to a Conference desired by the Lords, who expostulated with them for not having gone up to the Conference which the Lords had granted, but with that unusuall limitation, *so that the Commons did not therein debate of the Lords Judicature.* To-day the Counsell summoned appeared at the barre, and were heard severally upon their excuses; Sergent Pember-ton, Sir John Churchill, Sergent Peeke and Mr. Porter; Pemberton was first put to the question, and 154 dividing against 146, he was committed prisoner to the sergent at arms; so were the other three without division: then Sir John Fag, a member of the House, was sent to the Tower for having appeared before the Lords upon an Appeal against him there, after he had complained of it to the House, and they sent to the Lords on his consideration: the same was debated concerning Mr. Demehoy in a thing of like nature, but he was acquitted. Sir Nicholas Crispe and his two



brothers are summoned to appear to-morrow for having appealed before the Lords against Demehoy: thus things go at present.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

June 1, 1675.

*P. S.* The Lords fate in Committee yesterday till twelve at night, his Majesty present, upon their Bill of Test, and have not finished, but may now in a few days be ready for their report. The *Pope* hath given a *Cardinall's Hat* to Father Howard *the Queen's Almoner*.

LETTER CLXI.

MR. DANIEL HOARE, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last, Sir James Norfolk, the Sergent of the House of Commons, was by them voted to be sent to the Tower, to be devested of all privilege, and that his Majesty be desired to cause a new Sergent to attend, he having betrayed his trust, &c. but Sir James forthwith escaped from the House while they were penning the orders:

his

his crime was neglect in taking the lawyers into custody, and his collusion with the Black Rod to take Sir John Churchill after him, after he had seized him. The Commons have sent to desire his Majesty to issue a fuller proclamation to recall his subjects out of the French service. Sir John Fag, having been committed to the Tower, is, upon his petition to the House, released. The letters for the Defaulters go this post. The Lords having yesterday sent down a message by the Lord Chief Justice North and Lord Chief Baron for a conference to-day upon matters of high importance, concerning the King's dignity and safety of the government, delivered them to-day this paper, which I inclose to you; the Commons prepare an answer for tomorrow to it. I have sent you also a catalogue of the public Bills in our House, but 'tis something erroneous and imperfect, but not much: 'twere great damage should they all miscarry by the present differences.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*June 3, 1675.*

L E T-

## LETTER CLXII.

MR. DANIEL HOARE, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**Y**ESTERDAY the King having upon the House's desire appointed them another Sergeant, the Speaker coming in the morning through Westminster Hall, found Sergeant Pemberton in his way, and caused his Sergeant to seize him. The House afterwards being informed that the other three were at the Chancery Barre, sent the Sergeant with his mace thither to seize them; they read the protection of the Lords House, neverthelesse he brought them away: then the House voted they should be sent to the Tower, which was done by a warrant to the Sergeant; they also gave the Sergeant a written authority, whereby himselfe in case any should arrest him, or detain him, he should secure any such person. The Lords, as I heare, voted, that they would not, till reparation had from the Commons in this matter, transact further with them, and addressed the King to remove this new Sergeant, and to remove the Lieutenant of the Tower. His Majesty sent to-day at the sitting of the Houses, to adjourn till foure o'clock, and then both wait on him in the Banqueting House; they did so, where his Majesty spoke to them with great prudence concerning the reconciling of their differences, and I hope to as  
much

much effect: the Commons therefore, returning, voted their humble thanks to his Majesty for the gracious expressions in his speech, and his Majesty having declared his sense of those ill persons who fomented the differences, the House voted, that it did not appear to their House that any member therein had promoted or contrived those differences, or had carried himself otherwise in asserting the privileges of their House, than belonged to their duty and the trust reposed in them. Many more particularities I might insert concerning these matters, but truly they were perhaps all better spared; neither will you, I know, be forward to propagate the discourse of them.

The King's Speech I shall send you by the next post, for I will not venture to diminish it by my ill memory.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your very affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Saturday, June 5, 1675.*

LET-



## LETTER CLXIII.

MR. DANIEL HOARE, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE business of the two Houses since my last hath been in contrary votes; the Commons justifying Sir John Robinson, the Lords issuing an Habeas Corpus for him to bring the prisoner before them, and after their addressè to the King for another Lieutenant of the Tower, refused by his Majesty. The Commons sent several times to them for Conferences, but none granted: I see not yet any way out of this labyrinth; there is but little pleasure, nor have I, as it chances, time to particularize these things. I have enclosed to you, though not delivered, yet entered on our book, the reasons prepared for the Lords when they shall be in disposition to admit a Conference, and the King's Speech.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &amp;c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, June 8, 1675.*

LET-

## LETTER CLXIV.

MR. DANIEL HOARE, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**H**AVING writ to you the last post, I think it unnecessary and indecent to give you any other account of the Prorogation of the Parliament, than what you will find in his Majesty's speech yesterday here inclosed.

I remain,

GENTLEMEN, &amp;c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, June 10, 1675.*

## LETTER CLXV.

MR. DANIEL HOARE, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HERE was upon the eleventh instant a letter left at my lodgings, dated the last day of July, the purport whereof was, that I should promote in what I could the establishing to Mr. Angel the continuance of certain lights

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upon

upon the Spurne, by his Majesty's grant, at one farthing a tun of the burthen of each ship, and that I should afford him my best assistance and recommendation therein; which letters one may easily conjecture to be of no small weight with me, coming from your Bench, and backed with so many hands of other persons, after you, the most considerable with me, whether for their own value, or in my deserved esteem and friendship; and I could have therefore heartily wished that you had either taken that resolution sooner, or imparted it, if taken more timely, that I might have been more free from any pre-ingagement; but neither were you pleased, although I sent you that reproachfull and counterfeit letter under Chr. Shores his hand, in behalfe of those lights, to signify to me your opinion concerning them: nor, although I was profered by Mr. Angel any share in the advantage, did that prevail with me to separate from the judgement of those, who at that time only interested themselves to me; and though in proceſſe of time severall things have intervened, yet you may assure yourselves, that I neither have nor will enter into any obligation which shall engage me either against *true reason*, or against mine own interest, which consists in doing you all reasonable service; nor, I hope, have you ever found by experience of former affairs, that if at any time I have seemed to dissent from you, I have done any thing either out of animosity or partiality, nor which you had cause to  
repent

TO THE CORPORATION OF HULL. 251

repent of; therefore I beseech you to speake on the same matter with Sir Jer. Smyth, before his departure, who is so great a lover of your corporation, and will have no small stroke here in that businesse, that I may receive farther instructions from you; for though I availe little, you may reckon me of course,

Your most humble servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Aug. 14, 1675.*

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LETTER CLXVI.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL WILLIAM SHIRES, MAYOR,  
AND THE ALDERMEN HIS BRETHREN,  
OF KINGSTON UPON HULL.

S I R,

**I** Here inclose to you his Majesty's and the Lord Keeper's Speeches; not having further at present than to remain,

Your most affectionate friend and servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Oct. 16, 1675.*



## L E T T E R CLXVII.

MR. WILLIAM SHIRES, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

OUR House sat yesterday, and the Speaker giving them account of the great weaknesse and indisposition under which Colonell Thomas Howard laboured, they ordered a Committee of five gentlemen to examine him, whether he owned that paper, who did accordingly, and his answer was, after many civil expressions to the House, that he owned nothing but what should be proved upon him; which they took not for a good answer, but voted the paper scandalous, and a breach of the privilege of their House; neverthelesse considering his infirmityes, they gave him this day se'nnight to appear at the barre of the House, to be examined there by them. Yesterday also they appointed this for considering that part of his Majesty's speech relating to the anticipations on his revenue, and to ships. They red the first time their Bill for appropriating the Customes to the Navy, and appointed Thursday for its second reading. Likewise that against levying mony but by act of parliament, and Friday for its second reading. Then the House ordered to turn itselſe into a Committee of the whole House to consider of the state and condition of the nation, which arose from several members instancing many things very grievous, which I mention not, *being only proper within*

*within the walls of the Parliament House.* To-day they sat in Committee of the whole House 'till foure o'clock, when it came to a question concerning a supply, to take of the anticipations; they divided first whether the question should be put, and 'twas 166 to 166; the chairman was then to give the casting voice; it was Sir Charles Harberd, who was before, by question in the House, chosen chairman, against Sergent Jones, whom I saw when at Hull; Sir Charles gave it for the ayes; so the main question was put, and by 172 against 165, carried that the House is of opinion, that no supply be given to his Majesty upon account of the anticipations; these, the late anticipations, not relating at all to the bankers, were given in to be neare a million. Friday is appointed to proceed on what is to be done in reference to the navy. To-morrow the House will be in a Committee of the whole House upon Religion. Shirley's petition is again in the House of Lords, and red, and after debate adjourned it till to-morrow: I wish it do not engage the Houses again in their former controversy.

I am,

Your most humble servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

Oct. 19, 1675.

L E T-

## LETTER CLXVIII.

MR. WILLIAM SHIRES, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I Think I forgot in my last to acquaint you that as soon as the Committee of the whole House had voted their opinion concerning a supply upon account of the late anticipations, the Speaker took the chair, and putting the question, the House agreed therein with the Committee. Tuesday the Committee of the whole House upon Religion, voted, as their opinion, that there should be a Committee appointed to examine of atheistical Books, or against the Doctrine or Discipline established by Law; to which was added afterwards by the House, *or against the civil Government.* A Bill or Bills against profane Curfing or Swearing, and for the better observation of the Lord's Day—To prevent the growth of Popery—That the Children of the Royall Family should be educated in the Protestant Religion, and no Popish Priest to come neare them—For erecting of Churches in all out Parishes—That nothing concerning the Religion now established can, or shall, or ought to be altered, or suspended, but by Act of Parliament. The Speaker then taking the chaire, the House agreed in all things with the Committee. To-day they red the second time the two Bills of appropriating 400,000l. out of the Customes for three years unto the use of the navy, and the other making  
it

it Treason to raise money but by Act of Parliament, and after mature debate thereupon, they referred them to severall Committees. To-morrow will be the Committee of the whole House, upon what is fit to be done in reference to the Navy; so that it is likely to prove a long day, and of great account and argument. The Lords sitting yesterday till foure in debate of Shirley's appeal (which debate and themselves they then adjourned 'till next Munday) there being no hearing before King and Council concerning the Lights, but I suppose it may come on there next Friday (I mean to-morrow).

I crave leave to advertise you, that Mr. Creffett this afternoon discoursing with me, told me he had this post a letter from the Mayor and seven or eight of the Aldermen, giving him notice you had received from me a letter of three sides, partly concerning Parliament business, as also concerning the Lights to such and such purpose, which makes me presume to advertise you, that though I object nothing to Mr. Creffett's fidelity and discretion, neither do I write deliberately any thing which I fear to have divulged, yet seeing it is possible that in writing to assured friends, a man may give his pen some liberty, *and the times are something criticall*; beside that, *I am naturally, and now more by my age inclined to keep my thoughts private*, I desire that what I write down to you, may not easily, or unnecessarily return



to a third hand at London : if in saying this I have used more freedom than the occasion requires, I beg your pardon, being

Your most humble servant,

Oct. 21, 1675.

ANDREW MARVELL.

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LETTER CLXIX.

MR. WILLIAM SHIRES, MAYOR.

S I R,

**H**AVING scarce stufte enough for a letter to the Bench, I content myself for this post with acquainting you that yesterday ended in a vote that there should, with convenient speed, twenty new ships be built. Upon Tuesday next it will be considered how many of each rate, but below the third rate none; as likewise what the charge shall be estimated at, whether by building be only understood the hulls, or rigging, and canon, &c. which will alter the matter proportionably, how and within what terme the mony for the same shall be raised; all docks will be employed that are capable; I wish there were, but I doubt there is not possibly, commodity of building at your port of so great burthen. To-day the House voted that all the King's subjects, who are or shall be in the French King's service

service, contrary to his Majesty's Proclamation, shall be deemed Contemners of his Royall Authority, and Enemyes of the Interest of this Nation. To desire the Lords concurrence herein, and likewise to prepare an Act (limitting the time for their returne) to the same purpose. Also the Bill was read to-day the second time against Papists, who shall not take the strickt test therein contained, that they sit in neither House. There is a Bill against transporting of Wool. A Committee appointed to consider in order to a Bill if they find it adviseable concerning exportation of Coals, with no higher imposition than of twelve pence per chaldron; it being proposed as a *great expedient for the mariners*. I forgot to tell you in my last that the Lord Cavendish for posting up Mr. Howard, when the matter depended in the House, was sent to the Tower for Breach of Privilege, and yesterday petitioning the House, was forthwith discharged. I heare that it was yesterday ordered at Councill, that Angell's Patent should passe, which I hope is according to your desire. Pray, Sir, present my humble service to the Bench.

I am,

Your very affectionate friend,

ANDREW MARVELL.

October 23, 1675.

## LETTER CLXX.

MR. WILLIAM SHIRES, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**A**LTHOUGH we sat very long yesterday, and to-day till near six o'clock, the result as in matters of great moment, and much debate, will hold in a little compass; for yesterday the Committee of the whole House, concerning the state of the nation, made only this step, that the Atheisme, Profanenesse and Impiety among the people were one point to be redressed in the state of the nation. And before the House to-day should resolve itself into a Committee concerning the twenty ships, a debate lasted all day, concerning lodging the mony in the Chamber of London; the question that concluded it was, whether these words—*and lodged in the Chamber of London*, should be part of the question; that the mony should be appropriated to no other use but the building of ships only; 'twas carryed by 171 against 160 they should not, so the remaining question passed in the affirmative unanimously. I pray Gentlemen, consider whether there may be at your towne the convenience of building one or two third rate ships, and informe me thereof. Commissioner Tippetts I remember, when he returned formerly from Hull, was of that opinion. The House beside ordered that Mr. Atkins and Mr. Francis Nupert should appeare before them, to  
be

be examined concerning a challenge to my Lord Cavendish; and moreover ordered and caused papers to be publickly affixed, that whereas the said Lord had, for his breach of privilege of the House, suffered imprisonment, that whoever therefore should, either by provocation, message, or challenge, molest him further, should be deemed a disturber of the peace, a contemner of the justice and privilege of the House, and be proceeded against accordingly. To-day Mr. Howard appeared at the bar, and not denying or affirming, they voted it was their judgement he was the author, promoter, and dispenser of that scandalous paper, and then sent him to the Tower. A Committee for improving the vent of Woollen Manufacture. The Bill for exporting Leather red the second time.

Your servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Oct. 26, 1675.*

LETTER CLXXI.

MR. WILLIAM SHIRES, MAYOR.

S I R,

**T**HE House having sat all day (I mean the Committee of the whole House) upon the business of ships, I have only time to acquaint you, that they voted one

L 1 2

first



first rate of 1400 tun; but a division whether the number of second rates should be nine or five, was carried by 185 against 163, that there should be but five, those of 1100 tun. The debate of the third rates, whether they should be of 800, 850, or 900 tun came to no conclusion, it being carried by 160 against 156, that there should be *no candles*; so to-morrow, upon the Committee's desire, the House ordered them to sit again on the same business. There is leave for a Bill to make the Derbyshire, Darwent navigation into the Trent. My service to the Bench.

I am,

S I R,

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Nov. 2, 1675.*

L E T T E R   C L X X I I .

MR. WILLIAM SHIRES, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**W**HEN our House adjourned last week till this Thursday, I forthwith went over to Sir Jer. Smyth at Clapham: not returning 'till that morning, and the House sitting all day, I writ to Mr. Mayor at supper, before I  
came

came to my lodging; so that I took not any notice of yours of the 26<sup>th</sup> of October, which I received not till I came home.

I was yesternight again with Sir Jeremy, and saw him *expire at eleven o'clock at night, dyeing very peaceably, and with perfect understanding, memory, and speech, to the last gaspe*; and a little before mentioned you with much kindness and respect, desiring me to recommend to you his last wishes and prayers for your prosperity and happiness: indeed both you and I have lost in him a very cordial friend, and we may well condole with one another, such breaches being in these times very difficult to be repaired.

And now as to yours of the 26<sup>th</sup>, occasioned by my complaint of intelligence given hither of my letter, I must profess that whosoever did it hath thereby very much obliged me, though I believe beyond his intention, seeing that it hath thence happened that I have received so courteous and civil a letter from you, that it warms my very heart, and I shall keep it as a marke of honour always to ly by me, amongst whatsoever things I account most precious and estimable, for it would be very hard for me to tell you at how high a rate I value all expressions of your kindness to me, or how sensibly I should regret the loss of it by any mistake that might chance on either side. Truly  
Mr.

Mr. Cresset met me twice that day, and told me the same story, but the second time more particularly, that of three sides of paper of parliamentary business, and as I wrote you; and that Mr. Shires his name was to it among the rest: I met him this day with Mr. Castleton, who was the other Solicitor in Mr. Angel's business; I shewed him your letter: he told me, as it were boasting, before I shewed it him, that he also had advice from Hull concerning my letter, when I complained of this matter, some little evasion he used, that the letter was not writ to himselfe but to another; but when he saw what you writ of the 26<sup>th</sup> he faltered, and would neither affirm or deny that it was any of you. In conclusion, I am very well satisfied, Gentlemen, by your letter, that it was none of you, but it seems therefore that there is some *sentinell set both upon you and me*, and to know it therefore is a sufficient caution: the best of it is, that none of us, I believe, either do say or write any thing, but what we care not though it be made publick, although we do not desire it. I ask your pardon for having given you this so long, but not altogether unnecessary diversion or disturbance. I shall reserve the next side for our news, but therefore fill up this with intreating you to send me that counterfeit writing of Shires, which in a former letter to me you said you had inclosed, but in the postscript, that you would reserve it for further discovery; but seeing there is no likelyhood

now of any effect thereof, I should be glad to have it in mine own keeping.

My last to you left the Committee of the whole House rising without resolve whether 850 or 900 tun be allowed for the third rates; this long debate proceeded, because some would contest an ancient order of the House, that in all questions, the least sum and the shortest time would be first put; but next morning, the Speaker being in the chaire, it was declared and resolved to be an undoubted ancient standing order, not to be violated, and so was entered and established upon the books; and then the Committee unanimously voted it should be 900; then they agreed 14l. a tun for first, and 12l. 10s. for second, and 9l. 10s. for the third rates; but then they differed concerning the ward ships; some insisting that thereby was ment also rigging and gunning; and those to-day, while the Speaker was yet in the chair, before we entered into Committee of the whole House, moved to have it so explained in order to have a greater summe directed in the Committee, but upon division 163 against 157, carryed that no farther directions should now be given to the Committee; then the House turned into Committee, where towards six at night, 'twas resolved upon, the question put, that a supply not exceeding 300,000l. should be raised for the building and towards the gunning, and rigging, and furnishing of the twenty ships;



ships ; and this vote, with the rest, was ordered to be reported to the House next Saturday morning. It seemed also by severall intervening discourfes as if there were an intention to put this into the same Bill with the appropriation for the customs. I left the Lords sitting when I came home, in debate of appointing a day to hear Shirley's appeal, his petition having been received.

I am,

S I R,

Your most humble servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

Nov. 4, 1675.

L E T T E R CLXXIII.

MR. WILLIAM SHIRES, MAYOR.

S I R,

**A**LL the bufineffe of this day hath been that the Committee of the whole House have made their report to the House of all the votes concerning the twenty ships, which I formerly sent you ; the House agreed to them all, onely upon the last vote *a sum not exceeding 300,000l. &c.* they debated long, severall gentlemen contending for a  
greater

greater summe, but upon division of the House 176 against 150, that vote was likewise agreed to.

I am,

S I R,

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Nov. 6, 1675.*

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L E T T E R    C L X X I V .

MR. WILLIAM SHIRES, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**Y**ESTERDAY the Bill (of which Col. Gilby sent you the brieve) for making the Darwent navigable, was read the second time and committed. Col. Thomas Howard's petition, acknowledging his sense of the House's displeasure, was received, and he there upon freed from his imprisonment in the Tower. One St. German, a French Popish Priest, having come to the chamber of Monsieur Luzaney, a priest lately converted, proffered a recantation to subscribe, or else threatned to ponyard him; Luzaney's own narrative was produced, and read in our House, who thereupon made a committee to examine the business, to report their opinions, to propose ways for the safety as well of this person as of others that should be converted to the Protestant

Religion; to inquire what priests have been convicted, how pardoned, and by whose procurement: further the House sent to my Lord Chief Justice to issue out his warrant for apprehending St. German and his accomplices, and all other Romish priests about town. His Majesty had the same thing yesternight in council, and ordered his Royall Proclamation for the seizing of the said St. German, &c. and a considerable reward to whosoever should take them. The House then red the third time the Bill for excluding Papists from Court, and from both Houses of Parliament, and it was carried up to-day, the same messenger being appointed to quicken the Lords in our House's vote concerning our King's subjects in the French service, and to desire their agreement. Then they went into a Committee of the whole House, where 'twas voted that the 300,000l. should be raised by a monthly sesment, by a Land Tax, at seventeen thousand two hundred and foure pound seventeen shillings and three-pence per month for eighteen months, by quarterly payments. Then the Speaker was desired to take the chair, but in putting the last question to the House for agreement with the Committee, a gentleman desired these words might be added, "And that no further charge shall be layed upon the subject this session;" this admitting debate, the question was put for candles, which were brought in by 143 against 118; then after debate on the main question, "And that no further charge, &c." 'twas carried

by 145 against 103 as I remember; so that there is no appearance henceforward of any more money than that 300,000l. to be raised this fitting, and that only for the use of ships. There being a late printed book containing a narrative of the Test carried on in the Lords House last session, they yesterday voted it a Libell, and to be burnt by the hands of the hangman, and to enquire out the Printer and Author. Our House this day read the Act against transporting Wool, and spent most of the morning in an useful debate for raising the price of Wool, and then committed it. There was also a petition against the East India Company.

I am,

Your humble servant,

ANDREW MARVELL,

*Westminster, Nov. 9, 1675.*

L E T T E R CLXXV.

MR. WILLIAM SHIRES, MAYOR.

S I R,

**T**HE House having sat all day till halfe an hour past eight, the question was then put whether their debate should be adjourned, but continued by 150 against 136. Then after a second division upon the main question, 'twas

M m 2

by



by 151 against 124 carried that the Bill for appropriating the tunnage and poundage for three years to the use of the navy, shall be annexed to the Bill of 300,000*l.* for the twenty ships, and then a Committee of five or six was named to draw up the Bill. You may easily guess I am now in haste.

I remain,

Your most affectionate friend and servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Nov. 11, 1675.*

LETTER CLXXVI.

MR. WILLIAM SHIRES, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I AM run something in arrears to you by reason of the long sittings of the House, together with some avocation I have had by business relating to Sir Jeremy's estate, and his funeral; but having yesterday waited on his corps out of town, which is intended to be interred at Hem-brough upon Saturday next in the afternoon, I shall use all the leisure I have after the House's sitting to-day, till five o'clock, to give you account in what progress the matters of greatest moment are yet with us. It was upon Wednesday last the Committee of the whole House sat about the

State of the Nation, wherein you know the atheisme, impiety and debauchery now practised were first complained of. The next voted, was the sending for Justices of Peace to appear at the Councill Board upon matters of Excise judicially according to the Act of Parliament subject to the said Justices determination. The third complaint was of Instructions sent into the country touching the gathering of Excise and Chimny Mony, stretching those Laws beyond the proper intention; therefore the House appointed a particular Committee to inspect those Instructions and make report. I mentioned to you before the vote of annexing the two Money Bills upon Thursday; there was that same day another vote, that in the drawing up of those Bills there should be clauses placing the receipt in Exchequer, but with very severe penaltyes upon all officers issuing or applying the one or other Mony to any different purpose but that of the Navy. That same day a Bill of printing and against scandalous Libells was read, and the Bill against Hawkers and Pedlars was read the second time and committed. Upon Friday the Bill against illegal levying of mony upon the subject was reported and ordered to be ingrossed. A Committee appointed to consider of redresse to the multitude of poore in the nation. Also order for a Bill against Bribery, Drinking and other Excesses in Elections to Parliament. On Saturday the Weaver's petition concerning the importing of Forain Silks and the Looms was

red

red and committed. The Committee of Monsieur Luzaney reported to the House that St. German after three days that warrants were said to be out to apprehend him, and that very Munday morning when Luzaney's business was in the afternoon before the King and Council, was seen three or four hours walking at leisure in the Pall-mall, having come out of White-hall: Hereupon the House ordered some gentlemen to draw up an Adresse to his Majesty, representing the default of his ministers or officers therein. Also, they ordered thanks to his Majesty, for preferring Monsieur Breval, and recommended to him this Luzaney and one De La Motte, learned converts, to the first vacant dignities in his Majesty's gift. The said Committee is on further inquiry, what Romish Priests lately convicted, pardoned, and by whose procurement, and are to procure encouragement and security to convert Forainers. The Lords on Dr. Shirley have given notice by writing to Sir John Fag, that his cause shall be heard the 20th of this month; so yesterday the Commons voted that Dr. Shirley's appeal was a breach of the privilege of this House, and that Sir John Fag shall not appear before the Lords without leave had from the House of Commons, but these things were more coolly handled than last session. We should have gone upon it again to-day, but 'tis set for to-morrow; this being taken up by a debate concerning Sir Edmund Jenny's being shrieve of Yorkshire, and indeed the House have voted hereupon,  
that

that to make a Member of Parliament shrieve is a breach of their privilege, and have ordered some gentlemen to report to them the way to supersede Sir Edmund's commission. The Bill for explaining Hearth money is under commitment: For *Habeas Corpus*: Second Bill against Popery. They sent to day to quicken the Lords against Papists sitting in either House.

ANDREW MARVELL.

November 8, 1675.

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L E T T E R CLXXVII.

MR. WILLIAM SHIRES, MAYOR.

S I R,

WE fate all day yesterday 'till six, and to-day 'till seven; so that you cannot expect much from me, having so small leisure, and the *longest debates ending in the shortest results*. Yesterday the Bill for recalling the forces in France was reported and ordered to be ingrossed. They went afterwards to the business of Sir John Fag, and Shirley's appeal; 'twas long insisted to renew the vote of the former sessions, that no appeals ly from Courts of equity to the Lords House; but on putting the question whether that question should be now put, 'twas carried in the negative by 158 against 102, so that nothing farther was done all that day, for it was carried afterwards by 118  
against



against 108, that the House should then adjourne. To-day the House was called, and the defaulters ordered to be called next Wednesday, and the House to be called again Munday come fe'nnight. Then they entered again on Sir John Fagg's businesse, which is appointed by the Lords to be heard on the 25<sup>th</sup>, that is next Saturday, but it being two o'clock the question was put for adjourning, and 141 against 81 carried it for sitting on. 'Twas then very long insisted to renew a vote of the last session, that all lawyers who should appeare at the Lords against Sir John Fagg, should be deemed violaters of the privilege of Parliament; but by the exceeding moderation of the House, 'twas carryed in the negative. The result of all was, that a Conference should be desired of the Lords to avoid the reviving of the differences between the two Houses, and a Committee appointed to draw up reasons. To-morrow, upon leave given, a great Lord brings in a Bill into the Lords for care of Dissenters. Our House has appointed a Committee to see into the cause of their delaying their order to my Lord Chief Justice for his warrant to take St. German, it not being brought to my Lord in nine days after.

Yours,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*November 18, 1675.*

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## LETTER CLXXVIII.

MR. WILLIAM SHIRES, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**Y**ESTERDAY the House of Commons sent a message to the Lords to desire a Conference, in order to preserve the good correspondence betwixt the Houses; the Lords granted it presently. The Conference was this: “ His Majesty having recommended to us at the opening of this Session of Parliament, the avoiding of this difference if possible, and if it could not be prevented, that we should defer the debate ’till we had brought such publick Bills to perfection, which might conduce to the good and safety of the kingdome; the Commons esteeme it a great misfortune, that, contrary to that most excellent advice, the proceedings in the appeale brought the last session against Sir John Fagg, by Dr. Shirley, have been renewed, and a day set for hearing the cause, and therefore the Commons have judged it the best way, before they enter into argument for defense of their right in this matter, to propose to your Lordships the putting of the proceedings in that matter for some short time; that so they may according to his Majesty’s advice give dispatch to some Bills now before them of great importance to the king and kingdom, which being finished, the Commons will be ready to give your

Lordships such reasons against those proceedings, and in defense of their rights, that we hope may satisfy your Lordships that no such proceedings ought to have been". After having delivered this, our House went upon the Bill, and read it once, sent down by the Lords in prohibition of forain Manufactures of Silke, Cloth, &c. and voted an addresse to his Majesty that he would weare only English: Then went into a Committee of the whole House concerning the Bill against Irish Cattell, but after some time it was understood that the Lords were rose without taking any consideration at all of our Conference, and that the cause would go on this day; so the Speaker took the chaire, and 'twas ordered that "Whosoever should solicit or appeare in these appeales from equity before the Lords, should be deemed a violater of, &c." as was the last Session, and this was by order affixed at the Sergents Inns, the Inns of Court, Westminster Hall, and the Lobbye. The Lords to day in their House expecting to proceed in Shirley's cause, no Councill appeared, being probably deterred by this order. This begat in their Lordships some resentment; so that though it is now towards nine at night, they are still upon their long debate of addressing to the King to dissolve this Parliament. I wish that all these things weighed together, I may not presage truly that upon Munday the Parliament will be prorogued. The Commons have also ordered to take Shirley into custody, and also Sir Nicholas Haughton who



who has brought an appeale of like nature against a member. I am sorry I can write you no better news. The Bill of 300,000*l.* and annexing the tunnage and poundage for ships, and to navy, was red to-day the first time.

I am,

Your most humble servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Nov. 20, 1675.*

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L E T T E R   C L X X I X .

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL WILLIAM FOXLEY, MAYOR,  
AND THE ALDERMEN HIS BRETHREN,  
OF KINGSTON UPON HULL.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**N**OT having in the intervals of Parliament any frequent or proper occasion of writing to you, I am the more carefull, though always retaining the same constant due respect and service for you, yet not to interrupt you with unnecessary letters. But the time of the Parliament's prorogation being now within a month expired, and his Majesty having by his late Proclamation signified that he expects the attendance of the members in order to a session, I cannot neglect to embrace this opportunity of saluting you, and of giving you account that I am here in town



in good health, God be praised, and vigour, ready to take that station in the House of Commons which I obtain by your favour, and hath so many years continued ; and therefore I desire that you will, now being the time, consider whether there be any thing that particularly relates to the state of your town, or of your neighbouring country, or of yet more publick concernment, whereof you may think fit to advertise me, and therein to give me any your instructions, to which I shall carefully conforme. It is true that by reason of so many prorogations of late years repeated, the publick businesse in Parliament hath not attained the hoped maturity, so that the weight and multiplicity of those affairs at present will probably much exclude, and retard at least, any thing of more private and particular consideration ; yet, if any such you have, I shall strive to promote it according to the best of my duty : and in the more generall concerns of the nation, shall, God willing, maintain the same *incorrupt mind*, and *clear conscience*, *free from faction*, or any *self-ends*, which I have, by his grace, hitherto preserved ; so wishing you all health and prosperity,

I remain,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most humble servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

London, Jan. 18, 1676-7.

## LETTER CLXXX.

MR. WILLIAM FOXLEY, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I Think it befits me to acquaint you, that this day the Parliament assembled in obedience to his Majesty: he was pleased in a most weighty and gracious manner to profer, on his part, all things that might tend to the security of the true Protestant Religion, the libertyes, and propriety of the subject, and the safety of the nation; mentioning also his debts, and the necessity of building ships; but most of all he recommended a good agreement between the two Houses, calling *Heaven and Earth to witness* that nothing on his part should be wanting to make this a happy session; but it is an *injury* to repeat these things but in his own words, which I therefore as soon as printed shall send you. In the House of Commons there arose some debate at first, concerning the nature or legality of our meeting, by reason of this long prorogation, whereas there are laws yet in force for the yearly holding of Parliaments; but it took not so much place as to come to a formed question, the furthest it went being to petition his Majesty, that by reason of some doubts arisen of this, he would be pleased to call another Parliament; but this was only proposed, and fell also, so that the House went then to the reading of a Bill, which

is the formality of opening a session. The first Bill offered was to recall the forces in France; but that having been read before at the last meeting was not proceeded on now, left the question which yet remains entire to be argued, whether we act under a prorogation, or an adjournment (the prorogation proving unlawfull) should be prejudicate and decided by making this the first or second reading; therefore another Bill was preferred to be read, which the House had formerly ordered, but had never received a reading. The regulating Elections to Parliament, and punishing the *notorious abuses* in that matter, a thing than which nothing were *more necessary*. Then the House ordered to take his Majesty's Speech in consideration next this day. Their last order was to assume to-morrow the debate whether we do act, as this case stands, under an adjournment or a prorogation, and to consider of issuing writs, there being at least thirty-two vacancies. This hath been all the business of this day with the Commons, except a complaint made by Sir John Holland of a member of the House that had traduced a speech of his in the former meeting (to his Majesty) as mutinous and seditious; the House ordered him to name the person, which thereupon he did, Mr. Ashburnam, the cofferer; but it not appearing sufficiently grounded, the complaint had no effect. I hear the Lords are yet debating the question of the Parliament's being dissolved by this prorogation, with more

earnestness much than was by the Commons. God of his mercy give a good issue to all. I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most humble and most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Feb. 15, 1676-7.*

L E T T E R CLXXXI.

MR. WILLIAM FOXLEY, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE House of Commons was yesterday taken up wholly in ordering of writts to issue for the several vacancies, and in two debates of the same nature. The first, upon a motion for a new writt in Sir Thomas Strickland's place, as being a Recufant Convict; but the record of his conviction not being then brought into the House, it received no determination. The second was upon a motion, That Sir Robert Holt, one of the Knights for Warwickshire, being prisoner in execution, might be sent for to attend the service of the House during the Session; but upon the division, it went against him; only it was ordered, that there should be a Committee (but not then named, that this day's question concerning the prorogation might be reserved entire) to consider and report his case to the House; but to-day the House  
(having



(having for decency not entered any thing concerning the prorogation on their books, but agreed the debate should run upon it) entered upon that matter, which held 'till near six at night, and then formed itself into two questions; one, whether the House would proceed to name their Committee; because if that were carryed in the affirmative, it implied the second; but in case that question miscarryed, then the second was to be put, whether they should proceed in debate concerning the validity of the prorogation. The first was affirmed by 193 against 142, so that the second remained excluded, and no mention appears in the Journall of any question of the validity of the prorogation, which *tenderneffe* of the House you will also do well to *imitate*, by not propagating what I *confide* to you about it. Yesterday the House of Lords ordered the Earl of Salusbury, of Shaftsbury, and the Lord Wharton to the Tower during his Majesty's and their House's pleasure. The Duke of Buckingham had retired before his sentence, but appearing there to-day, was sent thither also. The warrant bears, for their high Contempt of the House, for they refused to ask pardon as ordered. To-day I hear they are made close prisoners.

I am,

Your most humble servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Feb. 17, 1676-7.*

L E T-

## LETTER CLXXXII.

MR. WILLIAM FOXLEY, MAYOR.

SIR,

**H**AVING but little leizure to-night, I content myself with giving you this short account of what businesse since my last, which you may please to communicate; that yesterday the House of Commons gave the first reading to the Bill for recalling the English Forces out of France; the Bill against levying of Money but by Act of Parliament; and the second reading to the Bill against Abuses in Elections. To-day the first reading to the Bill of Habeas Corpus, and then they proceeded to the businesse of the day, which was, to take his Majesty's Speech into consideration. After it was read, some gentlemen proposed upon the particular of ships, that there should be a supply of 600,000l. another of 800,000l. for the building and buying stores. But a standing order of the House being read, whereby it is not regular after a motion for money to proceed the same day, it was ordered, that a motion having been made for money, the House would to-morrow morning resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House to consider thereon; and then they also ordered, that upon Friday they would be in a Committee of the whole House concerning the Grievances of the Nation. There was yesterday a Committee

appointed upon a Petition for bringing back the Duke of Norfolk, a Lunatick, out of Italy. The Lords are still prisoners in the Tower.

I am,

Your most affectionate friend and servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Feb. 20, 1676-7.*

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L E T T E R   C L X X X I I I .

MR. WILLIAM FOXLEY, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**Y**ESTERDAY the House of Commons' resolv'd itselfe into a Committee of the whole House, to take his Majesty's Speech into consideration. There arose some difference, two severall gentlemen being called upon, which of them should be Chairman of that Committee; whereupon the Speaker took the chair again, and the two persons in election being Sir Richard Temple and Sir John Trevor, the House was divided, and Sir Richard carryed it, having 127 against 105. They then returned into Committee, and the first Committee was concerning ships, and the sum necessary for building, repairing, and stores. Some gentlemen propos'd 800,000*l.* but that was after some time slid over, and

the debate divided itself betwixt 600,000l. and 400,000l. which, about six o'clock at night, formed itself into those two questions; and then the question being put, whether that of the 400,000l. should be now put, the House divided, and it was carried in the negative by 199 against 165; so, of consequence, the next question for 600,000l. passed in the affirmative. The Speaker then took the chair, and the House agreed it, appointing Tuesday next to proceed. This day the Bill for recalling the French Forces, and that against illegal levying of Money (both of them under severe penalties) were read the second time and committed. They also ordered the call of the House to be next Thursday, and that no Member go out of town till after leave asked and had, after ten o'clock. Several persons, upon leave asked from the Lords House, have had liberty to visit the Lords in the Tower.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*London, Feb. 22, 1676-7.*



## LETTER CLXXXIV.

MR. WILLIAM FOXLEY, MAYOR.

WORTHY SIR,

I HAVE, and thank you for yours of the 20<sup>th</sup> February. It is a tribute due from one in my station to your prudence, to inform you from time to time of things that pass in Parliament. 'Tis the best thing I can do; I wish I were capable of greater to testifye my gratitude. The House of Commons had yesterday a report from the Committee ordered to inspect Bills of the last Sessions proper to be resumed, as of that of augmentation of poor Vicarages; that of prohibiting Exportation of Wool from England and Ireland; that of planting Hemp and Flax, &c. Then they turned, as appointed, to a Committee of the whole House, to consider of grievances. Several things were mentioned, but not fixed upon, as the *Influence of foreign Councils*, the continuance of such persons as had been noted formerly on that account, &c. There was a sharpe complaint of several Judges, and obstruction of the publick justice, particularly of the Reversall of the Fine upon the Shrieve of Suffolk, in Sir Samuel Barnardiston's case; but the debate spent itselſe upon the Chancery, and was formed into this resolution; That the extraordinary power and jurisdiction exercised by the High Court of Chancery, and other Courts of Equity, in  
matters

matters determinable by Common Law, is grievous to the People. The House agreed, and ordered a Bill or Bills to redress it, and to sit again on Grievances next Thursday, this kept holy-day. I am,

Your humble servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Feb. 24, 1676-7.*

L E T T E R   C L X X X V .

MR. WILLIAM FOXLEY, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE most material thing yesterday in the House of Commons was, the reading of a Bill of the last Session, now began again, to prevent the Growth of Popery, wherein the Test is continued to be taken, and upon refusall of which they are to be convicted, and undergo the penaltyes specified. It was read the first time, and ordered a second. The rest of the time was spent in several matters of privilege. To-day a Bill was read for the Transportation of Leather. The House after that turned itselſe into a Committee of the whole House (as before ordered) to consider further upon his Majesty's Supply. It was soon propounded that 600,000l. should be raised in eighteen months  
by

by a Land-Tax ; but others thought it necessary and more according with their order, first to know whether any further Supply were expected, before they should, or could well pitch upon the manner of raising this. The debate was long, so that the Committee, to extricate themselves, desired the Speaker to resume the chair ; and then the two differing senses being at last formed into two questions by the House, the first was put, Whether the Committee should first proceed to settle the manner of levying the 600,000l. which being affirmed by 183 against 163, excluded the second question, whether they should first debate the continuance of the Excise next expiring ; then they rose, ordering Friday next to resume this consideration. The Lords have given instructions for a Bill also against Popery, with several provisions for Education of the Royal Children, for nominating of vacant Bishops, &c. *in case of a Popish King*. A Committee of theirs has frequently examined Dr. Cary, and are near the discovery of the Author of a Book touching the Parliament.

I am,

Your most humble servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Feb. 27, 1676-7.*

LET-

## LETTER CLXXXVI.

MR. WILLIAM FOXLEY, MAYOR:

S I R,

**T**HE Houſe of Commons not fitting yeſterday, there is but little to-day to write of, for one of the two bills was read but the firſt time, being for the Repaire of Churches, inabling the Church-Wardens and Overſeers of the Poor to lay a ſeſſe to that purpoſe, and the Juſtices of the Peace to ratifye it. The other was for Planting of halfe an Acre for every hundred Acres of Meadow or Paſture, of Hemp or Flax, with penaltyes upon omiſſion. The Houſe was then, by former order, to have conſidered upon grievances; but the Clerke having omitted to enter that order in the Journall, they diverted to a debate of an addreſſe to his Majeſtye to appoint them another Clerke. But this ſlid over, out of their facility to an old ſervant; and they ordered Saturday next for grievances. The Lords to-day examined Dr. Cary at their barre, from whom he had the book concerning Parliament, which he carryed to print; but he not ſatisfying them therein, they therefore fined him 1000l. and committed him cloſe priſoner to the Tower by a ſecond warrant, till he ſhall pay the fine. I am,

WORTHY SIR,

Your moſt affectionate ſervant,

*Weſtmiſter, March 1, 1676-7.*

ANDREW MARVELL.



## LETTER CLXXXVII.

MR. WILLIAM FOXLEY, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**Y**ESTERDAY there was offered to the House by a Member thereof, an Order of the Lords House, whereby Dr. Cary stands fined 1000*l.* and committed close prisoner till payment, for not having declared who was the author of the booke "*intituled The Grand Question stated and discussed concerning the Prorogation,*" nor from what person he received it. This was complained of as an invasion by the Lords, upon the libertyes of the Commons of England; but the House not being forward to entertain any thing that might occasion a mis-intelligence with the Lords, nor considering the matter ripe enough for their consideration, after some debate, passed over without reading that order of the Lords, or coming to any resolution thereupon at present, leaving it to the discretion of any that shall hereafter reassume it. They then sat in Committee upon the 600,000*l.* whereupon and how to be levied. There were proposed Impositions on French Linen, and that of Flanders, Holland and Germany; upon Brandyes, on Callicoes, and on the New Buildings; but about six o'clock the question was put, whether the whole 600,000*l.* should be raised by a Land-Tax; but those who were but for the halfe, were upon division no more than 165 to 210; and it is so to be raised

raised in seventeen months, after the way of the Royal Ayd. On Munday they sit again in Committee upon this 600,000l. to perfect the clause of appropriation, to building, gunning, and furnishing of thirty ships, and how many of each rate. The Lord Hollis came the same day into the House of Lords, and took notice that his name had been *tossed* there concerning a book; therefore he came thither, offering that if any had aught to object against him, he was there, and ready to answer it in any Court of Judicature: hereupon was a long silence, and none replying, they called for the reading of a Bill. To-day the Bill of Habeas Corpus, and that for repairing of Churches were read the second time in the House of Commons and committed; also Sir Harbotle Grimston, Master of the Rolls, moved for a Bill to be brought in, to indemnify all Countyes, Cityes and Burrows for the *Wages due to their Members for the time past*, which was introduced by him upon very good reason, both because of the poverty of many people not able to supply so long an arreare, especially new taxes now coming upon them, and also because Sir John Shaw, the Recorder of Colchester, *had sued the Town for his Wages*; severall other Members also having, it seems, threatned their Burrows to do the same, unless they *should chuse them* upon another Election to Parliament. This debate tooke up the forenoon, and it was agreed that such a Bill should be brought in, and the care of it committed to severall Members of the Long Robe.

This day had been appointed for grievances; but it being grown near two o'clock, and the day being indeed extraordinary cold, to which the breaking of one of the House windows contributed, it was put off till next Tuesday. This is for the present. I remain,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most affectionate friend and humble servant,

*Westminster, March 3, 1676-7.*

ANDREW MARVELL.

LETTER CLXXXVIII.

MR. WILLIAM FOXLEY, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**Y**ESTERDAY were read the Bill for enabling Persons to take Affidavits in the Countrey; and another to expaine the Acts of Chimney-mony, and to redresse the Exactions and Abuses committed by the Officers in collecting it. Then the House turned itselſe (after ſome debate whether the Committee had power to conſider of appropriating the Cuſtomes) into a Committee of the whole Houſe. It was there agreed, that the 600,000l. for building, gunning and furniſhing of one ſhip of the firſt rate, not under 1400, nine of the ſecond, not under 1100, and twenty of the third, not under 900 tun each, ſhould begin at Lady-Day next; the firſt payment to the Receiver General to be made at Midſummer next, and ſo on quarterly till the ſeventeen months expire. That theſe ſhips ſhall be ſo perfected  
in



in two years, to begin from Midsummer next. That the money be appropriate under severe penaltys on the Officers of the Navy, Ordinance, Exchequer, &c. solely to this use. That the accounts be kept apart from all other accounts; and the accounts of every ship kept by itselfe, and all to be transmitted to the Commons in Parliament. The Speaker took the chaire, and the House agreed; but then was moved an addition to appropriate the Tunnage and Poundage also to the Navy; that as now upon necessity they build ships, so that constant revenue might maintain them; but 175 carryed it in the negative against 124; it not seeming fit to annexe that obligation to an aid, but that it might be offered and better considered of in a Bill apart with more decency. To-day Mr. Speaker communicated to the House Sir Thomas Strickland's Answer to his Letter, writ by the House's direction, wherein Sir Thomas saith, That he cannot advise against the Record of his conviction. Hereupon they ordered, That he, as being a Popish Recusant Convict, should be discharged the House, and a writ issue for a new Member. They then turned into a Committee of the whole House to consider of grievances. The first thing stirred, and which lasted the whole day, was concerning France, and the apprehensions of the Nation by reason of its growing power, both for our safety, our religion, our trade; mentioning also that innovation of the English taking passes for their ships, and some reflections there were upon such



Counsellors here as favoured or promoted the French interest. About six at night this debate of the whole day formed itselfe into a question which past in the Committee, and afterwards agreed in the House without division; that a Committee be appointed to draw up an Adresse to his Majesty, representing the danger of the power of France, and desiring his Majesty, by such alliances as he shall think fit, to secure his kingdome, and quiet the fears of his people, and to secure and preserve the Spanish Netherlands; wherein the House avoyded as much as possible the engaging the Kingdome in a warre, or promoting the peace of Nieu-megen, as appears by the words of the order. Also they ordered to go again to-morrow into a Committee of the whole House concerning grievances; where it is probable those other things to-day mentioned may be revived. The Lords Bill of Popery is already under commitment, and in short time likely to come down to the Commons, in which many things are contained of more than ordinary consequence. *God direct all counsells to the true remedy of the urgent condition of this poor Nation,* which I hope there is no reason to dispaire of. I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate friend and humble servant,

*Westminster, March 6, 1676-7.*

ANDREW MARVELL.

*P. S.* The House hath ordered the Bill of 600,000l. upon the heads I have sent you, to be drawn up, and brought in upon the first occasion.

## L E T T E R CLXXXIX.

MR. WILLIAM FOXLEY, MAYOR.

WORTHY SIR,

**T**HIS now past nine at night that I come home from the Committee of Privileges ; yet because I have taken an habit of writing every post, I must write you a word, lest you should imagine any thing extraordinary may have happened. The House sat till six yesterday in Committee concerning grievances ; the whole debate being concerning the Passes which Merchants have been obliged to take for their ships, the Oaths, the Bonds, and the Fees. It closed in naming a particular Committee to inspect the whole matter complained of, and report the abuses and inconveniences therein. The particular Committee was also named to forme the Adresse to his Majesty concerning France. To-day the Bill against Papists sitting in the Lords or Commons House was read the first time, and the other for speedier conviction of them by a new test, &c. was read the second time and committed ; also a Bill ordered, to take away the Writ *de Hæretico Comburendo*. The Lord Dunblane, the Lord Treasurer's second son, came into the House this day, chosen for Barwicke. On Saturday, I believe, the York Election will be tryed at the Committee of Privileges.

To-

To-morrow the House turns into Committee upon a motion of a further supply to his Majesty. I am in much weariness and haste,

S I R,

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*March 8, 1676-7.*

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L E T T E R C X C .

MR. WILLIAM FOXLEY, MAYOR.

WORTHY SIR,

I HOPE you have mine of last post; I was forced to write it late, or not at all. The House of Commons was yesterday taken up wholly with the report from the Committee about the Duke of Norfolk, whose opinion was, that he ought to be sent for over; but it was not agreed to, Mr. Onslow, a Member of the House, and one of his Guardians, demanding first to be heard by his counsel at the barre, which is so appointed for Wednesday next. The consideration of the motion for further supply was put off from this Saturday till Munday, and of grievances till Tuesday next. To-day the Adresse inclosed was all the business, except the report from the Committee of Privileges for Bewdley, Mr. Foley being voted out, and Mr. Herbert:  
and

and now we are all intent upon the York Election, to be tryed this afternoon at the Committee, which I believe will fit so late, that I shall not be able to send you the successe. The Lords have voted one book, called "Observations, &c." treasonable, seditious, &c. to be burnt by the hangman: another, "The Long Parliament, &c." seditious, &c. and to be burnt: a third, "The Grand Question, &c." for which Cary stands committed, to be seditious, &c. and to be burnt by the hangman, having first read them over in their House. I pray present my service to the Bench, whose I am, and

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, March 10, 1676-7.*

L E T T E R C X C I.

MR. WILLIAM FOXLEY, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**O**N Saturday night at past nine o'clock, Sir Henry Thompson's Election was put to the question at a most numerous Committee of Privileges, where he was, notwithstanding the three years claim against him, voted to be duely elected; and that (which never happened before in any man's memory) *nemine contradicente*, and with that remarke, ordered to be reported to the House. It was also



propounded to move the House, that some severe example might be made of such, who without any right foundation do trouble the House with so frivolous pretences. Yesterday was read the Bill against Pedlers and Hawkers, and ordered to have a second reading; after that the House turned into a Committee upon the motion for a further supply. The debate upon the Nine-pences, or additional Excise (which was the way proposed) indured the whole day. The Committee divided upon the question, and 189 against 156 carried it in the affirmative, that it should be given to his Majesty for three years, after the expiring of Midsummer. The Speaker then resuming the chaire, the question was put, and agreed. To-day was read the Bill against transporting Wool out of England or Ireland into forain Parts, and ordered a second reading. Then the Bill for indemnifying Countyes, Cityes and Burrows from the Parliament Wages now due untill the first day of this Session, was read the first time, and it indured a long argument, infomuch that when the question was put for a second reading, a Gentleman who had disapproved of the Bill, deceiving himself by the noise of the negative vote, required the division of the House; but so considerable a number of the affirmatives went out for it, that all the rest in a manner followed after them, notwithstanding their own votes, and there were scarce either tellers, or men to be told left behind, so that it will have a second reading: the Lords in the middle of that  
debate

debate sent down for a conference, at which they delivered the paper I inclose relating to the Adresse about the French, sent up to them for their concurrence; the House hath ordered to take it into consideration to-morrow, it being of great weight, and that goes deeper than it went from the Commons. Thursday counsell is to be heard at the barre concerning the Duke of Norfolk; and to-day having been appointed for grievances, 'tis ordered for Friday. I remaine,

Your most humble servant,

*Westminster, March 13, 1676-7.*

ANDREW MARVELL.

COPY of the PAPER mentioned in the last LETTER.

*March 13, 1676-7.*

*THAT the Lords do fully concurre with the House of Commons in the matter of the Adresse sent up to their Lordships, Saturday last, and do only apprehend that it may not altogether answer the ends designed, their Lordships very much doubting this Adresse may not sufficiently encourage his Majesty to pursue the necessary methods for compassing so great a work, unlesse the humble advice of his two Houses be backed with such assurances as may let the world see, that if our security cannot be attained by such alliances as his Majesty shall think fit to make, nothing will be left unattempted to procure it by our utmost assistances. The Lords do further offer to your consideration, that the words, and Sicily, may be added after the word Netherlands, it being of great importance to our trade that Sicily be not in the hands of the French King.*

## L E T T E R CXCII.

MR. WILLIAM FOXLEY, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE House of Commons yesterday was busied in consideration of what they received from the Lords at the conference. They disagreed from adding the word *Sicily* to the Adresse; and as to their Lordships apprehensions that the Adresse was not sufficient unlesse backed with further assurances, &c. they conceived it unnecessary where the safety of the Nation was concerned, or from an House of Commons that had never deserted his Majesty when there was occasion, so they ordered their managers of the former conference to draw up that sense, which they reported to the House this morning; then they sent to desire a conference of the Lords, which was granted. The Lords then agreed *in terminis* with the Adresse of the Commons, and the King being desired to admitt the two Houses, appointed it to be to-morrow at three of the clock afternoon. To-day also the Bill against Hawkers and Pedlers was read the second time and committed. SIR HENRY THOMPSON'S Election was reported from the Committee of Privileges, and agreed by the House without any debate. Then Mr. Onflow's counsell was heard at the barre concerning the Duke of Norfolk. As for the fines levyed upon his estate, Mr. Onflow was approved not to have been culpable; but  
as

as to the bringing of him over from Italy, after much had been said concerning the danger of removing him, the House nevertheless agreed with their Committee, that an Adresse should be presented to his Majesty for bringing him over. The Lords likewise to-day sent down a Bill to the Commons, containing certain provisions in case of a Popish King, for the education of Royall Children, and for the election of Bishops. I had almost forgot to tell you, that yesterday they sent down a Bill for naturalizing all that between the years 1640 and 1660 were born either of English father or mother, if within seven years they come and take the Oaths and the Sacrament, as in such case usual. To-morrow is for grievances.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, March 15, 1676-7.*

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*May it please your most Excellent Majesty.*

“ WE your Majesty’s most dutifull and loyall subjects, the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, doe with great satisfaction of mind observe the regard your Majesty



is pleased to expresse to our former Addressees, by intimating to us the late alteration in affairs abroad ; and do return our most humble thanks for your Majesty's most gracious offer made to us thereupon in your last message ; and having taken a serious deliberation of the same, and of the preparations your Majesty hath therein intimated to us were fitting to be made in order to those publick ends, we have for the present provided a security in a Bill for an additional Duty of Excise, upon which your Majesty may raise the sum of 200,000*l.* and if your Majesty shall think fit to call us together again for this purpose in some short time after Easter by any publick signification of your pleasure, commanding our attendance, we shall at our next meeting not only be ready to reimburse your Majesty what sums of mony shall be expended upon such extraordinary preparations as shall be made in pursuance of our former Addresse, but shall likewise with most chearfull hearts proceed, both then and at all other times, to furnish your Majesty with so large proportions of assistance and supplies upon this occasion, as may give your Majesty and the whole world an ample testimony of our loyaltyes and affections to your Majesty's service ; and may inable your Majesty, by the help of Almighty God, to maintain such stricter alliances as you shall have entered into against all opposition whatsoever.

“ WE

“ WE your Majesty’s most loyall subjects do with unspeakable joy and comfort present our most humble thanks to your Majesty, for your Majesty’s most gracious acceptance of our late Addressse, and that your Majesty was pleased in your princely wisdome to expresse your concurrence in opinion with your two Houses in reference to the preservation of the Spanish Netherlands; and we do with all earnest and repeated desires implore your Majesty, that you will be pleased to take timely care to prevent those dangers that may arise to these Kingdomes by the great power of the French King, and the progresse he dayly makes in the Netherlands and other places; and therefore that your Majesty will not deferre the entering into such alliances as may attain those ends; and in case it shall happen, that in pursuance of such alliances, your Majesty shall be engaged in a warre with the French King, we hold ourselves obliged, and do with all humility and chearfullnesse assure your Majesty, that we your Majesty’s most loyall subjects shall always be ready upon signification in Parliament, fully from time to time, to assist your Majesty with such aids and supplies as by the Divine assistance may inable your Majesty to prosecute the same with successe. All which we humbly offer to your Majesty as the unanimous sence of the whole Nation.”

## LETTER CXIII.

MR. WILLIAM FOXLEY, MAYOR.

S I R,

I MUST beg your excuse for paper, pens, writing and every thing ; for really I have by ill chance neither eat nor drank from yesterday at noon till six o'clock to night that the House rose, and by good chance I have now met with Mr. Skyner, so that betwixt both you may easily guess I have but little time, and write at adventure. The whole business of these two days (except the hour of waiting on the King, who returned a gracious Answer conformable to the House's Address) hath been upon complaints from many parts, to vote first, That all persons who have compelled, advised, assisted or encouraged the raising, levying, carrying or sending of any of his Majesty's subjects into the French King's service since his Majesty's proclamation of the 19<sup>th</sup> May, 1675, grounded on the Address of this House for recalling his Majesty's subjects out of the said service, are, and shall be deemed enemies of the peace and safety of his Majesty and this Kingdom : and to this succeeded a petition from one Mr. Harrington, newly committed close prisoner while he negotiated the proofe of things of that nature lately done in Scotland. The debate was intricate ; so that the House, weary, adjourned without any question or resolution. Thursday next appointed for reading

ing a Bill prejudicial to Newcastle, for erecting a Ballast-Wharfe at Yarrowlike : a Bill on the table not yet read, for Impofition on Veffells that unload within Yarmouth Peere, toward maintaining it.

I am,

Your fervant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, March 17, 1676-7.*

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L E T T E R CXCIV.

MR. WILLIAM FOXLEY, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**L**AST Tuesday's post was the first I have omitted, therefore do now give you account that the businesse on Munday was to read the Bill of 600,000l. the second time, which being done, it was ordered to be in a Committee of the whole House the Friday following. On the Tuesday the Bill for the Exportation of Leather was reported from the Committee.—The Bill from the Lords, for preserving a Protestant Clergy, and Education of the Children of the Royall Family in case of a Popish Prince, was read the first time, and ordered to be read again on next Tuesday. There was likewise a motion made concerning the Addressè lately presented



presented to his Majesty about the growth of France, his Majesty's answer having been, that he was of the same opinion with his two Houses, that the preservation of Flanders was of great consequence to this Kingdome, and that he would to that purpose use all means possible that might consist with the peace and safety of the Nation. This matter is ordered to be considered of the next Munday. In the Lords House severall moved in behalfe of the imprisoned Lords, but it had no issue. Yesterday counsell was heard at the barre concerning the Patent for Newark to send Burgessees to Parliament. The Patent was judged legal as to the power of electing, but the returne of Mr. Savile and Sir Paul Neale illegal, and therefore a writ to issue for a new election. To-day the Bill was read the second time and committed, for an imposition on all merchandizes unloaden within Yarmouth Haven, toward the maintenance of their Peere. The Bill for reforming abuses in collecting Hearth-mony, read the second time and committed. The Bill for erecting a Ballast Wharfe at Yarrowlike upon the Tine, read the second time, and thrown out. Ordered to bring in a Bill for exporting Coals free, or at a very easy custome. Ordered to renew a Bill for Exportation of Beer, Ale and Mumme. His Majesty has confined Don Bernardo De Lulinas, Envoye from the Governor of Flanders, and one Fonseca, the Spanish Consul, to their houses, and commanded them to depart the Realme in twenty days, for having intermeddled further  
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than belonged them. The Garter vacant by the death of the Earl of Bristol is given to the Treasurer.

I am,

Your most humble servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

March 22, 1676-7.

LETTER CXCIV.

MR. WILLIAM FOXLEY, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**Y**ESTERDAY the House of Commons sat in Committee of the whole House upon the Bill of 600,000l. and they passed it thorow at the Committee; only some things that were not so proper for so great a Committee. They desired the House to name another Committee for them, which was granted; as the drawing of a clause to exempt the Commissioners from the unnecessary trouble of taking the Test, the casting up the several summs upon every County, particularly for the seventeen months, according to the measures of the Royall Aid, &c. and the House ordered to sit againe in a Committee of the whole House upon the Bill next Thursday. To-day the Bill from the Lords for naturalizing such as were betwixt 1640 and 1660 born or begot of English father or mother beyond sea, was read the second time and committed. The Bill against the *Multiplicity of Attornyes*, and for preventing *vexatious Suits*,

was read the first time. Then was read a Petition from the Hamburg Company, who ly under an ancient debt of 70,000l. desiring to propound some expedient propofalls for the payment thereof: it was referred to a Committee to receive such propofalls, providing there was nothing tending to lay a burden upon the English manufacture. After this report was made from the Committee, to whom the matter of Passes, and the Bonds entered into, and the Fees taken for such Passes was referred, the debate of which terminated in this resolution: To desire the Lords of the Admiralty, and others concerned, to take care that there may be a more easy way of obtaining Passes; and that the obstruction that hath been therein to the Trade may be removed, so that I believe those who shall have occasion, will henceforward find their way much expedited, and charge lessened for the future. Then the Bill for exporting Leather was read the third time and passed, and ordered to be sent up to the Lords. After that, the Bill for *Habeas Corpus*, so necessary for the Subject, was likewise read the third time, passed, and ordered to be sent up. This day had been appointed to consider of grievances, but the time having been thus farre employed, the House adjourned. The Duke of Newcastle is likewise made Knight of the Garter. I have not further than to continue,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your very affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, March 24, 1676-7.*

## LETTER CXCVI.

MR. WILLIAM FOXLEY, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**Y**ESTERDAY the House of Commons read the second time the Bill which repeales the Writ *de Hæretico Comburendo*, and referred it to a Committee; after that, the Bill being read the second time to obviate certain frauds and collusions commonly practized to evade the seizures by the Act against Irish Cattell, there arose a great debate concerning the originall Act, and whether it be found expedient to continue the said prohibition; wherein Gentlemens opinions much varying, according to the different interest of their countyes, it was thought that it should be referred, instead of a private Committee, to the Committee of the whole House, where it is to be solemnly argued to-morrow, to discusse and determine for once, the true interest of the Nation in this matter. To this succeeded the debate appointed concerning a second Addressè to his Majesty, in order to a further encouragement to enter into the confederacies which by their first Addressè they had proposed: and after a weighty and serious dispute concerning it, they agreed, that in case his Majesty in further prosecution of their former Addressè, should happen to be involved in a warre, that then the House would from time to time give him such assistance as should be necessary. This, as



the sense of the House, was given to the Committee to draw up in words fit and suitable to be presented to his Majesty. To-day the Lords Bill sent down for education of the Royall Children, for creating of Bishops, for the disposal of all Ecclesiasticall Dignities and Promotions, in case that the succeeding King shall refuse the Oath of Transubstantiation, was read the second time, and upon the debate committed. Next the Bill against the Sitting of Papists in either House of Parliament, was also read the second time and committed. This has been for these two days the business of the House of Commons. As things proceed, I shall not faile to give you my account of them.

Being,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, March 27, 1677.*

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LETTER CXCVII.

MR. WILLIAM FOXLEY, MAYOR.

WORTHY SIR,

**Y**ESTERDAY a Committee was appointed to consider how to encourage the Silk weaving in England; but their grand business was the debate in the Committee of

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the whole House concerning the continuance of the Prohibition of Irish Cattell, which past in the Committee by a division of 145 against 128, and in the House of 129 against 91 in the affirmative for perpetuity. To-day was reported to the House the Adresse drawn up by the Committee for that purpose. A question arose upon the words *not deferre*, and to recommit the Adresse therefore; but 131 dividing against 122, it was retained, and then the House agreed with the Committee in the forme of the Adresse which I herewith send you; and the members of the Privy Councill are desired to know his Majesty's pleasure when the House shall attend him. Mr. Secretary yesterday intimated to the House, that if they could bring their businesse within compasse by that time, his Majesty would be content to give them a recess at Easter. I beg pardon for my haste, remaining,

WORTHY SIR,

Your's and the Bench's most humble servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, March 29, 1677.*

L E T-

## LETTER CXCVIII.

MR. WILLIAM FOXLEY, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**Y**ESTERDAY the House of Commons read the third time their Bill for taking away the Writt *de Hæretico Comburendo*, and sent it up to the Lords. They received also from the Committee the report of their Bill to prevent the Growth of Popery, and ordered it to be ingrossed. They then resolved themselves into a Committee of the whole House upon the Bill of 600,000*l.* where severall proviso's were added, as that whosoever should willingly and wittingly misapply and pervert any of the said mony from the end to which it is ordained, to lose their office, and be made incapable of any other office for the future. That no *non prosequi* should be entered or be valid to stay proceedings as to any penaltye or incapacity by this Act. That all former Commissioners should be indemnified from any proesse against them for arrears of former assessments. In the afternoon they waited upon the King in the Banqueting-House to present him the Adresse, of which I last sent you a copy; the nature of it requiring no present answer, it was only graciously received. The Bill against Hawkers and Pedlers having been twice read, is now almost ready for a report; so that I hope the country will not be long infested

infested with those people; the penalty is five pound *toties quoties*, and to be raised by detaining and distraining upon their wares; there is a twelve moneths time allowed, wherein those that have formerly furnished them may retain their estates out of their hands. To-day the Lords sent down a Bill for the speedier conviction of Popish Recusants; that is the title. The Committee of the whole House sat againe to-day and made some progresse; the greatest debate ended in a resolution that London should be abated in the assessment; but it is left to the next fitting, which is upon Tuesday, where to lay that which is to them abated, and may probably light upon the Bills of Mortality that are without the citye. Munday is set apart for several reports from the Committee of Privileges in the forenoon, and have ordered to sit in the afternoon to dispatch severall private Bills. The House striving to compose their businessse to be fit for a recess.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

March 31, 1677.

LET-



## LETTER CXCIX.

MR. WILLIAM FOXLEY, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SOME reports were made yesterday morning from the Committee of Privileges: one was of great importance, which was of a clause to which the House agreed that it should be a standing order to the Committee of Privileges for the judging of all Elections to Parliament for the future, that if any one should spend before the day of election above ten pounds, except in his own dwelling house, in order to such election, or shall make or give any *reward or promise*, that it shall be accounted *bribery*, and *vacate his choice*. After this the Committee having reported their opinion that Sir Robert Holt being outlawed after judgment, and moreover being taken in execution in another case before the time of privilege, ought not to be freed from his restraint; the House after a long debate, and upon a division, resolved that he should be freed from prison to attend the service of the House, and accordingly he came to-day into the House. They spent the afternoon wholly in reading private Bills. The Lords threw out the Bill for exporting Leather, which was sent them by the Commons. To-day the House of Commons was again in Committee of the whole House upon the 600,000l. Bill; the most material thing was, that they  
abated

abated London 400l. a moneth, and placed it upon Westminster, and the parishes of Middlesex within the Bills of Mortality. Upon Thursday they set again, and will I conceive have perfected all the amendments. But to-morrow is set apart for the first reading of the Lords Bill for the speedy conviction of Popish Recufants; a Bill of extraordinary nature: among other things it provides, that all Papists who shall register themselves in places thereto appointed, shall, upon taking the oath of Allegiance, be exempt from all former penal laws, paying twelve pence in the pound for their estates: but I will not antedate that matter.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

April 3, 1677.

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LETTER CC.

MR. WILLIAM FOXLEY, MAYOR.

WORTHY SIR,

**T**HE House having fate to-day without intermission 'till almost nine at night, though I therefore write *fasting*, I will acquaint you that yesterday the Lords Bill for more effectually conviction and prosecution of Popish

Recufants, was read the first time in the House of Commons, but after a very short debate they threw it out, and caused the entry upon the journall to be thus: "Whereas  
 " a Bill coming down from the House of Lords, intituled—" but upon the reading and opening thereof, the substance of it appeared much different from the title, the House rejected it *nemine contradicente*. Next they read the third time their own Bill for better putting the Laws in execution against Popery, and passed it, and ordered it to be sent to the Lords. But to-day hath been indeed a busy day; 'twas appointed for the 600,000*l.* but reading our Bill to correct abuses in the Irish Catell Act, it hath so fortun'd, that the Act is thrown out by 155 against 144, and since, after many more divisions, a Committee is ordered to bring in a Bill for repealing the two Acts that prohibited forain Catell, and to admit a limited importation of the Irish Catell, and without any imposition. This is all I can at present, but remain,

S I R,

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

April 5, 1677.

L E T-

## LETTER CCI.

MR. WILLIAM FOXLEY, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**I** Omitted to write to you the last post; but those two days afforded little matter of writing, being in a manner wholly imployed upon finishing the 600,000*l.* Bill as yesterday also; and now it is carryed up to the Lords. To-day the Bill of continuing the nine-penny and three-pence Excise upon Beere and Ale, with the severall rates upon other liquors, from the 24<sup>th</sup> of June next for three years, was read the second time; and there was a large debate for annexing the corne clause to it; but upon division, by an 116 against 97, it was carryed in the negative. Yet there seemed a generall inclination in the House for that matter (as of good reason) so that a particular Bill were brought in for it with a compensation to his Majesty, which was proposed by an high imposition upon French Brandy; but those things will keep 'till another meeting. They then fate upon the Bill in a Committee of the whole House, where was added a good clause, that the gager shall always leave with the brewer a note of his gage, so that he may not be further imposed upon; and the exportation of Beere, Ale, and Mum, from England, shall continue for three years, and thence to the end of the next Session of Parliament.



The House agreed to the Bill, and ordered it to be ingrossed. They also received the report, and past it, of an addresse to his Majesty for bringing over the Duke of Northumberland. There are no Bills of very publick nature, except these two mony bills like to passe this meeting, many gentlemen being gone, and most impatient of staying: so that the Parliament is like to rise by next Saturday.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*April 10, 1677.*

LETTER CCII.

MR. WILLIAM FOXLEY, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**Y**ESTERDAY while the House of Commons was making haft toward the end of their sitting, Mr. Secretary Williamfon brought them the following message in writing from his Majesty: " His Majesty having considered  
 " your late addresse, and finding some late alteration in the  
 " affairs abroad, thinks it necessary to put you in mind that  
 " the only way to prevent the danger which may arise to  
 " these kingdomes must be by putting his Majesty timely  
 " in condition to make such fitting preparations, as may  
 " inable

“ inable him to doe what shall be most for the security of  
“ them ; and if for this reason you shall desire to sit any  
“ longer time, the King is content you adjourne now before  
“ Easter, and meet again suddenly after to ripen this matter,  
“ and to perfect some of the most necessary Bills now de-  
“ pending.” After this weighty and significative message,  
the Secretary added as by intimation from his Majesty, that  
he intended the recess should be ’till October by adjourn-  
ment, and that in the mean time his Majesty would, because  
it might be still in his power to call the Parliament if  
his affairs more suddenly required it, continue them by  
short adjournments from six weeks to six weeks : this did  
cast the House into a deep consideration, so that the debate  
growing difficult was adjourned till to-day at ten o’clock.  
And the Lords having yesterday made an amendment to the  
Bill of 600,000*l.* that the officers through whom it passed  
should be accountable *to the Lords* as well as Commons ;  
the House ordered to assume the debate of that next after the  
King’s message ; which being most deliberately poyfed to-  
day in all its words and matter, the House first ordered that  
in their Bill of Excise, not yet sent to the Lords, there should  
be a clause of credit added, inabling his Majesty to borrow  
200,000*l.* at seven *per cent.* And then they made another  
generall vote directive to a Committee to draw up an answer  
to his Majesty, giving him humble thanks for laying before  
them his sense of the posture of affairs abroad, and to let him  
know

know that in order to his preparation, in pursuance of their addressè for the safety of the kingdomes, they have provided a security of 200,000l. for his Majesty, and that whatsoever part thereof shall be expended accordingly they will reimburse, and whensoever his Majesty's affairs shall require their attendance in Parliament, they will be ready to aid and assist him as the nature of his affairs shall require. After this they disagreed with the Lords amendment, who I suppose may yeilde the point. We sit again to-morrow, being Good Friday, at two o'clock, and I hope may rise by Saturday night.

I am,

Your servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*April 12, 1677.*

LETTER CCIII.

MR. WILLIAM FOXLEY, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE Lords having unhappily in the Bill of 600,000l. inserted in the clause that makes officers through whom it passès accountable *to the Lords also*, the two Houses have yesterday, and all to-day been plunged in Conferences, and *free Conferences*; the Commons taking it to be an in-

vation of their sole right in many matters. One House or other I hope and doubt not will yield. We expected to rise to-day for good and all; but if we do, it cannot now be before midnight; so that for sureness I write this to you at eight o'clock. The Excise Bill, and the clause of borrowing at seven *per cent.* added to it, are agreed by both Houses. The Commons yesternight at eight o'clock went from the House to wait upon the King, at the Banqueting House, with their third address, which I send you here inclosed. St. Omar is taken. The King of France at Calais. The Duke of Crequy coming over from him hither; the Earle of Sunderland and Lord Duras going thither from the King and Duke. God send us an happy conclusion.

I am,

Your servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*April 14, 1677.*

LETTER CCIV.

MR. WILLIAM FOXLEY, MAYOR.

SIR,

SINCE I writ the inclosed (which was when the Commons had sent to the Lords for another free Conference) the House growing unseasonable, the Lords returned  
answer



answer that they agreed that the Conference should be on Munday morning at ten o'clock; so though we could not finish to-night, yet I hope we may then, this Bill being of so great weight, and the pretense of the Lords in the opinion of the Commons so ill founded, that upon division to-night whether to agree or disagree with them, there were 156 to disagree against 27; and the King being on Monday to goe his journey to Newmarket, unlesse something extraordinary intervene, the Lords sent down yesternight a Bill for better Observation of the Lord's Day, which they have read the first time.

I am,

S I R,

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, April 14, 1677.*

LETTER CCV.

MR. WILLIAM FOXLEY, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**M**Y last I suppose left you in some alarme, which I am glad I can by this my next quiet again. For the Commons having yesterday held a long free Conference with the Lords concerning their adding themselves to that clause  
of

of account in the Mony Bill; their Lordships, after a great debate thereupon in their own House, found cause to recede, and so sent a message to the Commons, that they agreed to the Bill without their own amendment. There was yesterday another thing of no less weight, his Majesty sending by Mr. Secretary Williamson the written message here inclosed. The Secretary, after it was read, added these words, “ that  
 “ if the House were for this end inclined to continue its sitting, his Majesty would be willing to grant it.” The House hereupon consummating the severall reflexions naturally arising from so important a message, and at such a season, ordered a Committee, which brought in the answer inclosed. It was approved by the House, and the houre growing late, they thought not fit to desire to wait importunely on his Majesty, but transmitted it by Mr. Secretary to him in the lodgings by the Lords House. By this time ’twas neare eight o’clock, so the Black Rod came. There were past the two Mony Bills. A Bill for better observing the Lord’s Day. It came from the Lords, and the Commons read it yesterday the second time in the morn without committing it, so that it was read the third in the afternoon without any alteration. ’Tis a very good Bill for so much. A Bill to take away the Writ *de Hæretico Comburendo*. A Bill to prevent Frauds and Perjuryes. A Bill for Commisioners to take Affidavits made in the country. A Bill to confirm augmentations made to small Vicarages, &c. Other

Bills of greater weight must expect maturity from the next meeting. The Parliament is adjourned till 21<sup>st</sup> May next. The King went early this morning for Newmarket, to continue toward a fortnight.

I am,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most humble servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*April 17, 1677.*

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*The Lords Adresse about the Bill for Shippes.*

*April 16, 1677.*

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

WE your Majesty's most loyal and obedient subjects, the Lords spirituall and temporall in Parliament assembled, do humbly beg leave to lay before your Majesty, that having upon severall conferences and free conferences with the Commons, debated concerning the differences in the Bill, intituled, an Act for raising the summe of 584,978l. 2s. 2d. for the speedy building of thirty ships of warre, in which the Commons disallow the amendments offered by this House; and having given such reasons to support our amendments as we conceived ought to have convinced them, neverthelesse the Commons remaining immoveable, have  
thereby

thereby put us upon the extreme difficulty either of shaking our privileges, or withdrawing our said amendments, or of hazarding the safety of the Nation by letting a Bill fall that is so necessary at this time; we have, out of our unfeigned duty to your Majesty, and regard to the publick, complied with the Commons, though against our judgements. And that we may be rightly understood why we do so, we humbly take leave to assure your Majesty, that we were moved to it by no other argument than to expresse our great duty to your Majesty, and to comply with the present necessity in point of time, and out of our tenderneffe that the whole may not suffer by our present insisting upon that which is our undoubted right. All which we beseech your Majesty graciously to accept from us as a lasting testimony of our zeal to your Majesty and the Kingdom's service.

T. B. CL. PARL.

*His Majesty's Answer.*

HIS Majesty receives the same very kindly, and assures your Lordships, that in all things that concerne your privileges, he will be as carefull of them, and as assistant to you in them, as yourselves can desire.

CHARLES REX.

HIS Majesty having considered the answer of this House to his last message about inabling him to make fitting prepara-



rations for the safetie of these Kingdoms, finds by it that they have only inabled him to borrow 200,000l. upon a fund given him for other uses. His Majesty desires you, for the House should know, and he hopes they will always believe of him, that not only that funds, but any other within his power, shall be ingaged to the outmost for preservation of his Kingdoms. But as his Majesty's condition is (which he doubts not but is as well known to them as himselfe) he must tell them plainly, that without the sum of 600,000l. or credit for such a sum upon a new fund, it will not be possible for him to speake or act those things which will answer the ends of their severall Address'es, without exposing the Kingdoms to much greater danger. His Majesty does further acquaint them, that having done his part, and laid the true state of things before them, he will not be wanting to use the best means for the safetie of his people, that his present condition is capable of.

*April 16, 1677.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

WE your Majesty's most loyall and dutifull subjects the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, have considered your Majesty's last message, and the gracious expressions therein contained for imploying your whole revenue at any time to raise monie for the preservation of your Majesty's Kingdoms, doe find great cause to return our most humble  
thanks

thanks to your Majesty for the same; and to desire your Majesty to rest assured that your Majesty shall find as much dutie and affection in us as can be expressed by a most loyall people to a most gracious Soveraine. And whereas your Majesty is pleased to signifie to us that the sum of 200,000l. is not sufficient without further supply, to inable your Majesty to speak and act those things which are desired by your people; we humbly take leave to acquaint your Majesty, that many of our members being in expectation of an adjournment before Easter, are gone into their severall counties. We cannot thinke it parliamentary in their absence to take upon us the granting of monie, but doe therefore desire your Majesty to be graciously pleased that this House may adjourn itselſe to such short time before the sum of 200,000l. can be expended as your Majesty shall think fit, and by your royall proclamation to command the attendance of all our members at the day of meeting, by which time we hope your Majesty may have soe formed your affairs and fixed your alliances in pursuance of our former Adresse, that your Majesty may be gratioously pleased to impart them to us in Parliament; and doe noe ways doubt, but at our next assembling your Majesty will not only meet with a compliance in the supply your Majesty desireth, but with all further assistance as the posture of your affairs shall require. In confidence whereof we hope your Majesty will be encouraged to speak and act such things as your Majesty shall

shall judge necessary for attaining those great ends we have formerly represented to your Majesty.

*April 16, 1677.*

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L E T T E R    C C V I .

MR. WILLIAM FOXLEY, MAYOR.

WORTHY SIR,

**T**HE inclosed being since our rising come to my hand, I thought it also might deserve your notice. Within a weeke, I suppose, we shall perceive whether his Majesty thinke fit to recall us by proclamation for 21<sup>th</sup> of May, or then to enlarge the adjournment. I spoke yesterday to the Printer, who tells me the Acts will scarce be out before next Saturday, when I will take the first convenience of sending them; and if you in the mean time know of any, pray direct me. Excuse my defects, I beseech you, and present my service to the Bench. I am particularly,

WORTHY SIR,

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Lodgings in Maiden-Lane,  
April 21, 1677.*

L E T -

L E T T E R CCVII.

MR. WILLIAM FOXLEY, MAYOR.

WORTHY SIR,

**T**HIS is onely to present you my service, and tell you, that the Mony Act came out yesterday, which is all yet printed. It is so bulky that there is publick care taken to send and disperse them; but when they are all out, I shall the first conveyance dispatch them to you. It goes, since the King came home yesterday, for current, that the Parliament shall sit on at the day, though it is not yet ascertained.

I am, SIR,

Your most affectionate servant,

*Westminster, May 1, 1677.*

ANDREW MARVELL.

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L E T T E R CCVIII.

MR. WILLIAM FOXLEY, MAYOR.

WORTHY SIR;

**T**HIS is chiefly to inclose to you his Majestye's Proclamation for re-assembling the Parliament on the 21<sup>st</sup> of May. Yesterday motions were severally made in the King's Bench, for *Habeas Corpus* to the Constable of the Tower for Harrington, Murray, and Browne, which were granted  
for



for this day ; but they not being brought to-day, a delay usuall in such cases, to-morrow, I understand, they will move for an alias. Also yesterday, his Majesty having not approved of the three Lords joint petition, forasmuch as he looked upon them under distinct characters, each of them sent his petition apart ; the Duke of Buckingham, by the Earle of Middlesex ; the Earle of Salisbury, by the Earle of Oxford ; and the Earle of Shaftsbury, by Secretary Coventry ; but what answer his Majesty pleaseth to returne, as yet appears not. The French Cavaliers most of them are, I heare, within two or three days upon their returne homewarde. This is what I heare at present. I remaine,

WORTHY SIR,

Your most affectionate friend,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*London, May 3, 1677.*

L E T T E R CCIX.

MR. WILLIAM FOXLEY, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE Parliament fate down yesterday. The King did not command the House of Commons up to the Lords to speake to them ; but they proceeded as they do upon continued sitting by adjournment, without any solemnity.

nity. When fate, Secretary Coventry delivered by word of mouth, that the King having called them, according to their desire in their last Adresse at the day of adjournment, by proclamation, did, now they were a full House, desire them to consider his last message. Some of the House seemed to move toward the 600,000l. without any account of what was done toward alliances; but others (and it seemed the generall inclination) appeared of the contrary opinion: They did not contend on either part for a question, but after no long fitting adjourned till Wednesday, expecting whether then there may be any thing riper to communicate. As farre as a man may guesse, there will be no mony given this fitting, but upon very visible and effectuell termes. They revive no Committee but that for recalling the forces out of France. This was all. I am with all respect,

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*May 22, 1677.*

L E T T E R    C C X .

MR. WILLIAM FOXLEY, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**Y**ESTERDAY, as soon as the Speaker tooke the chaire, Mr. Secretary Coventry acquainted the House that the King commanded them immediately to attend him in the Banketting-house at Whitehall: They presently rose and

went thither, where his Majesty spoke thus: “ Gentlemen,  
“ I sent for you hither to prevent mistakes and mistrusts,  
“ which I find some so ready to make, as if I had called  
“ you together onely to get mony from you for other uses  
“ than you would have it imployed. I do assure you on  
“ the word of a King, that you shall not repent any  
“ trust you repose in me for the safety of my Kingdomes ;  
“ and I desire you to believe I would not break my credit  
“ with you. But as I have already told you that it would  
“ be impossible for me to speake or act those things which  
“ should answer the ends of your severall Addresses, with-  
“ out exposing my Kingdomes to much greater dangers; so  
“ I declare to you againe, that I will neither hazard mine  
“ own safety nor yours, untill I be in a better condition than  
“ I am able to put myselfe, both to defend my subjects, and  
“ offend my enemyes. I do further assure you, that I have  
“ not lost one day since your last meeting, in doing all I can  
“ for our defense; and I tell you plainly, it shall be your  
“ fault and not mine, if our security be not sufficiently pro-  
“ vided for.” Then he delivered them the paper, saying,  
he had read it to prevent mistakes. The House entered into  
a debate upon this subject; some moving for a question,  
whether a supply or no; but others to consider rather  
what alliances were proper for the safety of the Nation  
against the French, and that the House might turne it selfe  
into a Committee hereupon. The question to take in both  
these

these sences was put in generall termes, to turne into a Committee of the whole House to consider of his Majesty's Speech, and so passed. So they argued both these ways till five o'clock, when they came to this result, that the House be desired to appoint a Committee to draw up an Adresse to his Majesty, desiring him to enter into a league offensive and defensive with the States of the United Provinces, and to make such further alliances with such other of the confederates as his Majesty shall thinke fit, against the power and growth of the French King, and for the preservation of the Spanish Netherlands; and to draw up reasons for the speedy entering into such alliances. As also reasons why the House cannot comply with his Majesty's Speech untill such alliances be entered into; but giving assurance, that being done, of speedy and chearfull supplies from time to time, for the support and maintenance of the same. This was from the Committee reported to the House, who approved the same, and named a particular Committee to that purpose, then adjourned till nine o'clock on Friday, for the House seeme to neglect any other businesse. This particular Committee, though so late, sate yesternight and this day, though holy-day, and have perfected the Adresse fit for a report to the House to-morrow morning. It appears that this meeting may separate before Whit-Sunday. I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, May 24, 1677.*



## LETTER CCXI.

MR. WILLIAM FOXLEY, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HIS Addresse being of so great weight, I thought I could not do better than to give you it at full length by this first opportunity. The House received the report with much approbation; onely they differed about retaining or leaving out those particular words of entering into a League offensive and defensive with the States; some rather desiring that there might only be generall words, and not nominating; so that it grew into a considerable debate, which was decided by a division of 182 against 142, that the words should stand. And then the question being put to agree with the whole Addresse, it passed unanimously. The members of the Privy Councell were then desired to inquire when his Majesty would be pleased to admit the House to attend him. After this they received the report from the Committee, of the Bill recalling all his Majesty's subjects within such convenient times from the French King's service, whether by land or sea, under severall great penaltyes, and that of Felony. The House agreed to the amendments, and ordered the Bill to be ingrossed. At their meeting to-day, Mr. Secretary Coventry informed them, that his Majesty appointed three o'clock at the Banqueting-house. The ingrossed Bill for recalling  
from

from the French King's service was then read and passed, and sent up to the Lords for their concurrence, and he who carried it, ordered to put the Lords in mind of our Bill to prevent the growth of Popery, which they have not once read. In the afternoon they waited on the King, who having heard it, replied, that it was long, and the business very weighty, and he would return an answer as soon as he could; it is generally expected that may be upon Monday, and this meeting may then separate. The House hath not meddled with any other business, nor inclines further.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, May 26, 1677.*

(N. B. *The following seems not to be the Adresse referred to in the above Letter, though laid by with it.*)

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

“ WE your Majesty's most loyall subjects the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesſes aſſembled in Parliament, find ourſelves obliged in duty and faithfulneſſe to your Maieſty, and in diſcharge of the truſt reſoſed in us by thoſe whom we repreſent, moſt humbly to offer to your moſt ſerious conſideration,

confideration, that the minds of your Majesty's people are much difquieted with the manifft danger arifing to your Majesty by the growth and power of the French King, efpecially by the acquifitions already made, and the further progrefse likely to be made by him in the Spanish Netherlands, in the prefervation and fecurity whereof we humbly conceive the intereft of your Majesty and the fafety of your people are highly concerned: And therefore we moft humbly befeech your Majesty to take the fame into your Royall care, and to ftrengthen yourfelfe with fuch ftricter alliances as may fe cure the faid Netherlands, and thereby quiet the minds of your Majesty's people."

Agreed in the Houfe *nemine contradicente*. Voted to be carried up to the Lords to defire their concurrence: carried up by Mr. Powell. The Lords answered that they have confidered of the meffage, and will returne answer by meffenger of their own.

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L E T T E R    C C X I I .

MR. WILLIAM FOXLEY, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**Y**ESTERDAY as foon as the Speaker took the chaire, Mr. Secretary Coventry told the Houfe, that the King commanded their attendance in the Banketing Houfe, where  
his

his Majesty spoke in this manner: " Could I have been  
 " silent I would rather have chosen to be so, then to call to  
 " mind things so unfit for you to meddle with as are con-  
 " tained in some parts of your addressè; wherein you have  
 " intrenched upon so undoubted a right of the Crowne, that  
 " I am confident it will appear in no age when the sword  
 " was not drawn, that the prerogative of making Peace and  
 " Warre has been so dangerously invaded. You doe not  
 " content yourselves with desiring me to enter into such  
 " leagues as may be for the safety of the kingdome, but  
 " you tell me what sort of leagues they must be, and with  
 " whom. And as your addressè is worded, it is more lia-  
 " ble to be understood by your leave than request that I  
 " should make such other alliances as I please with such  
 " other of the Confederates. Should I suffer this funda-  
 " mentall power of making Peace and Warre to be so farre  
 " invaded, though but once, as to have the manner and  
 " circumstances of Leagues prescribed to me by Parliament,  
 " it is plaine that no Prince or State would any longer be-  
 " lieve the Sovereignty of England to rest in the Crowne,  
 " nor could I thinke myfelfe to signify any more to forain  
 " Princes then the empty sound of a King. Wherefore you  
 " may rest assured, that no condition shall make me depart  
 " from or lessen so essential a part of the Monarchy; and I  
 " am willing to believe so well of this House of Commons,  
 " that I am confident these ill consequences are not intended



“ by them. These are in short the reasons why I can by  
 “ no means approve of your addressse: and though you have  
 “ declined to grant me that supply which is so necessary to  
 “ the ends of it, yet I doe againe declare to you, that as I  
 “ have done all that lies in my power since your last meet-  
 “ ing, so I will apply myselfe by all the meanes I can to let  
 “ the world see my care both for the security and satisfaction  
 “ of my people, although it may not be with those advan-  
 “ tages to them which by your assistances I might have  
 “ procured.” The King delivered the paper then to the  
 Speaker, adding it was to prevent mistakes; then said “ I  
 “ would have you returne to the House, and I require you  
 “ immediately to adjourne till the 16<sup>th</sup> of July; but I do  
 “ not intend you shall sit till winter unlesse there should  
 “ happen any urgent occasion, in which case you shall have  
 “ notice by Proclamation”. The Speaker having reported  
 all this to the House, severall gentlemen stood up desiring to  
 be heard, which he denied, alledging still the King’s com-  
 mand to adjourne immediately; but they persisting, he  
 without putting it to the question left the chaire, pronoun-  
 cing onely these words: “ *By the King’s command this House*  
 “ *is adjourned till July 16*”. So ended this meeting.

I am,

Your most humble servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, May 29, 1677.*

## LETTER CCXIII.

MR. WILLIAM FOXLEY, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE sixteenth of this moneth being the day appointed by his Majesty for declaring his further pleasure concerning the Parliament, I came to towne that I might be present at the meeting. As soon as the House was sate, Mr. Secretary Coventry delivered a message from his Majesty, that it was his Majesty's command the House should immediately adjourne till the third of December next. Whereupon the House was accordingly immediately adjourned; onely there was a motion made, and seconded to have read, the order by which the House was adjourned at the former meeting, there being some error supposed in the entring of it contrary to the truth of the fact as it then passed. But this motion was not interteined, the House being generally disposed to be most punctually obedient to his Majesty's message without putting any question, not so much as that which formerly used to be put of course, whether they would adjourne, that being an act of the House. The Speaker onely pronounced "the House is adjourned". You were pleased to recommend to me the businesse of Mr. Watson, wherein Mr. Guy hath been so extremely civill to you and me that he hath obliged me to inspect the accounts between his agent and

Mr. Watſon, and would not himſelfe be preſent becauſe he would leave us the more at liberty ; for he alſo ſaid that he was ſo deſirous of ſtanding faire in your eſteeme, that ſeeing you had thought fit to take notice of the matter, he would ſubject it to me that I might ſatiſfy you and myſelfe of the nature and reaſon of his proceedings ; and this he would not be denied. So that, although it exceeded what you had deſired of me, I could not but accept of it. I have been almoſt one whole afternoon upon it, and when they are againe ready, ſhall attend, hoping and wiſhing that Mr. Watſon may appeare worthy of the recommendation you have given him. The news from abroad, of which you will ſee part in yeſterday's prints, is, I ſuppoſe, better than that relation gives it in many reſpects. Even that of the Duke of Lorraine, and that in Catalaunia is ſaid to be much otherwiſe. Nor is it improbable but that the Confederates may now every day give a better account of this campayne.

There was this laſt weeke here a ſad Seſſion : one (I thinke a Frenchman) indicted for a rape on a girle of ten years old ; another man for buggery of a mare : but both theſe acquitted, the evidence not coming up to the difficult prooffe that the law requires. The third, a woman for beaſtlineſſe with a dog, for which ſhe is condemned and will be executed. I wiſh I had ſomething better left to take off the ill reliſh of ſuch horrid wickedneſſe at the end of my letter.

That

That which I can say most acceptable to my selfe, and I hope not unpleasing to you, is, that I continue,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*London, July 17, 1677.*

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L E T T E R C C X I V .

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR,  
AND THE ALDERMEN HIS BRETHREN,  
OF KINGSTON UPON HULL.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I Went yesterday according to your Commands (for such are your requests to me) to wait upon the Duke of Monmouth with your letter; but first I acquainted Mr. Vernon, his secretary, with it; we afterwards went up to him, and I having presented him your letter, he read it with great leisure. Then using words of great civility to yourselves and the town, he told me that he would be ready to gratify you in any expedient you should propose, except in a dead pay, which he thought a thing of ill example. I replied that you had been farre from suggesting that way of maintaining the children, and that you thought it more becoming your  
X x 2 duty



duty to acquiesce in whatsoever his Grace should order therein, than to dictate to him. He then said that he himselfe would thinke of something to propose to you. I then stood by among the company that attended him, and after a little space he called me to him againe, and told me that he had a great respect for you, and that he would give you twenty pounds toward their keeping, which he hoped would be sufficient. I humbly thanked him as was fitting, and said you had great occasion to acknowledge his generosity in it. Afterwards I spoke with Mr. Vernon, who saith, that the twenty pound shall be payed me upon your first giving me order to receive it; therefore you may please, by a letter to Mr. Vernon, to signify your humble thanks and acceptance of his Grace's favour; not omitting civill expressions to Mr. Vernon himselfe, according to the nature of the thing; for truly he hath done his part in it, and what the Duke hath bin pleased thus to bestow, although just, yet is also a favour.

I remaine,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*London, Nov. 15, 1677.*

LET-

## LETTER CCXV.

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE first opportunity that I had of delivering your letter to Mr. Vernon, was yesterday morning. We went then together to the Duke of Monmouth, to whom I rendered your thanks and service, to which he returned you very civill and obliging expreffions, and that he was glad to have given you fatisfaction in that matter, as he should be ready upon all other occasions. In the afternoon Mr. Vernon sent the mony to my lodging, by a fervant, to whom I gave a crowne for his paines, and an acquittance for Mr. Vernon. At night the post brought me another letter from you, with one inclosed for the Duke of Monmouth, which I went this morning also and delivered; so that there remaines now no more then that you be pleased to give order here to some person to receive the twenty pounds abovesaid of me for your use. Munday next is the day appointed for the members of Parliament that are about towne to meet, in order to their adjournment till the fourth of Aprill, according to his Majesty's Proclamation. There is no appearance of any further businesse for them. What is then done I shall give you account by the Tuesday-post. I am much obliged to you all for your great civilityes expressed to myselfe upon

all occasions, which though I cannot otherwise deserve than by my acknowledgement of them, yet shall always encourage my indeavours to approve myfelfe,

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*London, Dec. 1, 1677.*

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L E T T E R   C C X V I .

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**Y**ESTERDAY, according to his Majesty's Proclamation, the members that were in town met, in order to their adjournment till the fourth of Aprill, at Westminster. The Speaker of the House of Commons having, after prayers, taken the chaire, Mr. Secretary Coventry delivered him a written message from his Majesty, which he red to the House; the contents thereof were, that whereas his Majesty had by Proclamation signified that the Houses might adjourne themselves till the fourth of Aprill, he did now thinke fit that they should be adjourned but till the fifteenth of January, for weighty reasons him thereunto moving. The House then called to adjourne, but one gentleman standing up to  
speake,

ſpeake, he was not admitted, Mr. Speaker pronouncing theſe words: “ It is his Majeſtye’s pleaſure that the Houſe be ad-  
 “ journed untill the fifteenth of January, and accordingly  
 “ this Houſe is adjourned untill the fifteenth of January”.  
 This was the event of this dayes meeting, ſo that it will be fit that if you have any thing which may more particularly relate to Parliament, that you pleaſe to be reflecting upon it in order to your commands to,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your moſt affectionate ſervant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Covent Garden, Dec. 4, 1677.*

LETTER CCXVII.

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**I** Thought it beſeemed me, this Proclamation having to- day been iſſued, to tranſmit it to you for your better notice. Alſo, though I am ſlow to write of things future, and which may concerne the ſtate, I cannot forbear to tell you that it is the generall report, and which will every day gaine more credit, that there is a probability of a warre with France. And it is not without ſome ground ſuppoſed that his Majeſtyes altering the day of adjournment to a ſhorter, hath been in order to ſome deliberation of that nature..



nature. This is all at present, except the continuance of my due respects to you, from,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Covent Garden, Dec. 8, 1677.*

LETTER CCXVIII.

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I Did according to your last letter to me change so much of your mony into six jacobus's, and bought a purse, in which I this day presented it to the Duke of Monmouth, with the best terms of civility that I could add to it, which he kindly accepted, and returns you his thanks. I perceive by Mr. Vernon that there is a gentleman gone down appointed to take a survey of your fortifications, and to make an estimate what the repairing of them will cost; which among other things ordered elsewhere of the same nature is to be ascribed to that probability of a warre with France, which I signified to you formerly. Upon Saturday last his Majesty declared his pleasure that Dr. Sancroft, the Dean of Paul's, should be the Archbishop of Canterbury; which is so excellent a choice that I know none but does congratulate it

it except such Bishops as were perhaps in expectancy. Also Dr. Stillingfleet is made Dean of Paul's in his place, to universal approbation. I perceive by your letter that you have sent Mr. Vernon and me of your ale: it is not yet arrived: I thanke you for the favour and remembrance, wishing that part however of a warre with France, that by prohibiting their wines we were obliged to drinke so good liquor.

I remain,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*P. S.* New Year's Day 1677-8, which I wish happy to you and the Nation.

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L E T T E R C C X I X .

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**A**T the House meeting to-day Mr. Secretary delivered this message in writing from the King: "His Majesty has matters of very great importance to communicate to both Houses, in order to the satisfaction of their late  
VOL. I. Y y " addresses

“ addresses for the preservation of Flanders ; but it so hap-  
 “ pening that matters are not yet so ripe as they will be in few  
 “ days, therefore his Majesty’s pleasure is that the House be  
 “ immediately adjourned till the 28<sup>th</sup> of this present January”.  
 This being read, severall members stood up to have spoke, but  
 Mr. Speaker again adjourned the House without putting the  
 question. Which matter it is probable will the next meet-  
 ing be debated, it concerning so highly the House’s ancient  
 privilege. Some speake as though by the 28<sup>th</sup> there would  
 be a peace matured : but these things are at present in a  
 cloudy uncertainty. I desire you would please to order to  
 whom I shall pay your remaining mony in my hands : *the*  
*Jacobus’s cost twenty-three and eight-pence a piece ; the purse*  
*but three shillings.* I beg your excuse for writing so short,  
 this being a day of meeting many of our friends ; I shall  
 strive to make you amends hereafter, being always,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate friend

and humble servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

Covent Garden, Jan. 15, 1677-8.

LET-

## L E T T E R    C C X X .

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE Parliament met yesterday. His Majesty's Speech I fend you inclosed. The House of Commons being returned with their Speaker, they soon agreed to take his Majesty's Speech this day into consideration. That having been so ordered, then severall of the Members complained of the Speaker's having four severall times adjourned the House irregularly; and one delivered a charge against him in writing, having first opened the contents of it in his place. They then entered into debate of that matter, and at last ended in this order, That a paper having been delivered to the House complaining of its irregular adjournment by the Speaker, that it be taken into consideration on Thursday morning. To-day the debate on his Majesty's Speech was entred into with much modesty, yet with great plainness, the effect of which ended in this, that a Committee be appointed to sit this afternoon to draw up an humble address to his Majesty for expressing his great care of the Protestant Religion, in marrying his niece to the Prince of Orange, and humbly to beseech his Majesty that he will admit of no treaty of Peace but such a one as leaves the King of France in no better state and condition than he is left in by the



Pyrenean Treaty to offend his neighbours; for the maintaining of which he shall not want the ready assistance of this House. And that in such treaty it may be contained that neither ourselves nor any of our allies shall hold any Commerce or Trade with the French King or his subjects during this warre. Hereby and the success of this Adresse it seems that the good event of this Session may be calculated. This being so ordered, it was moved concerning the indecency that there had been no solemnity of funerrall rites payd to the body of his late Majesty. The occasion was taken from the Houses meeting together to-morrow to St. Margaret's, where Dr. Sprat preaches before them. It was ordered that the House will to-morrow in the afternoone turn itself into a Committee of the whole House to consider of interring his *late martyred Majesty*. The Duke of Buckingham at the Lords Bar yesterday asked pardon for his mistake, and tooke his place. To-day the Lords divided 47 to 33 to address his Majesty for the liberty of the Earl of Pembroke.

I am,

Your humble servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

Jan. 29, 1677-8.

L E T-

## L E T T E R CCXXI.

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE House met yesterday at two o'clock, after sermon, upon the occasion I mentioned in my last, and after having sat in Committee of the whole House, ordered that a Bill be brought in for 70,000*l.* for the more decent interment of his late *martyred Majesty*, and for raising a monument for him; one moneth at 35,000*l. per mensem*, to begin after the assentment for building of shippes is expired, and the other a twelve-month after. To-day they agreed upon and passed the addressè inclosed, and desired those of his Majestyes Privy Counsell to desire the time when he would give them leave to wait upon him with it. It may perhaps seeme to some as if the addressè did not in all things correspond with his Majesty's Speech. But his Ministers in the House not having declared the contents of the treatyes therein mentioned with Holland, the House could not do otherwise then thus to explaine themselves. And from what his Majesty shall please to answer hereupon, you may then first be able to conjecture concerning a Warre or Peace with France. I must beg your pardon for having writ the addressè so ill, but be pleased to consider that the House sate most  
part

part of the day, that it was extreme difficult to get a copy so soon but by snatches.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

*Covent Garden, Jan. 31, 1677-8.*

ANDREW MARVELL.

L E T T E R   C C X X I I .

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE businesse of yesterday was the ordering the Clerke of the Crowne to be present next Munday with the conviction of Sir Salomon Swaile of Recufancy, wherein it is probable they will follow the same method as they did with Sir Thomas Strickland, advertizing him of it by letter before they proceed further. The ordering the Farmers of the Chimny Money to appeare on Tuesday with their Patent, forasmuch as by the Act that duty ought not to be farmed, but seems to be so under an equivocal name of Collection: and severall affronts their instruments have offered to the Justices of Peace, for which some of their officers are sent for up in custody, and many illegall exactions they have committed against the sense of the Act. The  
 4 expelling

expelling of Colonel Wanklyn from being a Member of the House, and ordering a writ to elect another in his place; for that he had against the Justice and Honour of the House granted severall undue Protections. An information that the Lucy of London, 120 tons, George Martin, master, and Richard Myc, Esq; chief owner, was in the beginning of January last freighted by Messieurs Dulivier, with 1100 barrells of powder, entered for Guernsey or Jersey, but the charter party and bills of lading for St. Malo's, the ship yet at Marget. Order to send to the Muster Master to give the House account what the charge of a regiment of foot, and to the officers of the navy what the condition and complement of the severall ships, that they might in case of a war be so far able to make an estimate of the expenses. In the afternoon they presented their addressse to the King in the Banqueting House as appointed; who told them it consisted of severall points of great importance, which therefore he would consider of, and give them a speedy answer. To-day they sit not, being holiday.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Feb. 2, 1677-8.*



## LETTER CCXXIII.

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**Y**ESTERDAY at the fitting of the House the King sent the inclosed message by Secretary Coventry. The debate succeeding was, whether to take time till this morning to consider thereof, or whether immediately to resolve into a Committee of the whole House to consider of a Supply. At last upon division of the House 193 against 151, 'twas carried to turne immediately into a Committee. After some considerable time of debate, it was found their order was defective; so that they applyed to the Speaker againe to take the chaire; and then whereas the order ran as before for a supply to his Majesty, 'twas also added for his present alliances; and so they rose for that day. To-day at ten o'clock they turned againe into a Committee. At the first it was indeavoured to have gained a vote suddenly for a supply, but others held up a long argument that it was fit first to understand or addressè to his Majesty what those alliances were. This dispute lasted the whole day till candles were brought in, and almost eight o'clock. It ended thus: the one part of the House (I mean the Committee) insisted to have the short question put, that a supply shall be granted for the support of his Majesty's present Alliances; the rest for this addition, with the States Generall  
of



present supply, till he should be pleased further to declare himselfe concerning his alliances, and a warre should appeare; to which purpose a summe of 350,000l. by a Poll Bill was proposed; which these reckoned, with the 600,000l. already given for ships, to be sufficient for preparations, or whether they should proceed upon the number of ships; which question prevailing most, and that the number should be 90, the other party urged that 50 of that number should be at his Majesty's expense out of his customs, and that *only 40 should be raised at the publick charge*. 'Twas put to the question, whether this addition should be part of the question, and by 178 against 146, it was carryed in the negative; so the maine question afterward passed in the affirmative, that 90 ships are necessary for the support of his Majesty's present alliances with the States Generall of the United Provinces, for the preservation of the Spanish Netherlands, and lessening the power of France. To-day the Committee sate as before, and all they did was to order a Sub-committee to inspect the charge for one month of four of the first, five of second, six of third, 47 of fourth, 22 of fifth, six of sixth rates, and the Committee of the whole House sit again to-morrow. The Speaker yesterday moved for a day to settle the debate of his adjournments, saying, that 'till settled otherwise, he should do the same thing on the like occasion; Saturday is appointed. To-day the House ordered that it should be published

lished here, in the most publick places, and sent down to all Sheriffs and Burrows, that all written Protections are voyd, and all members granting any such to be under the House's censure. The Lord Wharton this day made his submission in his place; the Earl of Salisbury the same, two days ago; but the Duke of Buckingham was at the bar. Mr. Har—— was this day fined in the King's Bench 1000l. seven years good behaviour, and to recant in Court, but brought his Writ of Error to the Lords.

Your humble servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Feb. 7, 1677-8.*

L E T T E R    C C X X V .

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**B**EING just now come from sitting 'till night in the House, I shall first give you this day's news. The Lords sent down a Bill against Atheisme and Blasfemy. The Commons first began with lesſer buſineſſe, but the House being grown full about eleven o'clock, they entred upon the buſineſſe of the day, which was concerning the former adjournments made by Mr. Speaker, without suffering the members that desired to be heard, because his



Majesty had signified by word, and other whiles by writing, that the House should adjourne immediately. Many insisted, as it hath been understood, that his Majesty intended nothing by that command, but that it should be done after their usual manner, and shewd the ill consequences, if the Speaker might so leave the chaire of his own determination, without putting the question; adjournment being the act of the House. For any charge personall against the Speaker, they were willing generally to avoyd it, and onely to settle the right of the House, after the ancient manner, and so urged onely the question, that the House could not be adjourned, without its own consent, by the Speaker. It grew late; some others moved for adjourning the debate, others for adjourning the House, which last question, when 'tis late, must in order be first put; and upon that they divided 121 not to adjourne, 131 affirmative; so all ended without coming to any resolution upon that great point. Yesterday the Committee of the whole House divided concerning land forces, 85 negative against 107 affirmative, which the House afterwards confirmed by their vote; that twenty-six Regiments of Foot, each of 1000, four Regiments of Horse, each of 490, and two Regiments of Dragoons, each 900, are, during actuall war, necessary for the support, &c. as in the vote of the ninety ships. The calculation of the charge was referred to the same Sub-committee as that of the ships, which last were given in at 103,000*l. per mensem*; at how much

much these land forces, I observed not ; but the Sub-committee has not yet brought in their report or exceptions to either. On Munday the House will proceed on about the supply. They likewise ordered a Bill to be brought in for prohibiting all things of the growth or manufacture of France. I send you two copies of the orders concerning protections.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Feb. 9, 1677-8.*

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LETTER CCXXVI.

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE Sub-committee, to which it is referred to consider the calculations given in concerning the shippes and the land forces, have not yet been ready with their report to present it to the Committee of the whole House, so that the businesse of the supply hath not since my last to you made any further progresse in the House ; but as farre as I can observe, the monthly charge of those shippes and forces is likely

likely to come to about one hundred and four score thousand pounds. The summe of mony, the way of levying it, the time for which it shall continue, have not yet come into deliberation, but will be consequent after the Sub-committee hath reported. Yesterday the House was taken up with the debate concerning a Bill of voluntary Register of Lands, which at length was ordered to be read a second time. This day the Bill for 70,000*l.* for the Funerall Solemnity and a Monument for his late Majesty was read the first time. A Bill for the Reliefe of poore Prifoners was read the third time, and passed. Also a particular Bill was read the second time and committed, against Mr. Thomson, Nelthorpe, &c. and company, representing the Statutes of Bankroute to be deficient; and therefore, that unlesse by a *blanke day* they surrendered up their persons and estates, to make them subject unto *blanke* penalties. The House hath adjourned till Thursday, so that for the present I shall take leave, remaining,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Feb. 1677-8.*

L E T-

## LETTER CCXXVII.

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE House not sitting yesterday, I have but this day to give you account of. The Sub-committee gave in their reduction of the calculations committed to them; and the House agreed with their report, that is to say, that for so many ships as I formerly told you, the charge *per menssem* amounts to 108,840l. 10s. For so many land forces as before, 49,130l. 13s. 4d. yet they divided upon both these questions, the first, 135 against 102; the second, 147 against 131; which difference seems to arise from some uncertainty imagined of the alliances and of the warre. Neither did Mr. Secretary himself to-day, it being severall times put to him, affirme that any such alliances are as yet ratified. In the Lords House to-day, the Lord Hallifax presented my Lord Shaftsburye's petition to be re-admitted, upon making the submission first ordered, when the foure Lords were first committed. It was read, but rejected upon the question; his having appeared at the King's Bench barre, being, as I heare, aggravated as a new crime against him. This is all at present, but that I remaine,

GENTLEMEN, &amp;c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Feb. 14, 1677-8.*



## LETTER CCXXVIII.

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I MUST aske your pardon for not having writ to you our news the last post, not having failed you any post else since our sitting, nor intending to misse for the future. But the transactions of those two days having beene of lesser moment, and my leisure by chance lesse than ordinary, I made bold with you; yet there was one Bill of consequence then committed, that concerning Exportation of Wooll, with instructions given to the Committee to consider concerning the using onely and the wearing of our own Woollen Manufactures for some moneths in the yeare, of the better regulating of them, of the custome upon them, and of the abuses of the Aulnage and the Alume Patent, and to report their opinion. Also an Act was ordered for greater penaltyes upon those that do not bury in flannell. Likewise the House sent to remind the Lords of our Bill against the growth of Popery, which hath lay'd so long with them. They threw out too a Bill sent from the Lords for explaining the Act of Test upon Popish Recusants, it seeming to relax something of the former rigour in taking it. Yesterday the Committee divided between 800,000l. and 1,000,000l. but by 186 against 166 it was carryed for a million (and then agreed by the House) in these words, to enable his Majesty to enter into actuall  
warre

warre with the French King. For supposing a warre, the House expects that it may be commanded againe to supply his Majesty according to the calculations they formerly agreed to. This day the Committee debated of the ways of raising this mony, and they voted for one which the House also agreed to: An imposition upon all Houses without London and within the Bills of Mortality, built upon new foundations since the yeare 1656, of halfe a year's value, which they have impowered a Committee to inquire and report; further as yet they have not resolved, but sit again to-morrow. I suppose the main stresse of the supply will end in a Land Tax.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Feb. 19, 1677-8.*

*P. S.* I have spoke with Mr. Bartye, who is of our House, and my Lord Treasurer's Secretary, and informed him as far as you have me in that matter, and spoke further in your behalfe what you desired; for my Lord Treasurer is scarce at leisure at present to be applyed to; but Mr. Bartie has promised me within a day or two to bring the excise officers and me together, to understand what their proceed-

ings are, and do you right. Pray be pleased in your next to let me know whether those officers with you do continue as you heare still to profecute Baumbrow beyond your warrant, and any thing further that you may have to instruct me in that matter.

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LETTER CCXXIX.

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE businesse of these two days though of long debate comes into short compasse; the House having proceeded both upon his Majesty's Supply. But yesterday having deliberated concerning resumption of, or imposition upon Lands and Grants from the Crown, it went of; as likewise that of all Pensions upon the Excise, Customs, &c. was rejected by 103 against 97. The Committee against Exportation of Wooll sate yesternight, and have agreed that of wearing only Woollen of our manufacture from All Saints to Lady-day. The other things committed to them, being of various consideration, they will probably digest into severall Bills. To-day the Committee of the whole House have also voted a Poll Bill, but not the summs, having added severall articles to those in the last Poll Bill. Yesterday and to-day the Lords have been in great debates concerning

TO THE CORPORATION OF HULL. 363

cerning the Earl of Shaftsbury's petitions, offering the submissions before required, but now his *Habeas Corpus* at the King's Bench is a new crime objected.

I am,

Your most humble servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, Feb. 21, 1677-8.*

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L E T T E R   C C X X X .

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**S**INCE my last to you, the House have perfected the heads of the Poll Bill, and have ordered a Bill to be drawn of them; the heads are the same for most part with those of the last Poll Bill, somewhat more added. The severall summs will, when the Bill is drawn, be resolved upon by the House. The Committee upon the Bill against the Exportation of Wooll have fate, and having reported to the House that they thought those two matters fit to be drawn into one Bill, the empowering Justices of the Peace in the Countyes, and chiefe Magistrates of Corporations, to regulate the Woollen Manufactures among them, and secondly the wearing of Woollen both by men and women from



All Saints to Lady-day; the House hath now ordered that a Bill be brought in accordingly. The Lords House had upon Thursday in the first place resolved and ordered, that it is a breach of Privilege of their House for any Lord committed by their House to bring an *Habeas Corpus* in any inferior Court to be freed during the Session of Parliament. Secondly, resolved, That the resolution above made shall not prejudice the Earle of Shaftsbury to have his liberty to make his full defense notwithstanding the Resolution and Declaration aforefaid. Yesterday they debated againe concerning his coming to make his defense, and next Munday is appointed for his appearance in the Lords House. The Subcommittee of the House of Commons are busy in gathering a true survey and calculation of the new buildings, after which an Act will be ordered. The Callais packet boat was rifled, some say by an Oastender picaroon, one person killed, and the master run thorow, their mony, cloaths and packets of letters all seized. The Wool Committee have ordered on Munday to consider of the abuses of the Aulnage \*, and of the Alume Patent.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

Westminster, Feb. 23, 1677-8.

\* Aulnageor, an officer who looks to the affize of woollen cloth.

## L E T T E R CCXXXI.

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**Y**ESTERDAY morning was spent in the House of Commons in subscribing our names in a roll of parchment upon occasion of imbezzling the Bill sent from the Lords against Clandestine Marriages; so that each member present underwrit to these words, "I do protest before Almighty God and this honourable House, that neither myselfe, nor any other to my knowledge, have taken away or do at present conceale a Bill intituled an Act to prevent clandestine and irregular Marriages; in witness whereof I have hereto subscribed my name". The Wooll Committee sat in the afternoon, and read the Alume Patent, which they voted prejudiciall to our Woollen Manufacture; the Alume being sold in France at 15l. a tun, and in England at 26l. They entred also then upon abuses of the Aulnage, and examined foure or five witneses, but proceed to-morrow. To-day the Poll Bill was read the first time, and appointed the second to-morrow: The Bill for burying in Woollen the first time: That for wearing Woollen, and regulating those manufactures, the second time and committed. Mr. Secretary acquainted the House that the King had on Sunday the news that the French King was before *Gant*, and that yesterday he was possesst of it; he prest there-

fore for speeding of mony, and preparing his Majesty's credit to take some up at interest; which may be considered of to-morrow. The Earle of Shaftsbury having yesterday made his submissions to the Lords for his first offense, and the second in appealing to the King's Bench, was upon their unanimous addresse, by his Majesty's order, this day set at liberty.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Feb. 26, 1677-8.*

LETTER CCXXXII.

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**Y**ESTERDAY and to-day have been spent in the House or in the Committee of the whole House upon the Poll Bill. The House yesterday gave them order to bring in two clauses; one for appropriating it to the warre with the French King, and the other for a prohibition during three yeares of all French Wines, Brandy, Silke, Linen, Paper, and all other growth or manufacture of France, that none of them be imported (and it seems to be intended that an imposition be also upon what is already) and a time for selling or transporting what is already here, after which, if found, to be destroyed. This last clause of prohibition to be brought  
in;

in, was ordered to be annexed to the Bill, *nemine contradicente*, so that one not likely to passe without the other, which tacking of things of different nature to a Mony Bill hath at other times been much contested, but went now so easily I suppose because of the ill news from Flanders, the French King having rid post to possesse himselfe of Gant, as he is also said to be of Bruges and other places. I will not say all to you, because I hope all may not be true, but there is a great apprehension even to consternation among prudent persons. Yesternight and this day marched hence neare 3000 men to be shiped for Ostend; if they may come there time enough under the Duke of Monmouth, with whom the Earle of Feversham, Lord Howard of Everick, Sir Samuel Clarke, &c. the Duke of Albemarle is gone a volunteer, and severall others: so that all things compared it looks like a warre. The Committee of Wooll fate yesternight, and had numerous petitions and witnesses concerning the abuses of the Aulnage; have appointed Munday to bring in that Patent, and for persons complained of to appeare. The House sits againe to-morrow on the Poll, and will go neare to perfect it fit for a report; the two clauses then to be brought in; the generall poll is 12d. some few heads more than in the last Poll; the same Commissioners.

I am,

Your most humble servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.



## LETTER CCXXXIII.

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HESE two dayes also have been spent by the House of Commons in the reliques of the Poll Bill, which is now gone thorow except the two claufes of appropriation and prohibition, which being of such moment require more maturing; but on Munday I doubt not that they will be perfected. The Bill of new Buildings advances but slowly; the survey of them and their full value being a worke of some time. Our news, God be praised, is much better from abroad then it was last post. For although Mr. Secretary Coventry imparted to the House the taking of Gant, yet it proves hitherto otherwise. An expresse upon Thursday brings word it was not then taken; but on the contrary made a brave defense; that no other of the townes are taken; no French fleet before Oastend; no blocking of it up by land as was reported. And it is generally concluded that our forces gone hence are before this time in Oastend, the wind having been favourable. It seems that now we are ingaged in an actuall warre, which if so will necessarily ingage his Majesty in a much greater expense, and will I hope be chearfully supplied by all his good subjects. I am,

GENTLEMEN, &amp;c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, March 2, 1677-8.*

## LETTER CCXXXIV.

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE Poll Bill hath yet taken the House up day by day, and is not yet finished; but these two last days have now fitted it for the report to the House to-morrow, after which it will be ingrossed; for yesterday the Committee of the whole House passed the clause of prohibition, which from all things of the growth or manufacture of the French King's dominions, was now (by leave of the House) reduced to Wine, Brandy, Linnen, Paper, Salt, Silke, and all Manufactures single or mixed with Haire, Wooll, Thred, Gold, or Silver; that none of these shall be imported after the 20<sup>th</sup> of this moneth: if landed, to be staved and destroyed: Liberty to export what is already here, or to vend it here till the first of May 1679: Severe penalties to the infringers, great rewards to the informers: The prohibition to continue for three years: The importation declared a nuisance. To-day also they passed the clause of appropriation of this mony to the use of the French war, in the strictest termes and penally obligatory upon all officers that the matter admits. The Bill of the new Buildings in the meane time makes no progresse, the surveys not being yet finished. The foraine news is not much. We do not heare of any thing the French

King hath enterprised further, since the surrender of Gant, which is taken for granted. I heare that there are neare 4000 men in all gone or going for Flanders, beside what more are intended. There was a Bill from the Lords read to-day the first time in the House of Commons, intituled, For the repaire of Churches; but seeming to graspe at an extraordinary ecclesiasticall power, and to make the Justices of Peace too subservient, it was rejected. The Lords have not yet determined in what manner the Earle of Pembroke is to be tryed *sedente Parlamento*, the matter requiring much search in ancient recorde.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most humble servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

March 5, 1677-8.

LETTER CCXXXV.

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**Y**ESTERDAY the Poll Bill was read and ingrossed. The House added the word *Vinegar* among the French Commodities prohibited. It was indevoured to change

the 20<sup>th</sup> of this moneth to the 29<sup>th</sup> in respect to merchants, but could not be compassed. The title of the *Act* is, *To raise mony by a Poll Bill, to enable his Majesty to enter into an actuall warre with the French King, and prohibiting severall French commodityes.* It was then carryed up to the Lords by Sir Edward Deering, and he ordered at the same time to put their Lordships in mind of the Commons Bill against the growth of Popery. The Lords streight red it once then, and to-day the second time, and on Munday are to be in a Committee of their whole House upon it: The Bill against Hawkers and Pedlars was this day reported in the Commons House, and ordered to be ingrossed. The Committee against exportation of Wooll, &c. fate this afternoon upon the abuses of the Aulnage, and voted first, that the subsidy of Aulnage and the Aulnager's Fee ought to be payd onely by the maker; then that the seising of Packs by them upon the road was an abuse; then that their forcing Drapers, Retailers, Shop-keepers, Factors to a yearly Composition for not searhing, was an abuse, &c. and that it is the opinion of the Committee that an Act ought to be prepared for remedy. The explanatory Act of Chimny Mony is ready ingrossed. The French King, since Gant, hath, it is said, besieged Ypres. There are not so many English gone over yet for Flanders as I told you: severall Commissions are now issued to those that are to command in the Land Army. The House hath ordered to be on Munday



in Committee of the whole House upon the new Buildings.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, March 9, 1677-8.*

LETTER CCXXXVI.

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**Y**ESTERDAY the Committee of the whole House debated Heads for the Bill upon new Foundations, resolved; that buildings upon the places of Noblemens Houses, &c. as Yorke, Effex, Exeter House Buildings, &c. should be reckoned as upon new Foundations; that the severall interests of first proprietors and meane conveyances should be valued and accordingly considered and deducted; that Buildings begun, but not finished, should be rated by the Commissioners; that Contracts since such a day for building should be vacated or valued; that there be a clause to prohibite all further buildings, which is esteemed some reparation to those who must pay, making their Houses more estimable, and a Bill ordered to be brought in to this purpose. To-day they passed the

the Bill for Chimny Mony, and sent it up to the Lords. And after, the report of that for burying in flanel, ordered it to be ingrossed. The Lords were to-day againe in Committee of their whole House upon the Poll Bill, and agreed to all the materiall points, which it was imagined might have bred some difficulty, as, the giving account to the Commons (the Lords not named) in Parliament; the clause of appropriation to the French warre; the clause of prohibition of the French commodityes annexed, nor do I perceiv that the day is altered. On Munday a Popish Lord, the Earle of Castlehaven, an old soldier under the King of Spaine, in Flanders, asked leave of the Lords House (being a member of it) to repaire to his command in Flanders, and that having been granted him, he thence tooke occasion to represent with great freedome the sad condition of Flanders, and consequently of England, which wrought so farre that to-morrow was appointed by them to take the state of the kingdome into consideration. The Duke of Monmouth, and many other persons of quality, returned on Sunday from Oastend. I heare that things not onely there, but in Holland too, have a very ill aspect. Ypres and Dexmuide are said to be taken.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

March 12, 1677-8.

ANDREW MARVELL.

## LETTER CCXXXVII.

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE Lords, notwithstanding their order I writ you of, did yesterday let that businesse wholly slip away, and onely busied themselves about the Poll Bill, to which they made some little amendments (but altered nothing materiall) which the Commons agreed to, so that now that Act is ready to be passed when his Majesty pleases. The Commons were yesterday taken up almost the whole day in hearing the cause of Lindsey Levell, which not having neverthelesse heard whole out, they ordered for to-morrow. To-day the progresse of the French King in Flanders still threatning us, and the vigour necessary to oppose it not seeming sufficient, there was a motion made and pursued to turne the House into a Committee to consider of the state of the nation, and to propose remedies to prevent the dangers impending over it, and accordingly it was ordered: and they came to this result, that an addresse should be prepared humbly to advise his Majesty that to quiet the minds of his loyall subjects, and to encourage the Princes and States confederate against the French King, he would be graciously pleased to declare, proclaime, and immediately to enter into an actuall warre with the French King, and to give his Majesty assurance  
that

that this House will constantly stand by and aide his Majesty in the prosecution thereof, with plentifull supplies and assistances. As also to desire his Majesty to recall his Embassadors from France and from Nieumegen, and to send the French Embassador here away home. The Committee further came to a question to desire his Majesty to remove from his Counsellors such as had advised his answer upon the 25<sup>th</sup> of May last to the House's Adresse, and that had advised the following adjournments; but they divided whether that question should be put, and by 130 against 125 it was carried in the negative. Some gentlemen were, after the report made and agreed to by the House, ordered to draw up this adresse, and to meet this night immediately about it, though the House had continued sitting till six o'clock. This either is all or all which I have at present leifure to tell you.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL,

*Westminster, March 14, 1677:8.*

L E T-



## LETTER CCXXXVIII.

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**Y**ESTERDAY the House of Commons agreed upon the adresse inclosed, and to send it up to the Lords to desire their concurrence, who have been in debate of it to-day till foure o'clock, and then adjourned it till Munday. After having done this, the House of Commons read the first time, the Bill for an imposition on the new Foundations, and after some opposition ordered it a second reading. To-day they read the two Bills ingrossed of burying in Woollen, and of wearing Woollen from the first of November till Lady-day, and have sent them up to the Lords. Then a motion was made upon occasion of a paper presented by the Quakers, of the same nature with this which I send you printed. And after a considerable debate it terminated in the vote inclosed. After this another motion was made concerning the dangers from the growth of Popery, and that ended in the last vote. For ought I perceive the taking of Ypres is yet uncertaine.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &amp;c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, March 16, 1677-8.*

## LETTER CCXXXIX.

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**Y**ESTERDAY the Commons past and sent up the Bill against Hawkers and Pedlars, &c. They read also the second time the Bill for 70,000*l.* for a Funerall and Monument to his late Majesty; and they ordered the members of the Privy Counsell to acquaint his Majesty, that the Poll Bill was past both Houses ready for the Royall Assent. In the afternoon sat the Committee, to whom the Quakers complaint was refer'd, and of other Dissenters prosecuted, convicted and seised by the laws against Papists. Severall of them appeared, and exhibited the names of diverse persons in the respective countyes so proceeded against; whereupon the Committee ordered the Records necessary to be searched, and that there might be time for inspection, adjourned till Friday next. To-day the businesse appointed of the danger from the growth of Popery, was diverted by other businesse of great moment. His Majesty sent word, that to-morrow he would passe the Poll Bill, and pressed the House by the same message to hasten the remaining supply. After that, the two Lords Chief Justices brought the Addresse from the Lords with severall alterations. For the word immediately, they said, *with all the expedition which can possibly consist with the safety of your Majesty's affaires.* Then they

leave out the whole clause of recalling the Embassadors, and ceasing the mediation. And lastly, instead of *for no other end*, they say, *to the end*. The House debated the first, and disagreed with the Lords upon a division of 155 against 112; so likewise in the rest, and have ordered a Committee to draw up reasons for a conference with the Lords upon all that matter. It seems by the debates, that his Majesty hath not yet the alliances requisite for a warre, and is unwilling to declare warre till the whole supply be perfected; but the commissions are most of them issued, and the officers raise men with all possible expedition.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*March 19, 1677-8.*

LETTER CCXL.

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE House of Commons yesterday were of publick businesse onely upon the Bill for the seventy thousand pounds for his late Majesty's interment and monument, in a Committee of the whole House; they passed part of it, but still vary whether to propose the monument to be erected at

Westminster, Windsor, or Poules, or to leave the disposal wholly to his Majesty. In the afternoon sat their Committee concerning the punishing Quakers and other Dissenters by the laws against Popish Recusants, levying two-thirds of their estates, and to enquire whether Papists estates were in like manner seized and levied; and to find out a distinction between Papists and Protestant Dissenters. Proofes were made in severall countyes as to this matter, and the Quakers delivered this inclosed as a thing which their whole party are ready to subscribe to. To-day the House were in a long debate, whether to commit the Bill of New-buildings. (I doubt in my last to you I erred for haste, telling you it had been in a Committee, whereas then also it was onely a debate about committing it.) At last it is resolved to be committed, and sit on it next Tuesday; Wednesday upon the growth of Popery. This slownesse in the remaining Money-Bills seems to be from the uncertainty the House is still in of his Majesties alliances, and the delay there is in declaring war. The Lords, I heare, have disagreed with the Commons reasons for the Addressse, and named a Committee to draw up their reasons in order to a conference. The Houses have adjourned till Tuesday. I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your humble servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, March 23, 1677-8.*



## LETTER CCXLI.

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**Y**ESTERDAY the House of Commons received the Report I formerly writ you of concerning the abuses of the Aulnage, and ordered that a Bill should be brought in for rectifying the same. After that his Majesty sent them a message, signifying to them, that they might adjourne till the eleventh of the next moneth; so that having no command to adjourne immediately, they entred upon the business appointed for the day, concerning the growth of Popery. Many things were discoursed of that matter; and among the rest, two Gentlemen, Mr. Arnold and Mr. Scudamore, were called in to informe the House of severall particulars in Monmouth and Herefordshire, about Masses, Priests, &c. and other things too open and visible in those countyes. The Gentlemen gave so good an account to the House, having been also active on their parts in suppressing to their power those irregularities, that the House ordered the thanks of the House to be given them, which was accordingly done very eloquently by Mr. Speaker; and they proceeded on in their debate, some by reason of the instant adjournment moving that the debate might be adjourned untill the next meeting; but it being resolved to the contrary upon division of 113 against 69, they afterwards named  
a Committee

a Committee to confider of the dangers by the growth of Popery, and the remedies for the fame, which is in order to a conference to be desired of the Lords at the next meeting, touching that subject, and probably as one great remedy for the fame, to presse them againe for the passing of the Commons Bill which hath layd there so long, to prevent the growth of Popery. During this debate there was a message from the Lords waited long at the doore, supposed to be concerning an answer to the reasons of the Commons about the Adresse, but not being called in, they returned. These things being so farre settled, they then ordered the call of the House to be the 16<sup>th</sup> of the next moneth, and then they adjourned themselves till the 11<sup>th</sup>. I have sent you the Poll Bill. I have nothing further at present, than to remaine,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, March 28, 1678.*

The Shrieves have order to summon up all absent Parliament-men in the countryes.

L E T-

## LETTER CCXLII.

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**Y**ESTERDAY his Majesty being come into the Lords House sent for the Commons, who presented him their Speaker, who first, as usuall, excused himselfe upon his disabilities, desiring his Majesty to admit it; but his Majesty, by the mouth of the Lord Chief Justice North, approved of him, and then the Speaker made the foure usuall petitions in the name of the Commons, which the King granted. Then Judge North told them, that the Dutch Embassador wanted power to a principall part of the war, prohibition of commerce; his Majesty therefore would have them adjourn till the 29<sup>th</sup>, by which time hoped to impart things to their satisfaction. But they returning, debated to send to the Lords to addressse jointly to his Majesty, that they might sit on to do other businesse, which debate fell, news being brought the Lords were risen. Then they ordered the Committee for drawing reasons to confer with the Lords about the Bill of Popery, and for examinations about the growth of Popery and the remedies, to sit in the intervall, and so adjourned till the 29<sup>th</sup>. I remaine,

GENTLEMEN, &amp;c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*April 16, 1678.*

## L E T T E R CCXLIII.

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE House of Commons being to-day met, Mr. Secretary Coventry acquainted them from his Majesty, that their Speaker being sick in the country, and that very dangerously, his Majesty gave them leave to chuse a new one, and that they should present him next Munday. This being all from his Majesty, he sat down, then rose, and moved for Sir Robert Sawyer as a fit person. It indured some debate: but at last it was agreed that the clerke should put the question upon him, which went in the affirmative; so he was placed in the chaire, and then the House adjourned itselfe without doing more businesse, untill Munday. In the Lords House likewise, the Chancelor not being present, but a patent read, whereby he was inabled to substitute a speaker in his place, but *pro tempore*, and signifying at the same time that he was not in health fit to attend their service, and had therefore named Lord Chief Justice North to supply that place, it was so done. The City have agreed to indevor to lend his Majesty 100,000l. on the second 100,000l. in the Poll Bill; 20,000l. is subscribed already. As businesse opens I shall write you more at large, remaining,

GENTLEMEN, &amp;c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*April 19, 1678.*



## LETTER CCXLIV.

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HIS is only to give you account, that upon Tuesday morning last I delivered your Letter to the *Duke of Monmouth*. I went with it on the Munday, but he was gone something earlyer then usuall to muster some of the forces at Barnet. I told him the summe of your Letter, and he was pleased to read it over leifurely in your own better words, desiring me then to returne you this his answer; “ that he was glad you tooke it so well, and you might be “ assured of his continuing his care in this businesse of yours, “ or on whatsoever other occasion.” I have after this to beg your pardon for not having advertised you of this the same post; but truly I was unexpectedly diverted, and so that without giving you the particulars of my excuse, I am confident you will allow it, according to your accustomed candor toward,

GENTLEMEN, &amp;c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Covent-Garden, April 25, 1678.*

LET-

## LETTER CCXLV.

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE two inclosed papers will supply the shortness of this letter. The first is my Lord Chancellor's Speech (his Majesty being present but not speaking) to both Houses; the second, the reasons prepared for a Conference with the Lords: the first was spoke yesterday; the latter read at the Conference with the Lords to-day. There was yesterday also read in the Commons, a long narrative of fact from the Committee concerning Popery, it consisting partly of great and publick Meetings, Masses, many Priests, &c. in Monmouth and Herefordshire principally; then of Justices of the Peace turned out of Commission having prosecuted Papists according to law; and of others Popishly affected put in and continued. After that of proceedings in the Exchequer, many hundred Papists in Middlesex discharged, so that but one man remained for ten groats, &c. Much of the like nature. I write these things unwillingly, as being of ill report, and which therefore although fit to be communicated to persons of your prudence, yet it may be prudent to keep within a narrow compass. The House ordered some gentlemen to goe to the Lord Chancellor to inquire by what means, and at whose instance particularly, Mr.

Probert and Mr. Arnold were put out of Commission; as also Mr. Fenwick, in Northumberland, put in, and Mr. Milburn, in Monmouthshire, continued, &c. The House hath further desired his Majesty (and they are accordingly brought in) to have the Leagues and Treatyes mentioned in the Speech, and the agreement (or propofall) of the number of men and ships with Holland, and my Lord Feversham's dispatch with the French King's answer, imparted to them, and a Committee is appointed to view and bring in the abstracts. To conclude, the House is very busy.

I am, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

*April 30, 1678.*

L E T T E R C C X L V I .

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HIS hath been the third day that the House of Commons hath been upon the consideration of the Leagues with Holland, and what depends thereon. This day hath lasted continuall sitting 'till nine at night, and hath produced these three votes inclosed. There is a generall apprehension lest the Hollanders have already made their conditions with France. I must beg your pardon if I be not punctuall, for you see in the third vote, that upon hast one  
may

may be excused even from using the formalities due to the Prince, much more will you dispense with,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

*Westminster, May 4, 1678.*

ANDREW MARVELL.

LETTER CCXLVII.

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**I** Forgot by reason of my haste to give you account (what doubtlesse you have known from other hands) that Sir Robert Sawyer having writ a letter to Mr. Goldsbrough, clerke of the Commons, to be read, signifying that he was by sicknesse disabled from performing his place, and Mr. Secretary Williamson informing the House that his Majesty gave them leave to chuse a new Speaker, Mr. Seymour was upon Munday last chosen Speaker, and approved at the Lords bar by his Majesty in the usuall manner. To-day the House hath not fate. Yesterday in the morning they adjourned early to give their Committee time till three in the afternoon to forme three addressses. It was five before they had finished, and first they reported that concerning Duke Lauderdale: the debate indured till toward nine at night; the House was twice divided 152 against 151, and then afterwards 161 against 157, whereby all the words of the whole addressse were thrown out; so that there remains nothing but their



first naked vote; and how they will dispose now of that is uncertaine, for it being late, the House adjourned without coming to any further resolution. The apprehensions of the Hollanders closing up their peace with France do still continue, and rather increase then otherwise.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

There was no Counsell yesterday, so the buffenesse of Angel's Lights is for to-morrow.

LETTER CCXLVIII.

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**Y**ESTERDAY Mr. Secretary Williamfon delivered to the House this message from the King in writing:

CHARLES REX,

*His Majesty having been acquainted with the votes of this House of the 4<sup>th</sup> instant, was much surpris'd both with the matter and forme of them. But if his Majesty had had exception to neither, yet his Majesty having asked the advice of both Houses, doth not thinke fit to give any answer to any thing of that nature till he have a concurrent advice from both*

*Houses. Given at the Court of Whitehall the 6<sup>th</sup> of May, 1678.*

The Commons being somewhat abashed at the message, proceeded onely that day upon ordinary reports from the Committee of Privileges. But they have continued sitting all this day untill almost nine at night, and have made three severall votes, and appointed a Committee to draw them up in an Adressè; first to desire a speedy answer from his Majesty to their Saturday votes or adressè; next to desire him to remove from his Counsell all such as advised the answer to their adressè of the 26<sup>th</sup> of May 1677, given the 28<sup>th</sup>; and of January last 31<sup>st</sup>, given 4<sup>th</sup> of February, or either of them: this was upon division of 154 against 139. Then they debated of the Duke of Lauderdale, and upon the question of adjourning the debate till the morrow, 'twas continued by 144 against 103; at last by 137 against 93 it was voted to desire his Majesty to remove him from his Presence and Counsell. Their hast for his Majesty's answer is if possible to prevent the Dutch yet from closing up the peace with France. The Lords have adjourned their consideration of advice till Saturday. You see how ill tooles I am forced for hast to make use of. Pray excuse,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*May 7, 1678.*

## L E T T E R   C C X L I X .

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**Y**ESTERDAY the Committee appointed for that purpose made their report of this adreſſe incloſed. But as ſoon as it was made, ſeverall gentlemen moved not to proceed in it further, but to expect ſome information more of the reſolutions to come from Holland; this was long and frequently oppoſed by others; ſo that the debate terminated in a diviſion of the Houſe, the moſt numerous that I remember of many years, wherein by 176 againſt 174 it was carried to proceed; then the ſeverall paragraphs of the adreſſe were in order put to the queſtion, and upon two of the moſt materiall there were two diviſions of the Houſe; the firſt of 170 againſt 167; the ſecond of 169 againſt 166: both carried in the affirmative: and the whole adreſſe as I ſend it you was agreed, and the members of the Privy Counſell ordered to deſire of his Majeſty the time when the Houſe might wait upon him with it. It was then moved that the Houſe's vote againſt Duke Lauderdale, that his Majeſty may further humbly be deſired to remove him from his Counſells and Preſence, might be added to this adreſſe, the Houſe having rejected the other day the particular forme in which it was drawn up; this admitting a debate, and  
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the House having already sate the whole day till five o'clock, some moved to adjourne, which came at last to be the question, and the House being divided upon it, it was carried by 158 against 150 not to adjourne; so they proceeded on, and it was, without any division more, voted to add him to the adresse. It happened in one of the former divisions that on some occasion in the lobby there were blows given between Sir Thomas Chichley, Master of the Ordinance, and the Lord Obrian, though both of the same party. The House ordered Sir Thomas, who was present, and the Lord Obrian, who absented, to be taken into the custody of their Sergeant at Arms. To-day a verball message as from the King was delivered by Secretary Williamfon, that he would receive their adresse in the afternoon, and to enter immediately into consideration of a supply: This last was long debated, none being willing to give a negative, but neither forward to an affirmative in the uncertainty of War or Peace; both were avoided by the question whether the debate should be adjourned, which past by 168 against 167 in the negative, and so fell. They with their adresse waited since on the King, who seemed dissatisfied. God grant better things and deeds.

I am,

Your servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

May 11, 1678.



## LETTER CCL.

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**I** Have very little subject of writing, the present business of Parliament having been all concluded yesterday morning; for his Majesty sent up for the Commons to the House of Lords, and prorogued the Parliament till the twenty-third of this month. You know that always upon Prorogation whatsoever business was imperfect and depending, is quite cut of, and if the Parliament intend to proceed again upon it they must resume all from the very beginning. One thing you may please to take notice of, that the Corne clause is by the period of this Session expired. Also this Prorogation having thus happened, and if there should be a Peace, it is now in the King and Parliament's power to revoke the French prohibition next meeting. It is probable the continuance of the additional duty on French and other Wines may then too be considered. I doubt not but many will reflect upon this Prorogation for other reasons. *But they that discourse the least, and think the best of it, will be the wisest men and the best subjects.* God in mercy direct his Majesty always to that which may most conduce to his own and the kingdoms happiness!

I remaine,

GENTLEMEN, &amp;c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, May 14, 1678.*

## LETTER CCLI.

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**H**IS Majesty opened this Session with the Speech which I send you inclosed; and after that the Lord Chancellor spoke at large, but the copy of it not having been communicated to the House of Commons, they appointed a Committee to peruse the Lords Journall for it, where such things are of course to be entred. The Lords have also ordered the Speech to be printed: so that I suppose one way or other I may by the next post compasse it for you. The House of Commons opened their Session, as is usuall, with reading a Bill, and that which was pitched upon was, the former Bill for regulating the Collection of Hearth-mony, and then they appointed a day for its second reading. The rest of their time was spent in settling the ordinary affaires of their House, appointing days for their grand Committees, naming and empowering their Committee of Privileges, and renewing the clause against Bribery or Entertainments in order to Elections, and lastly in receiving severall petitions concerning undue Elections. What I remarke in the House is that it is much fuller than ordinary, and more are still upon the road, and there seems a more than usuall concernment among all men, as if some great, and I hope good

thing were to be expected. God in his mercy direct all to the best; what I understand thereof I shall from time to time communicate to you, remaining,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

*Westminster, May 23, 1678.*

ANDREW MARVELL.

LETTER CCLII.

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE House of Commons not having the Chancellor's Speech that day printed or written, fate (I mean yesterday) not long, nor did much worke. The Bill for encouragement of the Woolen Manufacture, which was in progresse last session, was read the first time. They also appointed a Committee to bring in a Bill or Bills to hinder the growth of Popery. Also a Committee for the Laws concerning the Poore in order to rectify them. Severall things of the like publick and good intention were set on foot againe, which I shall be glad to see come to perfection. To-day (which was intended though not ordered for consideration of his Majestye's and the Chancellor's Speech) but the morning being most part spent before the Speeches were published, there

there was a motion made for an humble Addresse to his Majesty, to know of him the state of affairs as they now stand in relation to war or peace; and that if his Majesty shall think fit to enter into a warre with the French King, with the assistance of the Emperour, and such other Princes and States as shall come into the confederacy, this House will support and assist his Majesty in the carrying on the warre. This debate took up the whole day, forasmuch as some counted this addresse to be unseasonable, when it appeared that all things abroad were so disposed toward a peace. Some thought it more requisite to proceed first of all to the disbanding of the army; others, that it were best to lay by all apprehensions and jealousies, and to furnish the King with mony, leaving the rest to his Majestyes discretion. In this variety of opinions the House came about foure o'clock to a question of adjourning the debate, which was carried in the affirmative by 195 against 176. In generall what I learne by information both within and without doors is, that both Holland and Spaine appeare to be agreed upon termes with France. I have inclosed the Speeches.

I remaine,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

No date, but the post mark is  
25 May, 1678.



## L E T T E R CCLIII.

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE House yesterday resumed the debate, which was adjourned on Saturday, and it ended in the vote inclosed, which past without division. That occasioned the inclosed message to-day from the King; though getting them in hast as well as we can I have displaced them. The House hereupon after a long debate (some moving so early for a Supply) concluded, without dividing, in a vote to take on Thursday his Majestyes Messäge into consideration. They also voted to take the Chancelor's Speech into consideration upon Saturday; and then adjourned till Thursday. The Bills already in motion againe are—Wearing of Woolen—Burying in Woolen—For exporting of Leather—Securing the Protestant Religion—For the Poore—For poore Prisoners—For Highways—Against Maintenance—Against Hawkers and Pedlars—For measuring Keels and Boats for Coals, &c. The Scotch Lords had an hearing before his Majesty on Saturday night, but *were not admitted to kisse his hand, nor obtained any of their other desires; so are departing homeward.*

I remaine,

GENTLEMEN, &amp;c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, May 28, 1678.*

## LETTER CCLIV.

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE House fate yesterday in a Committee of the whole House upon the motion formerly made for a supply ; and from the Muster-master they received an account of the several regiments, and the numbers that were raised, and in pay since September 29<sup>th</sup>, amounting horse and foot to thirty thousand men. But the Paymaster of the army not having had time sufficient to make up his accounts of what mony was in arreare to them respectively, the Committee proceeded no further than to vote, That a supply should be given to his Majesty toward the paying and disbanding of all the forces raised since the 29<sup>th</sup> of September. This day the House, according to order, read the Chancelor's Speech, and debated it thorowly. The question that arose was, That the proceedings of this House had not given any occasion for the Peace mentioned in the Chancelor's Speech. The first thing put to the question, whether those words, *mentioned in the Chancelor's Speech*, should be part of the question, which was carried in the negative by 181 against 156. The next was, whether that question, *Whether the proceedings of this House had given any occasion to the Peace*, should be now put ; which was likewise carryed in the negative by 181 against 157 ; so that the House rose about foure o'clock,

without any effect or result of the whole debate. This is all at present, with the addition of all due respects from,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, June 1, 1678.*

L E T T E R C C L V .

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**T**HE House, in a Committee of the whole House, have for these two dayes been intent upon receiving the accounts of the land forces raised since September 29<sup>th</sup>, and having to-day received the report from the Committee, they agreed that the summe of 200,000*l.* be raised for the speedy and compleat paying and disbanding all the said land forces; which summe to be levied by six moneths Land-tax, at 34,410*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.* to begin at the determination of the present monthly sseiment. Then they ordered, that a Bill should be brought in to that purpose: that there should be a borrowing clause inserted in that Bill, and an appropriating clause; and that they should be payd of and disbanded by the last of this present June. This summe, together with what hath been already payd these forces, dos largely pay  
and

and recompense both these soldiers and their commanders. To-morrow the House is by order to be in a Committee for retrenching the growing charge of this Fleet. To-day, before they went upon this more publick businesse, there was read the first time a Generall Bill that came in by order, for inspecting the Laws against Bankroutes, and to consider the defects and supply them: to find a more effectuall discovering of the Estates of Bankroutes, and to take care that it may not be in the power of any single creditor, or small number of them, to obstruct the composition with the generality of the creditors. Also the Bill of the former Session, for regulating the collection of Hearth-mony was read the second time and committed. We heare that severall of these forces are commanded northward. And from Holland, there are severall rumours, as if, now they are in probability of a peace, they were grown very factious among themselves, to the diminution of the Prince's authority. Judge Scroggs his place, who is now Lord Chief Justice, is not yet supplied, as was reported. I remaine,

GENTLEMEN, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*June 4, 1678.*

L E T-



## LETTER CCLVI.

MR. HENRY MAISTER, MAYOR.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

**Y**ESTERDAY was the Petition of the Creditors of the Hambrough Company debated, whose case I fend here inclosed, and which is referred to a Committee to receive their propofals and confider of them. Afterwards they refolved that there fhould be a fupply to difmiffe the extraordinary charge of the Navy, and they have appointed a Committee, which is taking and examining the accounts of the Fleet. To-day there was read the fecond time the Bill for burying in Woolen; and after feverall things of leffer moment, the Bill for difbanding the Army was read the firft time, and ordered to be read the fecond time to-morrow. After this there was a motion made for the 200,000l. taken up on the credit of the Excife, that the accounts thereof might be brought in, in order to the payment thereof, demanded in his Majeftyes Speech. But there was a debate rofe hereupon, as if the Houfe lay not under any obligation for it. In conclufion, that debate was adjourned till Saturday, which will probably be of great weight and confideration. The Committee of Privileges fitting to-night upon Grantham Election, in which moft of us are more than ordinarily concerned, I cannot write more than that I remaine,

GENTLEMEN, &amp;c.

Your moft affectionate fervant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

*Westminster, June 6, 1678.*

*This recommendatory Letter in favour of Mr. Shales does not appear to have had that success which the Duke of Monmouth was flattered with; for on the 24<sup>th</sup> of February following, Lemuel Kingdon and William Ramsden, Esqrs. were elected Members of Parliament for Hull.*

*Aug. 23, 1678.*

UPON my arrivall at London I mett with the report of Mr. \* Marvell's death, one of the Burgessees for your Towne, which gives me occasion to become a suitor to you in behalfe of Mr. Shales, that you would elect him to supply that vacancy in Parliament, whom I look upon as a person very well qualified to serve the King, his Country, and your Corporation in particular, to whose interests I shall allways have a peculiar regard, and shall owne your kindness herein as an obligation to,

GENTLEMEN,

Your very humble servant,

MONMOUTH.

\* He died on the 16th of August, 1678.



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# FAMILIAR EPISTLES, &c.

Written by Mr. MARVELL to his intimate Friends.

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## TO A FRIEND IN PERSIA.

DEAR SIR,

**I** HAVE yours of the 12<sup>th</sup> of October, 1670, which was in all respects most wellcome to me, except when I considered that to write it you endured some pain, for you say your hand is not yet recovered. If I could say any thing to you towards the advancement of your affairs, I could, with a better conscience, admit you should spend so much of your precious time, as you do, upon me. But you know how far those things are out of my road, tho', otherwise, most desirous in all things to be serviceable to you. God's good providence, which hath through so dangerous a disease and so many difficultys preserved and restored you, will, I doubt not, conduct you to a prosperous issue;



and the perfection of your so laudable undertakings. And, under that, your own good genius, in conjunction with your brother here, will, I hope, though at the distance of England and Persia, in good time operate extraordinary effects; for the magnetism of two souls, rightly touched, works beyond all natural limits, and it would be indeed too unequal, if good nature should not have at least as large a sphere of activity, as malice, envy, and detraction, which are, it seems, part of the returns from Gombroon and Surat. All I can say to you in that matter is, that you must, seeing it will not be better, stand upon your guard; for in this world a good cause signifies little, unless it be as well defended. A man may starve at the feast of good conscience. My fencing-master in Spain, after he had instructed me all he could, told me, I remember, there was yet one secret, against which there was no defence, and that was, to give the first blow. I know your maxim, *Qui festinat didescere, non erit innocens*. Indeed while you preserve that mind, you will have the blessing both of God and man. In general I perceive, and am very glad of it, that by your good management, your friends here get ground, and the flint in your adversaries' hearts begins to be mollified. Now, after my usual method, leaving to others what relates to busyness, I address myself, which is all I am good for, to be your gazettier. I am sorry to perceive that mine by the Armenian miscarried. Tho' there was nothing material in it,

it, the thoughts of friends are too valuable to fall into the hands of a stranger. I wrote the last February at large, and wish it a better passage. In this perhaps I may interfere something with that, chusing rather to repeat than omit. The King having, upon pretence of the great preparations of his neighbours, demanded three hundred thousand pounds for his navy, (though in conclusion he hath not set out any) and that the Parliament should pay his debts, which the ministers would never particularize to the House of Commons, our House gave several bills. You see how far things were stretched, though beyond reason, there being no satisfaction how those debts were contracted, and all men foreseeing that what was given would not be applyed to discharge the debts, which I hear are at this day risen to four millions, but diverted as formerly. Nevertheless such was the number of the constant courtiers increased by the apostate patriots, who were bought off, for that turn, some at six, others ten, one at fifteen thousand pounds in mony, besides what offices, lands, and reversions, to others, that it is a mercy they gave not away the whole land, and liberty, of England. The Earl of Clare made a very bold and rational harangue, the King being present, against the King's sitting among the Lords, contrary to former precedents, during their debates; but he was not seconded. The King has this April prorogued, upon the Houses cavilling, and their harsh conferences concerning some bills, the Parliament from this April  
till

till the 16<sup>th</sup> of April, 1672. Sir John Coventry's Bill against Cutting Noses passed, and Obrian and Sir Thomas Sands, not appearing at the Old Baily by the time limited, stand attainted and outlawed, without possibility of pardon. The Duke of Buckingham is again one hundred and forty thousand pounds in debt, and, by this prorogation, his creditors have time to tear all his lands in pieces. The House of Commons has run almost to the end of their line, and are grown extreme chargeable to the King, and odious to the people. Lord St. John Marquess of Winchester's son, one of the House of Commons, Sir Robert Howard, Sir John Benet Lord Arlington's brother, Sir William Bucknoll the brewer, all of the House, in fellowship with some others of the city, have farmed the old customs, with the new act of Imposition upon Wines, and the Wine Licenses, at six hundred thousand pounds a year, to begin this Michaelmas. You may be sure they have covenants not to be losers. They have signed and sealed ten thousand pounds a year more to the Dutchess of Cleveland, who has likewise near ten thousand pounds a year out of the new farm of the country excise of Beer and Ale, five thousand pounds a year out of the Post Office, and, they say, the reversion of all the King's leases, the reversion of places all in the Custom House, the green wax, and, indeed, what not? All promotions, spiritual and temporal, pass under her cognizance. Buckingham runs out of all with the Lady Shrewsbury, by

whom he believes he had a son, to whom the King stood godfather; it dyed young Earl of Coventry, and was buried in the sepulchre of his fathers. The King of France made a warlike progresse this summer through his conquests of Flanders, but kept the peace there, and detains still the Dutchy of Lorain, and has stired up the German Princes against the free towns. The Duke of Brunswick has taken the town of Brunswick; and now the Bishop of Cullen is attacking the city of Colen. We truckle to France in all things, to the prejudice of our alliance and honour. Barclay is still Lieutenant of Ireland; but he was forced to come over to pay ten thousand pounds rent to his Landlady Cleveland. My Lord Angier, who bought of Sir George Carteret, for eleven thousand pounds, the Vicetreasureship of Ireland, worth five thousand pounds a year, is, betwixt knavery and foolery, turned out. Dutchess of York, and Prince Edgar, dead. None left but daughters. One Blud, outlawed for a plot to take Dublin Castle, and who seized on the Duke of Ormond here last year, and might have killed him, a most bold, and yet sober fellow, some months ago seized the crown and sceptre in the Tower, took them away, and if he had killed the keeper, might have carryed them clear off. He, being taken, astonished the King and Court, with the generosity, and wisdom, of his answers. He, and all his accomplices, for his sake, are discharged by the King, to the wonder of all.

Yours, &c.

*August 9, 1671.*



TO MR. WILLIAM RAMSDEN.

DEAR COUSIN,

I HAVE writ twice to you at Bourdeaux\*. I received one from you of the 1<sup>st</sup> of March. To satisfy your curiosity of our affairs, the Lord Lauderdale, the King's Commissioner for the Parliament of Scotland, returned hither some few days before our sitting down the 14<sup>th</sup> of February. He had passed there, through the weakness of the presbyterian and episcopal parties, an act, giving the King absolute power to dispose of all things in Religious Matters; and another Act for settling a Militia of twenty thousand foot, and horse proportionable, to march into England, Ireland, or any part of the King's dominions, whenever his person, power, authority, or greatness was concerned; and a third, empowering his Majesty to name Commissioners of Scotland, to treat with other of England, on the union of the two nations: for which service he was received with extraordinary favour by the King, and introduced into the cabinet council, and is ripe for farther honours at a due season. By other parties these affairs were discourfied of according to their several interests; and many talked that he deserved an halter, rather than a garter, and were meditating

\* Mr. William Ramsden was a great adventurer in trade, and a capital merchant; it is therefore probable some mercantile affairs called him to Bourdeaux.

ting how, he not being an English peer, they might impeach him in Parliament. Now for the affairs of Ireland. About the same time the King had resolved to recal the Lord Roberts back, his friends were representing him daily to his Majesty on all occasions, in the worst character; and he himself, tired out with continual checks and countermands hence, in matters which he thought were agreed to him before he went, wrote a short letter to the King, desiring to be dismissed from all employment whatever, which should be his last request. The King took him at his word, and ordered the Lord Barclay, a man unthought of, to go Lord Lieutenant, which he does as soon as we rise, and then the other returns to tell his tale here, and to retire into the country, and will, as is thought, relinquish the privy seal. You know that we having voted the King, before Christmas, four hundred thousand pounds, and no more; and enquiring severely into ill management, and being ready to adjourn ourselves till February, his Majesty, fortified by some undertakers of the meanest of our House, threw up all as nothing, and prorogued us from the first of December till the fourteenth of February. All that interval there was great and numerous caballing among the courtiers. The King also all the while examined at council the reports from the Commissioners of Accounts, where they were continually discountenanced, and treated rather as offenders than judges. In this posture we met, and the King, being

exceedingly necessitous for money, spoke to us *stylo minaci* & *imperatorio*; and told us the inconveniences which would fall on the nation by want of a supply should not ly at his door; that we must not revive any discord betwixt the Lords and us; that he himself had examined the accounts, and found every penny to have been employed in the war; and he recommended the Scotch union. The Garroway party appeared with the usual vigour, but the country gentlemen appeared not in their true number the first day: so, for want of seven voices, the first blow was against them. When we began to talk of the Lords, the King sent for us alone, and recommended a rasure of all proceedings. The same thing you know that we proposed at first. We presently ordered it, and went to tell him so the same day, and to thank him. At coming down, (a pretty ridiculous thing!) Sir Thomas Clifford carryed Speaker and Mace, and all members there, into the King's cellar, to drink his health. The King sent to the Lords more peremptoryly, and they, with much grumbling, agreed to the rasure. When the Commissioners of Accounts came before us, sometimes we heard them *pro formâ*, but all falls to dirt. The terrible Bill against Conventicles is sent up to the Lords; and we and the Lords, as to the Scotch busyness, have desired the King to name English Commissioners to treat, but nothing they do to be valid, but on a report to Parliament, and an act to confirm. We are now, as we think, within a week of rising.

rising. They are making mighty alterations in the Conventicle Bill, (which, as we sent up, is the quintessence of arbitrary malice) and sit whole days, and yet proceed but by inches, and will, at the end, probably affix a Scotch clause of the King's power in externals. So the fate of the Bill is uncertain, but must probably pass, being the price of money. The King told some eminent citizens, who applied to him against it, that they must address themselves to the Houses, that he must not disoblige his friends; and if it had been in the power of their friends, he had gone without money. There is a Bill in the Lords to encourage people to buy all the King's fee-farm rents; so he is resolved once more to have money enough in his pocket, and live on the common for the future. The great Bill begun in the Lords, and which makes more ado than ever any act in this Parliament did, is for enabling Lord Ros, long since divorced in the spiritual court, and his children declared illegitimate by Act of Parliament, to marry again. Anglesey and Ashly, who study and know their interests as well as any gentlemen at court, and whose sons have married two sisters of Ros, inheritrixes if he has no issue, yet they also drive on the Bill with the greatest vigour. The King is for the Bill: the Duke of York, and all the Papist Lords, and all the Bishops, except Cofins, Reynolds, and Wilkins, are against it. They sat all Thursday last, without once rising, till almost ten at night, in most solemn and memorable de-



bate, whether it should be read the second time, or thrown out. At last, at the question, there were forty-two persons and six proxys against it, and forty-one persons and fifteen proxys for it. If it had not gone for it, the Lord Arlington had a power in his pocket from the King to have nulled the proxys, if it had been to the purpose. It was read the second time yesterday, and, on a long debate whether it should be committed, it went for the Bill by twelve odds, in persons and proxys. The Duke of York, the bishops, and the rest of the party, have entered their protests, on the first day's debate, against it. Is not this fine work? This Bill must come down to us. It is my opinion that Lauderdale at one ear talks to the King of Monmouth, and Buckingham at the other of a new Queen. It is also my opinion that the King was never since his coming in, nay, all things considered, no King since the conquest, so absolutely powerful at home, as he is at the present; nor any Parliament, or places so certainly and constantly supplied with men of the same temper. In such a conjuncture, dear Will, what probability is there of my doing any thing to the purpose? The King would needs take the Duke of Albemarle out of his son's hand to bury him at his own charges. It is almost three months, and he yet lyes in the dark unburied, and no talk of him. He left twelve thousand pounds a year, and near two hundred thousand pounds in money. His wife dyed some twenty days after him; she layed in state, and  
was

was buried, at her son's expence, in Queen Elizabeth's Chapel. And now,

*Disce, puer, virtutem ex me verumque laborem,  
Fortunam ex aliis.*

March 21, 1670.

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TO WILLIAM RAMSDEN, ESQ.

DEAR WILL,

**T**HE Parliament are still proceeding, but not much advanced on their eight hundred thousand pounds Bill on money at interest, offices, and lands; and the Excise Bills valued at four hundred thousand pounds a year. The first for the navy, which scarce will be set out. The last to be for paying one million three hundred thousand pounds, which the king owes at interest, and perhaps may be given for four, five, or six years, as the House chances to be in humour. But an accident happened which liked to have spoiled all: Sir John Coventry having moved for an imposition on the playhouses, Sir John Berkenhead, to excuse them, sayd they had been of great service to the King. Upon which Sir John Coventry desired that gentleman to explain whether he meant the men or women players. Hereupon it is imagined, that, the House adjourning from  
Tuesday

Tuesday before till Thursday after Christmas-day, on the very Tuesday night of the adjournment twenty-five of the Duke of Monmouth's troop, and some few foot, layed in wait from ten at night till two in the morning, by Suffolk-street, and as he returned from the Cock, where he supped, to his own house, they threw him down, and with a knife cut off almost all the end of his nose; but company coming made them fearful to finish it, so they marched off. Sir Thomas Sands, lieutenant of the troop, commanded the party; and Obrian, the Earl of Inchequin's son, was a principal actor. The court hereupon sometimes thought to carry it with an high hand, and question Sir John for his words, and maintain the action. Sometimes they flagged in their counsels. However the King commanded Sir Thomas Clarges, and Sir W. Pultney, to release Wroth and Lake, who were two of the actors, and taken. But the night before the House met they surrendered him again. The House being but fullen the next day, the Court did not oppose adjourning for some days longer till it was filled. Then the House went upon Coventry's busyness, and voted that they would go upon nothing else whatever till they had passed a Bill, as they did, for Sands, Obrian, Parry, and Reeves, to come in by the sixteenth of February, or else be condemned, and never to be pardoned, but by an express Act of Parliament, and their names therein inserted, for fear of being pardoned in some general act of grace. Farther,

ther, all such actions, for the future, on any man felony, without clergy; and who shall otherwise strike or wound any parliament-man, during his attendance, or going or coming, imprisonment for a year, treble damages, and incapacity. This Bill having in some few days been dispatched to the Lords, the House has since gone on in grand Committee upon the first eight hundred thousand pounds Bill, but are not yet half way. But now the Lords, instead of the sixteenth of February, put twenty-five days after the King's royal assent, and that registered in their journal; they disagree in several other things, but adhere in that first, which is most material. Adhere, in this place, signifies not to be retracted, and excludes a free conference. So that this week the Houses will be in danger of splitting, without much wisdom or force. For considering that Sir Thomas Sands was the very person sent to Clarges and Pultney, that Obrian was concealed in the Duke of Monmouth's lodgings, that Wroth and Lake were bayled at the sessions by order from Mr. Attorney, and that all persons and things are perfectly discovered, that act will not be passed without great consequence. George's father obliges you much in Tangier. Prince Edgar is dying. The Court is at the highest pitch of want and luxury, and the people full of discontent. Remember me to yourselves.

To



TO WILLIAM RAMSDEN, Esq.

DEAR WILL,

**I** Think I have not told you that, on our Bill of Subsidy, the Lord Lucas made a fervent bold speech against our prodigality in giving, and the weak looseness of the government, the King being present; and the Lord Clare another to persuade the King that he ought not to be present. But all this had little encouragement, not being seconded. Copys going about every where, one of them was brought into the Lords House, and Lord Lucas was asked whether it was his. He sayd part was, and part was not. Thereupon they took advantage, and sayed it was a libel even against Lucas himself. On this they voted it a libel, and to be burned by the hangman. Which was done; but the sport was, the hangman burned the Lords order with it. I take the last quarrel betwixt us and the Lords to be as the ashes of that speech. Doubtless you have heard, before this time, how Monmouth, Albemarle, Dunbane, and seven or eight gentlemen, fought with the watch, and killed a poor bedle. They have all got their pardons, for Monmouth's sake; but it is an act of great scandal.

The King of France is at Dunkirke. We have no fleet out, though we gave the Subsidy Bill, valued at eight hundred thousand pounds, for that purpose. I believe indeed  
he

he will attempt nothing on us, but leave us to dy a natural death. For indeed never had poor nation so many complicated, mortal, incurable, diseases. You know the Dutchess of York is dead. All gave her for a Papist. I think it will be my lot to go on an honest fair employment into Ireland. Some have smelt the court of Rome at that distance. There I hope I shall be out of the smell of our.

Your's, &c.

TO WILLIAM RAMSDEN, Esq.

DEAREST WILL,

**I** Wrote to you two letters, and payd for them from the posthouse here at Westminster; to which I have had no answer. Perhaps they miscarried. I sent you an answer to the only letter I received from Bourdeaux, and having put it into Mr. Nelthorp's hand, I doubt not but it came to your. To proceed. The same day my letter bore date there was an extraordinary thing done. The King, about ten o'clock, took boat, with Lauderdale only, and two ordinary attendants, and rowed awhile as towards the bridge, but soon turned back to the Parliament stairs, and so went up into the House of Lords, and took his seat. Almost all of them were amazed, but all seemed so; and the Duke of York especially was very much surprized. Being sat, he

told them it was a privilege he claimed from his ancestors to be present at their deliberations. That therefore, they should not, for his coming, interrupt their debates, but proceed, and be covered. They did so. It is true that this has been done long ago, but it is now so old, that it is new, and so disused, that at any other, but so bewitched a time as this, it would have been looked on as an high usurpation, and breach of privilege. He indeed sat still, for the most part, and interposed very little; sometimes a word or two. But the most discerning opinion was, that he did herein as he rowed, for having had his face first to the Conventicle Bill, he turned short to the Lord Rofs's. So that, indeed, it is credible, the King, in prospect of diminishing the Duke of York's influence in the Lords' House, in this, or any future matter, resolved, and wisely enough at present, to weigh up and lighten the Duke's efficacy, by coming himself in person. After three or four days continuance, the Lords were very well used to the King's presence, and sent the Lord Steward, and Lord Chamberlain, to him, when they might wait, as an House on him, to render their humble thanks for the honour he did them. The hour was appointed them, and they thanked him, and he took it well. So this matter, of such importance on all great occasions, seems riveted to them, and us, for the future, and to all posterity. Now the Lord Rofs's Bill came in order to another debate, and the King present. Nevertheless the debate  
lasted

lasted an entire day; and it passed by very few voices. The King has ever since continued his session among them, and says it is better than going to a play. In this session the Lords sent down to us a proviso for the King, that would have restored him to all civil or ecclesiastical prerogatives which his ancestors had enjoyed at any time since the Conquest. There was never so compendious a piece of absolute universal tyranny. But the Commons made them ashamed of it, and retrenched it. The Parliament was never so embarrassed, beyond recovery. We are all venal cowards, except some few. What plots of state will go on this interval I know not. There is a new set of justices of peace framing through the whole kingdom. The governing cabal, since Ross's busyness, are Buckingham, Lauderdale, Ashly, Orery, and Trevor. Not but the other cabal too have seemingly sometimes their turn. Madame, our King's sister, during the King of France's progress in Flanders, is to come as far as Canterbury. There will doubtless be family counsels then. Some talk of a French Queen to be then invented for our King. Some talk of a sister of Denmark; others of a good virtuous Protestant here at home. The King disavows it; yet he has slyed in publick, he knew not why a woman may not be divorced for barrenness, as a man for impotency. The Lord Barclay went on Monday last for Ireland, the King to Newmarket. God keep, and increase you, in all things.

Your's, &c.

*April 14, 1670.*

3 H 2



TO WILLIAM RAMSDEN, Esq.

DEAR WILL,

I Need not tell you I am always thinking of you. All that has happened, which is remarkable, since I wrote, is as follows: The Lieutenancy of London, chiefly Sterlin, the Mayor, and Sir J. Robinson, alarmed the King continually with the Conventicles there. So the King sent them strict and large powers. The Duke of York every Sunday would come over thence to look to the peace. To say truth, they met in numerous open assemblies, without any dread of government. But the train bands in the city, and soldiery in Southwark and suburbs, harassed and abused them continually; they wounded many, and killed some quakers especially while they took all patiently. Hence arose two things of great remark. The Lieutenancy, having got orders to their mind, pick out Hays and Jekill, the innocentest of the whole party, to shew their power on. They offer them illegal bonds of five thousand pounds a man, which if they would not enter into, they must go to prison. So they were committed, and at last (but it is a very long story) got free. Some friends engaged for them. The other was the tryal of Pen and Mead, quakers, at the Old Baily. The jury not finding them guilty, as the Recorder and Mayor would have had them, they were kept without meat or drink some three days, till almost starved, but would

not

not alter their verdict ; so fined and imprisoned. There is a book out which relates all the passages, which were very pertinent, of the prisoners, but prodigiously barbarous by the Mayor and Recorder. The Recorder, among the rest, commended the Spanish Inquisition, saying it would never be well till we had something like it. The King had occasion for sixty thousand pounds. Sent to borrow it of the city. Sterlin, Robinson, and all the rest of that faction, were at it many a week, and could not get above ten thousand. The fanatics, under persecution, served his Majesty. The other party, both in court and city, would have prevented it. But the King protested mony would be acceptable. So the city patched up, out of the chamber, and other ways, twenty thousand pounds. The fanatics, of all sorts, forty thousand. The King, though against many of his council, would have the Parliament sit this twenty-fourth of October. He, and the Keeper spoke of nothing but to have mony. Some one million three hundred thousand pounds, to pay off the debts at interest ; and eight hundred thousands for a brave navy next spring. Both speeches forbid to be printed, for the King said very little, and the Keeper, it was thought, too much in his politic simple discourse of foreign affairs. The House was thin and obsequious. They voted at first they would supply him, according to his occasions, *Nemine*, as it was remarked, *contradicente* ; but few affirmatives, rather a silence as of men

ashamed and unwilling. Sir R. Howard, Seymour, Temple, Car, and Hollis, openly took leave of their former party, and fell to head the King's busyness. There is like to be a terrible Act of Conventicles. The Prince of Orange here is much made of. The King owes him a great deal of mony. The Paper is full.

I am your's, &c.

*Nov. 28, 1670.*

TO WILLIAM RAMSDEN, Esq.

DEAR WILL,

**A**FFAIRS begin to alter, and men talk of a peace with Holland, and taking them into our protection; and it is my opinion it will be before Michaelmas, for some reasons not fit to write. We cannot have a peace with France and Holland both. The Dutch are now brought very low; but Amsterdam, and some other provinces, are resolved to stand out to the last. De-wit is stabbed, and dead of his wounds. It was at twelve a clock at night, the 11<sup>th</sup> of this month, as he came from the council at the Hague. Four men wounded him with their swords. But his own letter next morning to the States says nothing appeared mortal. The whole Province of Utrecht is yielded up. No man can conceive the condition of the State of Holland, in this juncture, unless he can at the same time

time conceive an earthquake, an hurricane, and the deluge. France is potent and subtle. Here have been several fires of late. One at St. Catharine's, which burned about six score or two hundred houses, and some seven or eight ships. Another in Bishopsgate-street. Another in Cricchet Fryars. Another in Southwark; and some elsewhere: You may be sure all the old talk is hereupon revived. There was the other day, though not on this occasion, a severe proclamation issued out against all who shall vent false news, or discourse ill concerning affairs of state. So that in writing to you I run the risque of making a breach in the commandment.

Your, &c.

*June, 1672.*

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TO WILLIAM RAMSDEN\*, Esq.

DEAR SIR,

**I** Have now before me yours of the 17<sup>th</sup> of June, with the inclosed paper of the 17<sup>th</sup> of May, to which I owed you a quicker return. Being resolved now to sequester myself

\* William and John Ramsden, Esqrs. were the sons of John Ramsden, who was Mayor of Hull, and died of the plague in the year 1637, and was buried by the Reverend Mr. Andrew Marvel (father to our author) who delivered from the pulpit, upon this mournful occasion, a most pathetic oration: His eldest son, Mr. John Ramsden, was twice chosen member for Hull, and Mr. William was Mayor thereof, and the first Alderman that resigned by fine.



self one whole day at Highgate, I shall write four whole sides (if my spirit will hold out) in answer to your kind letter, and to atone for my so long unaffected silence.

And now, Will, I have cast it so, that I can give you an account of the business of Parliament last sitting. If it should seem to come too late, it is but imagining yourself in the East Indies, and it could not have come sooner. Nor is there any philosophical difference betwixt the ignorance or knowledge of these publick matters. The Treasurer, Lauderdale, and I should have said the Duke of York, had, as they generally have, the great stroke in our counsels. It seemed necessary for the King's affairs, who always, but now more, wants money, the Parliament should meet. Lauderdale therefore, and the Treasurer Coke, voted so obnoxious to the Parliament, (the second foreseeing himself to have many enemys) that they were forced to make a most strict league with the bishops, and the whole old cavalier party, in order to their own security, and the King's business, and for the Duke of York, who ought to be against the Parliament's meeting. They persuaded him, that, in an Act for taking the Popish Test, he should be exempted by particular proviso. And though they two could have been content the meeting should have been put off, so the blame might have layed at the Duke's door, yet he thought himself as able to abide the brunt as they were, and so let  
it

it take its chance ; for there is no real union betwixt any of them ; but they shuffle and cut every dealing. In order to make their episcopal cavalier party, they contrived before hand a politic test to be enacted, and then taken by all Members of Parliament, and all officers ; though there lay an hook too under that, for after such an Act they thought another Parliament might safely be called, if this proved refractory. Among other chimæras, they discoursed of none having any beneficial offices but cavaliers, or sons of cavaliers. But, for more pageantry, the old King's statue on horseback, of brass, was bought, and to be set up at Charing-Cross, which hath been doing longer than Viner's, but does not yet see the light. The old King's body was to be taken up, to make a perfect resurrection of loyalty, and to be reinterred with great magnificence ; but that sleeps. But principally the laws were to be severely executed, and reinforced against Fanatics and Papists ; Proclamations issuing a month, which is always time enough, before the fitting, to that purpose. And the King should ask, for-footh, no money, but only mention the building and re-fitting of ships. And thus the Parliament meets, and the King tells them 'tis only to see what farther is wanted for religion and property. The Commons were very difficultly brought to give him thanks for his gracious expressions. Strait they poured in Bills for *Habeas Corpus* against imprisonment beyond sea ; treason to levy mony without, or

longer than, consent of Parliament; and that it should be lawful to resist. To vacate any Member of Parliament, and issue a new writ, who, hereafter being chosen, should accept a beneficial office. A new Popish test for Book-Houses, else to be incapable. New test, and way of proceeding, for speedy conviction of Papists, and which is worse, for appropriating the King's customs to the use of the navy; and, worse of all, voted one morning to proceed on no more Bills before the recess; which the King intimated should be shortly, but to return in winter. Address upon address against Lauderdale. Articles of impeachment against the Treasurer, but which were blown off at last by great bribing. Several addresses for recalling our forces out of the French service. One day, in this last matter, upon dispute of telling right upon division, both parties grew so hot, that all order was lost; men came running confusedly up to the table, grievously affronted one by another; every man's hand on his hilt; quieted though at last by the present prudence of the Speaker; and every man, in his place, was obliged to stand up, and engage his honour, not to resent any thing of that day's proceeding.

Shaftsbury of the Lords, Cavendish and Newport of the Commons, are forbid the Court, Strangways, a flagrant churchman, made privy counsellor. Scaramuccio\* acting daily

\* Performing Mass.

daily in the hall of Whitehall, and all sorts of people flocking thither, and paying their money as at a common play-house; nay even a twelve-penny gallery is builded for the convenience of his Majesty's poorer subjects.

Dear Will, present my kind love and service to your wife. O when will you have arrived at what is necessary? Make other serviceable instruments that you may not be a drudge, but govern all by your understanding. When I hear you have received this letter, I have another of more pleasure ready for you.

July 24, 1675.

*P. S.* Strangways, a man of seven or eight thousand pounds a year, having, as I told you, been lately made privy counsellor, is dead, like a fool. The same post brings it certain. He was gone into the country, swoln with his new honour, and with venom against the fanatics. He had set the informers to work, and dyed suddenly, notwithstanding his church's letany, *from sudden death, good Lord, &c.* He was their great pillar in the House of Commons. Thus holy church goes to wrack on all sides. Never were poor men exposed and abused all the session, as the bishops were by the Duke of Buckingham, upon the test; never the like, nor so infinitely pleasant: and no men were ever grown so odiously ridiculous.



Dr. Burnet, one of Lauderdale's former confidants, witnessed, at the Commons bar, that, discoursing to Lauderdale of the danger of using such severities against the non-conformists in Scotland, while the King was engaged in war abroad, Lauderdale said, *He wished they would rebel.* How so? Why, *He would bring over the Irish Papists to cut their throats.* Farther, concerning the Parliament, *if they be refractory, I will bring the Scotch army upon them:* But it will be difficult to persuade them. *No, the prey of England will draw in a great many.* Nevertheless Lauderdale is in as much favour as ever.

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TO WILLIAM RAMSDEN, Esq.

DEAR WILL,

I Have time to tell you thus much of publick matters. The patience of the Scots, under their oppressions, is not to be paralleled in any history. They still continue their extraordinary and numerous, but peaceable, field conventicles. One Mr. Welch is their arch-minister, and the last letter I saw tells, people were going forty miles to hear him. There came out, about Christmas last, here, a large book concerning *the growth of popery and arbitrary government.* There have been great rewards offered in private, and considerable in the Gazette, to any one who could inform of the

the author or printer, but not yet discovered. Three or four printed books since have described, as near as it was proper to go, the man being a Member of Parliament, Mr. Marvell to have been the author; but if he had, surely he should not have escaped being questioned in Parliament, or some other place. My good wishes attend you.

Yours, &c.

June 10, 1678.

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TO SIR JOHN TROTT.

HONOURED SIR,

I Have not that vanity to believe, if you weigh your late loss by the common ballance, that any thing I can write to you should lighten your resentments: nor if you measure things by the rules of christianity, do I think it needful to comfort you in your duty and your son's happiness. Only having a great esteem and affection for you, and the grateful memory of him that is departed being still green and fresh upon my spirit, I cannot forbear to inquire, how you have stood the second shock at your sad meeting of friends in the country. I know that the very sight of those who have been witnesses of our better fortune, doth but serve to reinforce a calamity. I know the contagion of grief, and infection of tears, and especially when it runs in a blood. And I myself could sooner imitate than blame those innocent

cent relentings of nature, so that they spring from tenderness only and humanity, not from an implacable sorrow. The tears of a family may flow together like those little drops that compact the rainbow, and if they be placed with the same advantage towards Heaven as those are to the sun, they too have their splendor; and like that bow, while they unbend into seasonable showers, yet they promise, that there shall not be a second flood. But the dissoluteness of grief, the prodigality of sorrow, is neither to be indulged in a man's self, nor complied with in others. If that were allowable in these cases, Eli's was the readiest way, and highest compliment of mourning, who fell back from his seat and broke his neck. But neither does that precedent hold. For though he had been Chancellor, and in effect King of Israel, for so many years, (and such men value, as themselves, their losses at an higher rate than others) yet, when he heard that Israel was overcome, that his two sons Hophni and Phineas were slain in one day, and saw himself so without hope of issue, and which embittered it farther, without succession to the government, yet he fell not till the news that the ark of God was taken. I pray God that we may never have the same parallel perfected in our publick concernments. Then we shall need all the strength of grace and nature to support us. But on a private loss, and sweetned with so many circumstances as yours, to be impatient, to be uncomfortable, would be to dispute with God. Though an only son be  
ineestimable,

ineestimable, yet it is like Jonah's sin, to be angry at God for the withering of his shadow. Zipporah, though the delay had almost cost her husband his life, yet, when he did but circumcise her son, in a womanish peevishness reproached Moses as a bloody husband. But if God take the son himself, but spare the father, shall we say, that he is a bloody God? He that gave his own son, may he not take ours? It is pride that makes a rebel; and nothing but the over-weening of ourselves and our own things that raises us against Divine Providence. Whereas Abraham's obedience was better than sacrifice. And if God please to accept both, it is indeed a farther trial, but a greater honour. I could say over upon this beaten occasion most of those lessons of morality and religion which have been so often repeated, and are as soon forgotten. We abound with precept, but we want examples. You, Sir, that have all these things in your memory, and the clearness of whose judgment is not to be obscured by any greater interposition, should be exemplary to others in your own practice. 'Tis true, it is an hard task to learn and teach at the same time. And, where yourselves are the experiment, it is as if a man should dissect his own body, and read the anatomy lecture. But I will not heighten the difficulty while I advise the attempt. Only, as in difficult things, you would do well to make use of all that may strengthen and assist you; the word of God; the society of good men; and the books of the ancients; there is one way



more, which is by diversion, business, and activity; which are also necessary to be used in their season. But I myself, who live to so little purpose, can have little authority or ability to advise you in it, who are a person that are and may be much more so generally useful. All that I have been able to do since, hath been to write this sorry \* Elogy of your son, which if it be as good as I could wish, it is as yet no indecent employment. However, I know you will take any thing kindly from your very affectionate friend, and most humble servant.

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HIS MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH TO  
BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

**I** TOLD you at our last meeting, the winter was the fittest time for business, and truly I thought so, till my Lord Treasurer assured me the spring was the best season for fallads and subsidies. I hope therefore that April will not prove so unnatural a month, as not to afford some kind showers on my parched exchequer, which gapes for want of them. Some of you, perhaps, will think it dangerous to make me too rich; but I do not fear it; for I promise you faithfully, whatever you give me I will always want; and  
although

\* Edmundi Trotii Epitaphium, see Second Vol.

although in other things my word may be thought a slender authority, yet in that, you may rely on me, I will never break it.

## MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

I can bear my straits with patience; but my Lord Treasurer does protest to me, that the revenue, as it now stands, will not serve him and me too. One of us must pinch for it, if you do not help me. I must speak freely to you, I am under bad circumstances, for besides my harlots in service, my *reformado* concubines lye heavy upon me. I have a passable good estate, I confess, but, God's-fish, I have a great charge upon't. Here's my Lord Treasurer can tell, that all the money designed for next summer's guards must, of necessity, be applyed to the next year's cradles and swadling-cloths. What shall we do for ships then? I hint this only to you, it being your busyness, not mine. I know, by experience, I can live without ships. I lived ten years abroad without, and never had my health better in my life; but how you will be without, I leave to yourselves to judge, and therefore hint this only by the bye: I do not insist upon it. There's another thing I must press more earnestly, and that is this: It seems a good part of my revenue will expire in two or three years, except you will be pleased to continue it. I have to say for't, pray, why did you give me so much as you have done, unless you resolve to give on as fast as I call

for it? The nation hates you already for giving so much, and I'll hate you too, if you do not give me more. So that if you stick not to me, you must not have a friend in England. On the other hand, if you will give me the revenue I desire, I shall be able to do those things for your religion and liberty, that I have had long in my thoughts, but cannot effect them without a little more money to carry me through. Therefore look to't, and take notice, that if you do not make me rich enough to undo you, it shall lie at your doors. For my part I wash my hands on't. But that I may gain your good opinion, the best way is to acquaint you what I have done to deserve it, out of my royal care for your religion and your property. For the first, my proclamation is a true picture of my mind. He that cannot, as in a glass, see my zeal for the church of England, does not deserve any farther satisfaction, for I declare him wilful, abominable, and not good. Some may, perhaps, be startled, and cry, how comes this sudden change? To which I answer, I am a changling, and that's sufficient, I think. But to convince men farther, that I mean what I say, there are these arguments.

First, I tell you so, and you know I never break my word.

Secondly, My Lord Treasurer says so, and he never told a lye in his life.

Thirdly, My Lord Lauderdale will undertake it for me ; and I should be loath, by any act of mine, he should forfeit the credit he has with you.

If you desire more instances of my zeal, I have them for you. For example, I have converted my natural sons from Popery ; and I may say, without vanity, it was my own work, so much the more peculiarly mine than the begetting them. 'Twould do one's heart good to hear how prettily George can read already in the Pfalter. They are all fine children, God blefs 'em, and so like me in their understandings ! But, as I was saying, I have, to please you, given a pension to your favourite my Lord Lauderdale ; not so much that I thought he wanted it, as that you would take it kindly. I have made Carwell dutchefs of Portsmouth, and married her sister to the Earl of Pembroke. I have, at my brother's request, sent my Lord Inchequin into Barbary, to settle the Protestant Religion among the Moors, and an English Interest at Tangier. I have made Crew, Bishop of Durham, and, at the first word of my Lady Portsmouth, Prideaux, Bishop of Chichester. I know not, for my part, what factious men would have ; but this I am sure of, my predecessors never did any thing like this, to gain the good will of their subjects. So much for your religion, and now for your property. My behaviour to the Bankers is a publick instance ; and the pro-



ceedings between Mrs. Hyde and Mrs. Sutton for private ones, are such convincing evidences, that it will be needless to say any more to't.

I must now acquaint you, that, by my Lord Treasurer's advice, I have made a considerable retrenchment upon my expences in candles and charcoal, and do not intend to stop there, but will, with your help, look into the late embezzlements of my dripping-pans and kitchen-stuff; of which, by the way, upon my conscience, neither my Lord Treasurer nor my Lord Lauderdale are guilty. I tell you my opinion; but if you should find them dabling in that busyness, I tell you plainly, I leave 'em to you; for, I would have the world to know, I am not a man to be cheated.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

I desire you to believe me as you have found me; and I do solemnly promise you, that whatsoever you give me shall be specially managed with the same conduct, trust, sincerity and prudence, that I have ever practised, since my happy restoration.

A N

## A N E P I T A P H.

**H**ERE under rests the body of — who in his lifetime reflected all the lustre he derived from his family, and recompensed the honour of his descent by his virtue; for being of an excellent nature, he cultivated it by all the best means of improvement: nor left any spot empty for the growth of pride or vanity. So that, although he was polished to the utmost perfection, he appeared only as a mirror for others, not himself, to look in. Cheerfull without gall, sober without formality, prudent without stratagem, and religious without affectation. He neither neglected, nor yet pretended to busyness; but as he loved not to make work, so not to leave it imperfect. He understood, but was not enamoured of pleasure. He never came before in injury, nor behind in courtesy: nor found sweetness in any revenge but that of gratitude. He so studiously discharged the obligations of a subject, a son, a friend, and an husband, as if those relations could have consisted only on his part. Having thus walked upright, and easily through this world, nor contributed by any excess to his mortality; yet death took him: wherein therefore, as his last duty, he signalized the more his former life with all the decency and recumbence of a departing Christian.



AN ACCOUNT OF THE  
G R O W T H   O F   P O P E R Y  
A N D  
ARBITRARY GOVERNMENT  
I N  
E N G L A N D.

More particularly from the long Prorogation of *November*, 1675,  
ending the 15th of *February* 1676, till the last Meeting  
of Parliament the 16th of *July* 1677.

By A N D R E W M A R V E L L.

Printed at AMSTERDAM in the Year M.DC.LXXVII.





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A N

# Account of the Growth of Popery,

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## Arbitrary Government in *England*, &c.

**T**HERE has now for diverse years a design been carried on to change the lawfull Government of England into an absolute Tyranny, and to convert the established Protestant Religion into downright Popery: than both which, nothing can be more destructive or contrary to the interest and happinesse, to the constitution and being of the king and kingdom.

For if first we consider the state, the kings of England rule not upon the same terms with those of our neighbour nations, who, having by force or by adresse usurped that due share which their people had in the government, are now for some ages in the possession of an arbitrary power (which yet no prescription can make legall) and exercise it over their persons and estates in a most tyrannical manner.

But here the subjects retain their proportion in the Legislature; the very meanest Commoner of England is represented in Parliament, and is a party to those laws by which the Prince is sworn to govern himself and his people. No money is to be levied but by the common consent. No man is for life, limb, goods, or liberty, at the Sovereigns discretion: but we have the same right (modestly understood) in our propriety that the prince hath in his regality; and in all cases where the King is concerned, we have our just remedy as against any private person of the neighbourhood, in the Courts of Westminster Hall or in the High Court of Parliament. His very Prerogative is no more than what the law has determined. His Broad Seal, which is the legitimate stamp of his pleasure, yet is no longer current, than upon the trial it is found to be legal. He cannot commit any person by his particular warrant. He cannot himself be witness in any cause: the ballance of publick justice being so delicate, that not the hand only but even the breath of the Prince would turn the scale. Nothing is left to the King's will, but all is subjected to his authority: by which means it follows that he can do no wrong, nor can he receive wrong; and a King of England keeping to these measures, may, without arrogance, be said to remain the only intelligent Ruler over a rational People. In recompense therefore and acknowledgment of so good a government under his influence, his person is most sacred and inviolable;

violable ; and whatsoever excesses are committed against so high a trust, nothing of them is imputed to him, as being free from the necessity or temptation, but his ministers only are accountable for all and must answer it at their perills. He hath a vast revenue constantly arising from the Hearth of the Householder, the Sweat of the Labourer, the Rent of the Farmer, the Industry of the Merchant, and consequently out of the Estate of the Gentleman : a large competence to defray the ordinary expense of the Crown, and maintain its lustre. And if any extraordinary occasion happen, or be but with any probable decency pretended, the whole land at whatsoever season of the year does yield him a plentiful harvest. So forward are his people's affections to give even to superfluity, that a forainer (or Englishman that hath been long abroad) would think they could neither will nor chuse, but that the asking of a supply were a meer formality, it is so readily granted. He is the fountain of all honours, and has moreover the distribution of so many profitable offices of the Household, of the Revenue, of State, of Law, of Religion, of the Navy (and, since his present Majesties time, of the Army) that it seems as if the Nation could scarce furnish honest men enow to supply all those employments. So that the Kings of England are in nothing inferior to other Princes, save in being more abridged from injuring their own subjects : but have as large a field as any of external felicity, wherein to exercise their own virtue, and so reward



and incourage it in others. In ſhort, there is nothing that comes nearer in Government to the Divine Perfection, then where the Monarch, as with us, injoys a capacity of doing all the good imaginable to mankind, under a difability to all that is evil.

And as we are thus happy in the conſtitution of our State, ſo are we yet more bleſſed in that of our Church; being free from that Romiſh yolk, which ſo great a part of Chriſtendom do yet draw and labour under. That Popery is ſuch a thing as cannot, but for want of a word to expreſs it, be called a Religion: nor is it to be mentioned with that civility which is otherwiſe decent to be uſed, in ſpeaking of the differences of humane opinion about Divine Matters. Were it either open Judaiſme, or plain Turkery, or honeſt Paganisme, there is yet a certain *bona fides* in the moſt extravagant Belief, and the ſincerity of an erroneous profeſſion may render it more pardonable: but this is a compound of all the three, an extract of whatſoever is moſt ridiculous and impious in them, incorporated with more peculiar abſurdities of its own, in which thoſe were deficient; and all this deliberately contrived, knowingly carried on by the bold impoſture of Prieſts under the name of Chriſtianity. The wiſdom of this fifth Religion, this laſt and inſolenteſt attempt upon the credulity of mankind, ſeems to me (though not ignorant otherwiſe of the times, degrees, and methods of its  
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progreſſe) principally to have conſiſted in their owning the Scriptures to be the Word of God, and the Rule of Faith and Manners, but in prohibiting at the ſame time their common uſe, or the reading of them in publick Churches but in a Latine tranſlation to the vulgar : there being no better or more rational way to fruſtrate the very deſign of the great Inſtitutor of Chriſtianity, who firſt planted it by the extraordinary gift of Tongues, then to forbid the uſe even of the ordinary languages. For having thus a book which is univerſally avowed to be of Divine Authority, but ſequeſtring it only into ſuch hands as were intruſted in the cheat, they had the opportunity to vitiate, ſuppreſſe, or interpret to their own profit thoſe Records by which the poor people hold their ſalvation. And this neceſſary point being once gained, there was thenceforward nothing ſo monſtrous to reaſon, ſo abhorring from morality, or ſo contrary to ſcripture, which they might not in prudence adventure on. The Idolatry (for, alas! it is neither better nor worſe) of adoring and praying to Saints and Angels, of worſhipping Pictures, Images and Reliques, incredible Miracles and palpable Fables to promote that veneration ; the whole Liturgy and Worſhip of the Bleſſed Virgin ; the ſaying of *Pater Noſters* and Creeds, to the honour of Saints, and of *Ave Mary's* too, not to her honour, but of others. The Publick Service, which they can ſpare to God among ſo many competitors, in an unknown tongue, and intangled with ſuch Veſtments,

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Consecrations, Exorcismes, Whisperings, Sprinklings, Censings, and phantastical Rites, Gesticulations, and Removals, so unbefeceming a Christian Office, that it represents rather the pranks and ceremonyes of Juglers and Conjurers. The Refusal of the Cup to the Laity; the necessity of the Priest's intention to make any of their Sacraments effectual; debarring their Clergy from Marriage; interdicting of Meats; Auricular Confession and Absolution, as with them practised; Penances, Pilgrimages, Purgatory, and Prayer for the dead. But above all their other devices, that Transubstantial solacisme, whereby that glorified Body, which at the same time they allow to be in Heaven, is sold again and crucified daily upon all the Altars of their Communion. For God indeed may now and then do a Miracle, but a Romish Priest can, it seems, work in one moment a thousand impossibilityes. Thus by a new and antisciptural Belief, compiled of Terrours to the Phanfy, Contradictions to Sense, and Impositions on the Understanding, their Laity have turned Tenants for their Souls, and in consequence tributary for their Estates to a more then omnipotent Priesthood.

I must indeed do them that right to avow that, out of an equitable consideration and recompense of so faithfull a slavery, they have discharged the people from all other services and dependance, infranchised them from all duty to  
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God or Man; infomuch that their feverer and more learned Divines, their Governors of Conscience, have so well instructed them in all the arts of circumventing their neighbour, and of colluding with Heaven, that, were the scholars as apt as their teachers, there would have been long since an end of all either true Piety, or common Honesty; and nothing left among them but authorized Hypocrisy, Licentiousness and Knavery; had not the naturall worth of the better sort, and the good simplicity of the meaner, in great measure preserved them. For nothing indeed but an extraordinary temper and ingenuity of spirit, and that too assisted by a diviner influence, could possibly restrain those within any the termes or laws of humanity, who at the same time own the Doctrine of their Casuists or the Authority of the Pope, as it is by him claimed and exercised. He by his Indulgences delivers soules out of the paines of the other world: so that who would refuse to be vicious here, upon so good security? He by his dispensation annuls contracts betwixt man and man, dissolves oaths between princes, or betwixt them and their people, and gives allowance in cases which God and nature prohibits. He, as Clerk of the spirituall market, hath set a rate upon all crimes: the more flagitious they are and abominable, the better commodities, and men pay onely an higher price as for greater rarities. So that it seemes as if the commands of God had been invented meerly to erect an office for the Pope; the worse Christians men are,



are, the better customers; and this Rome does by the same policy people its church, as the Pagan Rome did the city, by opening a sanctuary to all malefactors. And why not, if his power be indeed of such virtue and extent as is by him chalenged? That he is the Ruler over Angels, Purgatory and Hell. That his Tribunal and God's are all one. That all that God, he can do, *clave non errante*, and what he does is as God and not as man. That he is the univerfall Head of the Church; the sole Interpreter of Scripture, and Judge of Controversy. That he is above Generall Councils. That his Power is absolute, and his Decrees infallible. That he can change the very nature of things, making what is Just to be Unjust, and what is Vice to be Virtue. That all Laws are in the Cabinet of his Breast. That he can dispence with the New Testament to the great injury of the Divels. That he is Monarch of this World, and that he can dispose of Kingdoms and Empires as he pleases. Which things being granted, that stile of *Optimum Maximum & supremum numen in terris*, or that of *Dominus, Deus noster, Papa*, was no such extraordinary stroke of Courtship as we reckoned: but it was rather a great clownishness in him that treated so mighty a Prince under the simple title of *Vice-Deus*. The exercise of his dominion is in all points suitable to this his pretence. He antiquates the precepts of Christ as things only of good advice, not commanded: but makes it a mortall sin even to doubt of any part of his own Religion,

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and demands under paine of damnation the subjection of all Christians to his Papal authority: the denying of two things so reasonable as blind obedience to this power, and an implicate faith to his doctrine, being the most unpardonable crime, under his dispensation. He has indeed of late been somewhat more retentive than formerly as to his faculty of disposing of kingdomes, the thing not having succeeded well with him in some instances: but he laves the same claim still, continues the same inclination, and though velvet-headed hath the more itch to be pushing. And however in order to any occasion he keeps himself in breath always by cursing one prince or other upon every Maunday Thursday: nor is there any, whether prince or nation, that dissent from his usurpations, but are marked out under the notion of Hereticks to ruine and destruction whensoever he shall give the signal. That word of Heresy misapplied hath served him for so many ages to justify all the executions, assassinations, warrs, massacres, and devastations, whereby his faith hath been propagated; of which our times also have not wanted examples, and more is to be expected for the future. For by how much any thing is more false and unreasonable, it requires more cruelty to establish it: and to introduce that which is absurd, there must be somewhat done that is barbarous. But nothing of any sect in religion can be more recommended by all these qualities than the Papacy. The Pagans are excusable by their natural dark-

ness, without revelation. The Jews are tolerable, who see not beyond the Old Testament. Mahomet was so honest as to own what he would be at, that he himself was the greatest Prophet, and that his was a Religion of the Sword. So that these were all, as I may say, of another allegiance, and if enemys, yet not traytors: but the Pope avowing Christianity by profession, doth in doctrine and practise renonce it: and presuming to be the only Catholick, does persecute those to the death who dare worship the Author of their Religion instead of his pretended Vicegerent.

And yet there is nothing more evident, notwithstanding his most notorious forgeries and falsification of all writers, than that the Pope was for severall hundred of years an honest Bishop as other men are, and never so much as dreamed upon the Seven Hills of that universal power which he is now come to: nay was the first that opposed any such pretension. But some of them at last, growing wiser, by foisting a counterfeit donation of Constantine, and wresting another donation from our Saviour, advanced themselves in a weak, ignorant, and credulous age, to that Temporal and Spiritual Principality that they are now seised of. *Tu es Petrus, & super hanc Petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam.* Never was a Bishoprick and a verse of Scripture so improved by good management. Thus, by exercising in the quality of Christ's Vicar the publick function under an invisible prince, the Pope, like  
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the Maires of the Palace, hath set his master aside and delivered the government over to a new line of Papal succession. But who can, unlesse wilfully, be ignorant what wretched doings, what bribery, what ambition there are, how long the Church is without an head upon every vacancy, till among the crew of bandying Cardinalls the Holy Ghost have declared for a Pope of the French or Spanish Faction? It is a succession like that of the Egyptian Ox (the living idol of that country) who dying or being made away by the priests, there was a solemn and general mourning for want of a Deity ; until in their conclave they had found out another beast with the very same marks as the former, whom then they themselves adored and with great jubilee brought forth to the people to worship. Nor was that election a grosser reproach to human reason, then this is also to Christianity. Surely it is the greatest miracle of the Romish Church that it should still continue, and that in all this time the gates of Heaven should not prevaile against it.

It is almost unconceivable how princeſs can yet suffer a power so pernicious, and doctrine so destructive to all government. That so great a part of the land should be alienated and condemned to, as they call it, Pious Uses. That such millions of their people as the clergy, should, by remaining unmarried, either frustrate human nature if they live chafly, or, if otherwise, adulterate it. That they should



be priviledged from all labour, all publick service, and exempt from the power of all secular jurisdiction. That they, being all bound by strict oaths and vows of obedience to the Pope, should evacuate the fealty due to the soveraign. Nay, that not only the clergy but their whole people, if of the Romish perswasion, should be obliged to rebel at any time upon the Pope's pleasure. And yet how many of the neighbouring princes are content, or do chuse to reign, upon those conditions; which being so dishonorable and dangerous, surely some great and more weighty reason does cause them submit to. Whether it be out of personal fear, having heard perhaps of several attempts which the blind obedience of Popish zelotes hath executed against their princes. Or, whether aiming at a more absolute and tyrannical government, they think it still to be the case of Boniface and Phocas (an usurping emperour and an usurping bishop) and that, as other cheats, this also is best to be managed by confederacy. But, as farre as I can apprehend, there is more of sloth than policy on the princes side in this whole matter: and all that pretense of enslaving men by the assistance of religion more easily, is neither more nor lesse than when the Bramine, by having the first night of the bride, assures himself of her devotion for the future, and makes her more fit for the husband.

This reflection upon the state of our neighbours, in respect to religion, doth sufficiently illustrate our happineffe, and  
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spare me the labour of describing it further, than by the rule of contraryes: our church standing upon all points in a direct opposition to all the forementioned errors; our doctrine being true to the principles of the first Christian institution, and episcopacy being formed upon the primitive model, and no ecclesiastical power jostling the civil, but all concurring in common obedience to the sovereign. Nor therefore is there any, whether prince or nation, that can with less probability be reduced back to the Romish persuasion, than ours of England.

For, if first we respect our obedience to God, what appearance is there that, after so durable and general an enlightning of our minds with the sacred Truth, we should again put out our own eyes, to wander thorow the palpable darkness of that gross superstition? But forasmuch as most men are less concerned for their interest in heaven than on earth, this seeming the nearer and more certain, on this account also our alteration from the Protestant Religion is the more impossible; when beside the common ill examples and consequences of Popery observable abroad, whereby we might grow wise at the expense of our neighbours, we cannot but reflect upon our own experiments at home, which would make even fools docible: The whole reign of Queen Mary, in which the Papists made fewel of the Protestants: The excommunicating and deprivation of  
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Queen Elizabeth by the Pope, pursued with so many treasons and attempts upon her person, by her own subjects, and the invasion in eighty-eight by the Spanish; the two Breves of the Pope, in order to exclude King James from the succession to the crown, seconded by the Gunpowder-Treason: in the time of his late Majesty, King Charles the First, (besides what they contributed to the Civil War in England) the Rebellion and horrid Massacre in Ireland, and, which was even worse than that, their pretending that it was done by the King's Commission, and vouching the Broad Seal for their authority; the Pope's Nuncio assuming nevertheless and exercising there the temporal as well as spiritual power, granting out commissions under his own hand, breaking the treaties of peace between the King, and, as they then styled themselves, the confederate Catholics; heading two armies against the Marquess of Ormond, then Lord Lieutenant, and forcing him at last to quit the kingdom: all which ended in the ruine of his Majesties reputation, government, and person; which, but upon occasion of that rebellion, could never have happened. So that we may reckon the reigns of our late princes, by a succession of the popish treasons against them. And, if under his present Majesty we have as yet seen no more visible effects of the same spirit than the firing of London (acted by Hubert, hired by Piedelou, two Frenchmen) which remains a controversy, it is not to be attributed to the good nature or better principles of  
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of that sect, but to the wisdom of his Holyness ; who observes that we are not of late so dangerous Protestants as to deserve any special mark of his indignation, but that we may be made better use of to the weakning of those that are of our own religion, and that if he do not disturbe us, there are those among ourselves that are leading us into a fair way of reconciliation with him.

But those continued fresh instances, in relation to the crown, together with the Pope's claim of the temporal and immediate dominion of the kingdoms of England and Ireland, which he does so challenge, are a sufficient caution to the Kings of England ; and of the people ; there is as little hopes to seduce them, the Protestant Religion being so interwoven as it is with their secular interest. For the lands that were formerly given to superstitious uses, having first been applyed to the publick revenue, and afterwards by severall alienations and contracts distributed into private possession, the alteration of religion would necessarily introduce a change of property. *Nullum tempus occurrit Ecclesiæ*. It would make a general earthquake over the nation, and even now the Romish clergy on the other side of the water, snuffe up the favoury odour of so many rich abbies and monasteries that belonged to their predecessors. Hereby no considerable estate in England but must have a piece torn out of it upon the title of piety, and the rest subject



to be wholly forfeited upon the account of Heresy. Another Chimny Mony of the old Peter Pence must again be payed as tribute to the Pope, beside that which is established on his Majesty: and the people, instead of those moderate tithes that are with too much difficulty payed to their Protestant pastors, will be exposed to all the exactions of the court of Rome, and a thousand artifices by which in former times they were used to draine away the wealth of ours more than any other nation. So that in conclusion, there is no Englishman that hath a soul, a body, or an estate to save, that loves either God, his King, or his Country, but is by all those tenures bound, to the best of his power and knowledge, to maintaine the established Protestant Religion.

And yet, all this notwithstanding, there are those men among us, who have undertaken, and do make it their business, under so legal and perfect a government, to introduce a French slavery, and instead of so pure a religion, to establish the Roman idolatry: both and either of which are crimes of the highest nature. For, as to matter of government, if to murder the King be, as certainly it is, a fact so horrid, how much more hainous is it to assassinate the Kingdome? and as none will deny, that to alter our Monarchy into a Commonwealth were treason, so by the same fundamental rule, the crime is no lesse to make that Monarchy absolute.

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What is thus true in regard of the state, holds as well in reference to our religion. Former Parliaments have made it treason in whosoever shall attempt to seduce any one, the meanest of the King's subjects, to the Church of Rome: and this Parliament hath, to all penalties by the common or statute law, added incapacity for any man who shall presume to say that the King is a Papist or an Introducer of Popery. But what lawless and incapable miscreants then, what wicked traitors are those wretched men, who endeavour to pervert our whole Church, and to bring that about in effect, which even to mention is penal, at one Italian stroke attempting to subvert the government and religion, to kill the body and damn the soul of our nation.

Yet were these men honest old cavaliers that had suffered in his late Majesty's service, it were allowable in them, as oft as their wounds brake out at spring or fall, to think of a more arbitrary government, as a sovereign balsam for their aches, or to imagine that no weapon-salve but of the moss that grows on an enemies skul could cure them. Should they mistake this long Parliament also for rebels, and that, although all circumstances be altered, there were still the same necessity to fight it all over again in pure loyalty, yet their age and the times they have lived in, might excuse them. But those worthy gentlemen are too generous, too good Christians and subjects, too affectionate to the

good English government, to be capable of such an impression: whereas these conspiratours are such as have not one drop of Cavalier blood, or no bowels at least of a Cavalier in them; but have starved them, to revel and surfet upon their calamities, making their persons, and the very cause, by pretending to it themselves, almost ridiculous.

Or, were these conspiratours on the other side but avowed Papists, they were the more honest, the less dangerous, and the religion were answerable for the errors they might commit in order to promote it. Who is there but must acknowledge, if he do not commend the ingenuity (or by what better name I may call it) of Sir Thomas Strickland, Lord Bellassis, the late Lord Clifford and others, eminent in their several stations? These, having so long appeared the most zealous Sons of our Church, yet, as soon as the late test against Popery was enacted, tooke up the cross, quitted their present employments and all hopes of the future, rather than falsify their opinion: though otherwise men for quality, estate and abilities, whether in warre or peace, as capable and well deserving (without disparagement) as others that have the art to continue in offices. And above all his Royal Highness is to be admired for his unparalleled magnanimity on the same account: there being in all history perhaps no record of any Prince that ever changed his religion  
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in his circumstances. But these persons, that have since taken the worke in hand, are such as ly under no temptation of religion: secure men, that are above either honour or consciences; but obliged by all the most sacred tyes of malice and ambition to advance the ruin of the King and Kingdome, and qualified much better than others, under the name of good Protestants, to effect it.

And because it was yet difficult to find complices enough at home, that were ripe for so black a design, but they wanted a back for their edge; therefore they applyed themselves to France, that King being indowed with all those qualities, which in a Prince may passe for virtues, but in any private man, would be capital; and moreover so abounding in wealth that no man else could go to the price of their wickedness: to which considerations, adding that he is the Master of Absolute Dominion, the presumptive Monarch of Christendom, the declared Champion of Popery, and the hereditary, natural, inveterate enemy of our King and Nation, he was in all respects the most likely (of all earthly powers) to reward and support them in a project every way suitable to his one inclination and interest.

And now, should I enter into a particular retaille of all former and latter transactions, relating to this affaire, there would be sufficient for a just volume of history. But my intention is onely to write a naked narrative of some the



most considerable passages in the meeting of Parliament the 15<sup>th</sup> of February 1676: such as have come to my notice which may serve for matter to some stronger pen, and to such as have more leisure and further opportunity to discover and communicate to the publick. This in the mean time will, by the progresse made in so few weeks, demonstrate at what rate these men drive over the necks of King and people, of religion and government; and how near they are in all human probability to arrive triumphant at the end of their journey. Yet, that I may not be too abrupt, and leave the reader wholly destitute of a thread to guide himself by thorow so intriguing a labyrinth, I shall summarily as short, as so copious and redundant a matter will admit, deduce the order of affaires both at home and abroad, as it led into this session.

It is well known, were it as well remembred, what the provocation was, and what the successe of the warre begun by the English in the year 1665 against Holland: what vast supplies were furnished by the subject for defraying it, and yet after all no fleet set out, but the flower of all the royal navy burnt or taken in port to save charges: how the French, during that war, joyned themselves in assistance of Holland against us, and yet, by the credit he had with the Queen Mother, so farre deluded his Majesty, that upon assurance the Dutch neither would have any fleet out that  
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year, he forbore to make ready, and so incurred that notable losse, and disgrace at Chatham: how (after this fatall conclusion of all our Sea-champaynes) as we had been obliged to the French for that warre, so we were glad to receive the peace from his favour which was agreed at Breda betwixt England, France, and Holland.

His Majesty was hereby now at leisure to remarke how the French had, in the year 1667, taken the time of us, and while we were imbroiled and weakned had in violation of all the most solemn and sacred oaths and treatyes invaded and taken a great part of the Spanish Nether-Land, which had alwayes been considered as the natural frontier of England. And hereupon he judged it necessary to interpose, before the flame that consumed his next neighbour should throw its sparkles over the water. And therefore, generously flighting all punctilios of ceremony or peeks of animosity, where the safety of his people and the repose of Christendom were concerned, he sent first into Holland, inviting them to a nearer alliance, and to enter into such further counsells as were most proper to quiet this publick disturbance which the French had raised. This was a work wholly of his Majesty's designing and (according to that felicity, which hath allways attended him, when excluding the corrupt politicks of others. he hath followed the dictates of his own Royal wisdom) so well it succeeded. It is a thing scarce credible, though true,  
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that two treatyes of fuch weight, intricacy, and fo various aspect as that of the defensive league with Holland, and the other for repressing the further progresse of the French in the Spanish Netherland, should in five days time, in the year 1668, be concluded. Such was the expedition and secrecy then used in prosecuting his Majesty's particular instructions, and so easy a thing is it for princes, when they have a mind to it, to be well served. The Swede too shortly after made the third in this concert; whether wisely judging that in the minority of their King reigning over several late acquired dominions, it was their true intrest to have an hand in all the counsells that tended to peace and undisturbed possession, or, whether indeed those ministers, like ours, did even then project in so glorious an alliance to betray it afterward to their own greater advantage. From their joyning in it was called the Triple Alliance. His Majesty with great sincerity continued to solícite other princes according to the seventh article to come into the guaranty of this treaty, and delighted himself in cultivating by all good means what he had planted. But in a very short time these counsells, which had taken effect with so great satisfaction to the nation and to his Majestyes eternal honour, were all changed, and it seemed that treatyes, as soon as the wax is cold, do lose their virtue. The King in June 1670 went down to Dover to meet, after a long absence, Madam, his onely remaining sister: where the days were the more pleasant, by how much

it feldomer happens to princes than private perfons to enjoy their relations, and when they do, yet their kind interviews are ufually folemnized with fome fatality and difafter, nothing of which here appeared. But upon her firft return into France ſhe was dead, the Marquefs of Belfonds was immediately ſent hither, a perſon of great honour diſpatched thither; and, before ever the inquiry and grumbling at her death could be abated, in a trice there was an inviſible league, in prejudice of the triple one, ſtruck up with France, to all the height of dearneſſe and affection. As if upon diſcecting the princeſs there had ſome ſtate philtre been found in her bowells, or the reconciliation with France were not to be celebrated with a leſſe ſacrifice then of the blood royall of England. The ſequel will be ſuitable to ſo ominous a beginning. But, as this treaty was a work of darkneſſe, and which could never yet be underſtood or diſcovered but by the effects, ſo before thoſe appeared it was neceſſary that the Parliament ſhould after the old wont be gulld to the giving of mony. They met the 24<sup>th</sup> of October 1670, and it is not without much labour that I have been able to recover a written copy of the Lord Bridgman's ſpeech, none being printed, but forbidden, doubtleſſe left ſo notorious a practiſe as certainly was never before, though there have indeed been many, put upon the nation, might remain publick. Although that honourable perſon cannot be preſumed to have been acceſſory to what was then intended, but was in due time,



time, when the project ripened and grew hopeful, discharged from his office, and he, the Duke of Ormond, the late Secretary Trevor, with the Prince Rupert, discarded together out of the committee for the Forraign Affaires, he spoke thus :

“ MY LORDS, AND YOU THE KNIGHTS, CITIZENS, AND  
 “ BURGESSES OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

“ WHEN the two Houses were last adjourned, this day,  
 “ as you well know, was prefixed for your meeting again.  
 “ The Proclamation since issued requiring all your atten-  
 “ dances at the same time shewed not only his Majesties be-  
 “ lief that his business will thrive best when the Houses are  
 “ fullest, but the importance also of the affaires for which  
 “ you are so called : and important they are. You cannot  
 “ be ignorant of the great forces both for land and sea-ser-  
 “ vice which our neighbours of France and the Low Coun-  
 “ tries have raised, and have now in actual pay ; nor of  
 “ the great preparations which they continue to make in  
 “ levying of men, building of ships, filling their magazines  
 “ and stores with immense quantities of all sorts of warlike  
 “ provisions. Since the beginning of the last Dutch war,  
 “ the French have increased the greatness and number of  
 “ their ships so much, that their strength by sea is thrice as  
 “ much as it was before ; and since the end of it, the

“ Dutch have been very diligent also in augmenting their  
“ fleets. In this conjuncture, when our neighbours arm  
“ so potently, even common prudence requires that his  
“ Majesty should make some suitable preparations; that he  
“ may at least keep pace with his neighbours, if not out-  
“ go them in number and strength of shipping. For this  
“ being an island, both our safety, our trade, our being,  
“ and our well-being depend upon our forces at sea.

“ His Majesty therefore, of his princely care for the good  
“ of his people, hath given order for the fitting out of fifty  
“ sayl of his greatest ships, against the spring, besides those  
“ which are to be for security of our merchants in the Me-  
“ diterranean: as foreseeing, if he should not have a con-  
“ siderable fleet, whilst his neighbours have such forces both  
“ at land and sea, temptation might be given to those who  
“ seem not now to intend it, to give us an affront, at least,  
“ if not to do us a mischief.

“ To which may be added, That his Majesty, by the  
“ leagues which he hath made, for the common peace of  
“ Christendom, and the good of his kingdoms, is obliged  
“ to a certain number of forces in case of infraction thereof,  
“ as also for the assistance of some of his neighbours, in case  
“ of invasion. And his Majesty would be in a very ill con-  
“ dition to perform his part of the leagues (if whilst the  
“ clouds are gathering so thick about us) he should, in

“ hopes that the wind will disperse them, omit to provide  
 “ against the storm.

“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ Having named the leagues made by his Majesty, I think  
 “ it necessary to put you in mind, that since the close of  
 “ the late war, his Majesty hath made several leagues, to  
 “ his own great honour, and infinite advantage to the  
 “ nation.

“ One known by the name of the Tripple Alliance,  
 “ wherein his Majesty, the Crown of Sweden and the States  
 “ of the United Provinces are ingaged to preserve the  
 “ Treaty of Aix la Capelle, concerning a peace between  
 “ the two warring princes, which peace produced that  
 “ effect, that it quenched the fire which was ready to have  
 “ set all Christendom in a flame. And besides other great  
 “ benefits by it, which she still enjoyes, gave opportunity  
 “ to transmit those forces against the infidels, which would  
 “ otherwise have been imbrued in Christian blood.

“ Another between his Majesty and the said States for a  
 “ mutual assistance with a certain number of men and ships  
 “ in case of invasion by any others.

“ Another between his Majesty and the Duke of Savoy,  
 “ establishing a free trade for his Majesties subjects at Villa  
 “ Franca,

“ Franca, a port of his own upon the Mediterranean, and  
 “ through the dominions of that Prince; and thereby  
 “ opening a passage to a rich part of Italy, and part of  
 “ Germany, which will be of a very great advantage for  
 “ the vending of cloth and other our home commodities,  
 “ bringing back silk and other materials for manufactures  
 “ than here.

“ Another between his Majesty and the King of Den-  
 “ mark, whereby those other impositions that were lately  
 “ laid upon our trade there, are taken off, and as great  
 “ priviledges granted to our merchants, as ever they had in  
 “ former times, or as the subjects of any other prince or  
 “ state do now enjoy.

“ And another league upon a treaty of commerce with  
 “ Spain, whereby there is not only a cessation and giving  
 “ up to his Majesty of all their pretensions to Jamaica, and  
 “ other islands and countries in the West Indies, in the  
 “ possession of his Majesty or his subjects, but with all, free  
 “ liberty is given to his Majesties subjects, to enter their  
 “ ports for victuals and water, and safety of harbour and  
 “ return, if storm or other accidents bring them thither;  
 “ priviledges which were never before granted by them to  
 “ the English or any others.

“ Not to mention the leagues formerly made with Swe-  
 “ den and Portugal, and the advantages which we enjoy



“ thereby ; nor those treaties now depending between his  
 “ Majesty and France, or his Majesty and the States of the  
 “ United Provinces touching commerce, wherein his Majesty  
 “ will have a fingular regard to the honour of this nation,  
 “ and also to the trade of it, which never was greater than  
 “ now it is.

“ In a word, almost all the princes in Europe do seek  
 “ his Majesties friendship, as acknowledging they cannot  
 “ secure, much less improve their present condition with-  
 “ out it.

“ His Majesty is confident that you will not be contented  
 “ to see him deprived of all the advantages which he might  
 “ procure hereby to his own kingdoms, nay even to all  
 “ Christendom, in the repose and quiet of it. That you will  
 “ not be content abroad to see your neighbours strengthening  
 “ themselves in shipping, so much more than they were be-  
 “ fore, and at home to see the government struggling every  
 “ year with difficulties ; and not able to keep up our navies  
 “ equal with theirs. He findes that by his accounts from  
 “ the year 1660 to the late war, the ordinary charge of the  
 “ fleet, *communibus annis*, came to about 500,000l. a year,  
 “ and it cannot be supported with less.

“ If that particular alone take up so much, add to it the  
 “ other constant charges of the government, and the re-  
 “ venue

“ venue (although the Commissioners of the Treasury have  
 “ managed it with all imaginable thrift) will in no degree  
 “ suffice to take of the debts due upon interest, much less  
 “ give him a fons for the fitting out of this fleet, which by  
 “ common estimation thereof cannot cost less than 800,000l.  
 “ His Majesty, in his most gracious speech, hath expressed the  
 “ great sense he hath of your zeal and affection for him, and  
 “ as he will ever retain a grateful memory of your former  
 “ readiness to supply him in all exigencies, so he doth with  
 “ particular thanks acknowledge your frank and chearful  
 “ gift of the new duty upon wines at your last meeting: but  
 “ the same is likely to fall very short in value of what it was  
 “ conceived to be worth, and should it have answered ex-  
 “ pectation, yet far too short to ease and help him upon  
 “ these occasions. And therefore such a supply as may  
 “ enable to take off his debts upon interest, and to set out  
 “ this fleet against the spring, is that which he desires from  
 “ you, and recommends it to you, as that which concerns  
 “ the honour and support of the government, and the wel-  
 “ fare and safety of your selves and the whole kingdome.

“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ You may perceive by what his Majesty hath already said,  
 “ that he holds it requisite that an end be put to this meeting  
 “ before Christmas. It is so not only in reference to the pre-  
 “ paration for his fleet, which must be in readiness in the  
 “ spring,

“ spring, but also to the season of the year. It is a time  
 “ when you would be willing to be in your countries, and  
 “ your neighbours would be glad to see you there, and  
 “ partake of your hospitality and charity, and you thereby  
 “ endear yourselves to them, and keep up that interest and  
 “ power among them, which is necessary for the service of  
 “ your king and country, and a recess at that time, leaving  
 “ your business unfinished till your return, cannot either be  
 “ convenient for you, or suitable to the condition of his  
 “ Majesties affaires, which requires your speedy, as well as  
 “ affectionate consideration.”

There needed not so large a catalogue of past, present, and  
 future leagues and treaties, for even Villa Franca founded  
 so well (being besides so considerable a port, and that too  
 upon the Mediterranean (another remote word of much  
 efficacy) and opening moreover a passage to a rich part of  
 Italy, and a part of Germany, &c.) that it alone would have  
 sufficed to charm the more ready votes of the Commons  
 into a supply, and to justify the necessity of it in the noise  
 of the country. But indeed the making of that Tripple  
 League, was a thing of so good a report and so generally  
 acceptable to the nation, as being a hook in the French  
 nostrils, that this Parliament (who are used, whether it be  
 war or peace, to make us pay for it) could not have desired  
 a fairer pretence to colour their liberality.

And



And therefore after all the immense summs lavished in the former war with Holland, they had but in April last, 1670, given the additional duty upon Wines for eight years; amounting to 560,000*l.* and confirmed the sale of the Fee Farm Rents, which was no lesse their gift, being a part of the publick revenue, to the value of 180,000*l.* Yet upon the telling of this storie by the Lord Keeper, they could no longer hold, but gave with both hands now again a subsidy of one shilling in the pound to the real value of all lands, and other estates proportionably, with several more beneficial clauses into the bargaine, to begin the 24<sup>th</sup> of June 1671, and expire the 24<sup>th</sup> of June 1672. Together with this, they granted the additional excise upon Beer, Ale, &c. for six years, to reckon from the same 24<sup>th</sup> of June 1671. And lastly, the Law Bill, commencing from the first of May 1671, and at nine yeares end to determine. These three bills summed up therefore cannot be estimated at lesse than two millions and an half.

So that for the Tripple League, here was also tripple supply, and the subject had now all reason to believe that this alliance, which had been fixed at first by the publick interest, safety and honour (yet, should any of those give way) was by these three grants, as with three golden nails, sufficiently clenched and rivetted. But now therefore was the most proper time and occasion for the conspirators, I have



before described, to give demonstration of their fidelitie to the French King, and by the forfeiture of all these obligations to their king and countrey, and other princes, and at the expence of all this treasure given to contrarie uses, to recommend themselves more meritoriously to his patronage.

The Parliament having once given this mony, were in consequence prorogued, and met not again till the 4<sup>th</sup> of February 1672, that there might be a competent scope for so great a work as was defined, and the architects of our ruine might be so long free from their busie and odious inspection till it were finished. Henceforward, all the former applications made by his Majesty to induce foraine princes into the Guaranty of the treaty of Aix la Chapelle ceased, and on the contrary, those who desired to be admitted into it, were here refused. The Duke of Loraine, who had alwaies been a true friend to his Majesty, and by his affection to the Tripple League had incurred the French King's displeasure, with the losse of his whole territorie, seized in the year 1669, against all laws not only of peace but hostility, yet was by means of these men rejected, that he might have no interest in the alliance, for which he was sacrificed. Nay even the emperour, though he did his Majesty the honour to address voluntarily to him, that himself might be received into that Tripple League, yet could not so great a  
prince

prince prevail but was turned off with blind reason, and most frivolous excuses. So farre was it now from fortifying the alliance by the accession of other princes, that Mr. Henry Coventry went now to Sweden expressly, as he affirmed at his departure hence, to dissolve the Triple League. And he did so much towards it, co-operating in that court with the French ministers, that Sweden never (after it came to a rupture) did assist or prosecute effectually the ends of the alliance, but only arming itself at the expence of the League, did first, under a disguised mediation, act the French interest, and at last threw off the vizard, and drew the sword in their quarrel; which is a matter of sad reflexion, that he, who in his embassy at Breda, had been so happy an instrument to end the first unfortunate war with Holland, should now be made the toole of a second, and of breaking that threefold cord, by which the interest of England and all Christendom was fastned. And, what renders it more wretched, is, that no man better than he understood both the theory and practick of honour; and yet could in so eminent an instance forget it. All which can be said in his excuse, is, that upon his return he was for this service made secretary of state (as if to have remained the same honest gentleman, had not been more necessary and less dishonourable) Sir William Lockyard and several others were dispatched to other courts upon the like errand.

All things were thus farre well disposed here toward a war with Holland: only all this while there wanted a quarrel, and to pick one required much invention. For the Dutch although there was a *si quis* to find out complaints, and our East India Company was summoned to know whether they had any thing to object against them, had so punctually complied with all the conditions of the peace at Breda, and observed his Majesty with such respect (and in paying the due honour of the flag, particularly as it was agreed in the 19<sup>th</sup> article) that nothing could be alledged: and as to the Triple League, their fleet was then out, riding near their own coasts, in prosecuting of the ends of that treaty. Therefore, to try a new experiment and to make a case which had never before happened or been imagined, a forry yacht, but bearing the English jack, in August 1671, sailes into the midst of their fleet, singled out the admiral, shooting twice, as they call it, sharpe upon him. Which must sure have appeared as ridiculous and unnatural as for a larke to dare the hobby. Neverthelesse their commander in chief, in deference to his Majesty's colours, and in consideration of the amity betwixt the two nations, payed our admiral of the yacht a visit, to know the reason; and learning that it was because he and his whole fleet had failed to strike saile to his small-craft, the Dutch commander civilly excused it as a matter of the first instance, and in which he could have no instructions, therefore proper to be referred to their masters, and so they parted.

parted. The yacht having thus acquitted itself, returned, fraught with the quarrel she was sent for, which yet was for several months passed over here in silence without any complaint or demand of satisfaction, but to be improved afterwards when occasion grew riper. For there was yet one thing more to be done at home to make us more capable of what was shortly after to be executed on our neighbours.

The Exchequer had now for some years by excessive gain decoyed in the wealthy goldsmiths, and they the rest of the nation by due payment of interest, till the king was run (upon what account I know not) into debt of above two millions: which served for one of the pretences in my Lord Keeper's Speech above recited, to demand and grant the late supplies, and might have sufficed for that work, with peace and any tolerable good husbandry. But as if it had been perfidious to apply them to any one of the purposes declared, it was instead of payment privately resolved to shut up the Exchequer, lest any part of the money should be legally expended, but that all might be appropriate to the holy war in project, and those further pious uses to which the conspirators had dedicated it.

This affair was carried on with all the secrecy of so great statesmen, that they might not by venting it unseasonably spoil the wit and malice of the business. So that all on the suddain, upon the first of January 1671, to the great astonishment,



nishment, ruine and despaire of so many interested persons, and to the terrour of the whole nation, by so arbitrary a fact, the proclamation issued whereby the crown, amidst the confluence of so vast aides and revenue, published itself bankrupt, made prize of the subject, and broke all faith and contract at home in order to the breaking of them abroad with more advantage.

There remained nothing now but that the conspirators, after this exploit upon their own countrymen, should manifest their impartiality to forainers, and avoid on both sides the reproach of injustice by their equality in the distribution. They had now started the dispute about the flag upon occasion of the yacht, and begun the discourse of Surinam, and somewhat of pictures and medalls, but they handled these matters so nicely as men not lesse afraid of receiving all satisfaction therein from the Hollanders, then of giving them any umbrage of arming against them upon those pretenses. The Dutch therefore, not being conscious to themselves of any provocation given to England, but of their readinesse, if there had been any, to repair it, and relying upon that faith of treatyes and alliances with us, which hath been thought sufficient security, not only amongst Christians but even with infidels, pursued their traffick and navigation thorow our seas without the least suspicion. And accordingly a great and rich fleet of merchantmen from Smyrna and Spain, were

were on their voyage homeward near the isle of Wight, under a small convoy of five or six of their men of war. This was the fleet in contemplation of which the conspirators had so long deferred the war to plunder them in peace; the wealth of this was that which by its weight turned the ballance of all publick justice and honour; with this treasure they imagined themselves in stock for all the wickedness of which they were capable, and that they should never, after this addition, stand in need again or fear of a Parliament. Therefore they had with great stillness and expedition equipped early in the year, so many of the King's ships as might, without jealousy of the number, yet be of competent strength for the intended action, but if any thing should chance to be wanting, they thought it abundantly supplied by virtue of the commander. For Sir Robert Holmes had with the like number of ships in the year 1661, even so timely commenced the first hostility against Holland, in time of peace; seizing upon Cape Verde, and other of the Dutch forts on the coast of Guiny, and the whole New Netherlands, with great success; in defence of which conquests, the English undertook, 1665, the first war against Holland. And in that same war, he with a proportionable squadron signalized himself by burning the Dutch ships and village of Brandaris at Schelling, which was unfortunately revenged upon us at Chatham. So that he was pitched upon as the person for understanding, experience and courage, fittest  
for

for a design of this-or any higher nature; and upon the 14<sup>th</sup> of March, 1672, as they failed on, to the number of seventy-two vessells in all, whereof six the convoy; near our coast, he fell in upon them with his accustomed bravery, and could not have failed of giving a good account of them, would he but have joyned fortunes, Sir Edward Spragg's assistance to his own conduct: for Sir Edward was in fight at the same time with his squadron, and captain Legg making faile towards him, to acquaint him with the design, till called back by a gun from his admirall, of which severall persons have had their conjectures. Possibly Sir Robert Holmes, considering that Sir Edward had failed all along in confort with the Dutch in their voyage, and did but now return from bringing the pirates of Algier to reason, thought him not so proper to ingage in this enterprize before he understood it better. But it is rather believed to have proceeded partly from that jealousy (which is usual to martial spirits like Sir Roberts) of admitting a companion to share with him in the spoile of honour or profit; and partly out of too strict a regard to preserve the secret of his commission. However, by this meanes the whole affair miscarried. For the merchant-men themselves, and their little convoy did so bestir them, that Sir Robert, although he shifted his ship, fell foul on his best friends, and did all that was possible, unless he could have multiplied himself, and been every where,

was

was forced to give it over, and all the prize that was gotten, sufficed not to pay the chirurgeons and carpenters.

To descend to the very bottom of their hellish conspiracy, there was yet one step more; that of religion. For so pious and just an action as Sir Robert Holmes was employed upon, could not be better accompanied than by the declaration of Liberty of Conscience (unless they should have expected till he had found that pretious commodity in plundering the hole of some Amsterdam fly-boat.) Accordingly while he was trying his fortune in battle with the Smyrna merchant-men, on the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> of March, 1672, the indulgence was printing off here in all haste, and was published on the 15<sup>th</sup> as a more proper means than fasting and prayer for propitiating Heaven to give success to his enterprize, and to the war that must second it.

Hereby, all the penal laws against Papists, for which former parliaments had given so many supplies, and against Nonconformists, for which this parliament had paid more largely, were at one instant suspended, in order to defraud the nation of all that religion which they had so dearly purchased, and for which they ought at least, the bargain being broke, to have been reimbursed.

There is, I confess, a measure to be taken in those things, and it is indeed to the great reproach of humane wisdom,  
that.



that no man has for so many ages been able or willing to find out the due temper of government in divine matters. For it appears at the first sight, that men ought to enjoy the same propriety and protection in their consciences, which they have in their lives, liberties, and estates: but that to take away these in penalty for the other, is meerly a more legal and genteele way of padding upon the road of Heaven, and that it is only for want of money and for want of religion that men take those desperate courses.

Nor can it be denied that the original law upon which Christianity at the first was founded, does indeed expressly provide against all such severity; and it was by the humility, meekness, love, forbearance and patience which were part of that excellent doctrine, that it became at last the universal religion, and can no more by any other means be preserved, than it is possible for another soul to animate the same body.

But, with shame be it spoken, the Spartans obliging themselves to Lycurgus his laws, till he should come back again, continued under his most rigid discipline, above twice as long as the Christians did endure under the gentlest of all institutions, though with far more certainty expecting the return of their Divine Legislator. Infomuch that it is no great adventure to say, that the world was better ordered under the antient monarchies and commonwealths, that the  
number

number of virtuous men was then greater, and that the Christians found fairer quarter under those than among themselves, nor hath there any advantage accrued unto mankind from that most perfect and practical model of humane society except the speculation of a better way to future happiness, concerning which the very guides disagree, and of those few that follow, it will suffer no man to pass without paying at their turnpikes. All which had proceeded from no other reason, but that men, instead of squaring their governments by the rule of Christianity, have shaped Christianity by the measures of their government, have reduced that straight line by the crooked, and bungling divine and humane things together, have been always hacking and hewing one another, to frame an irregular figure of political incongruity.

For wheresoever either the magistrate, or the clergy, or the people could gratify their ambition, their profit, or their phanſie by a text improved or misapplied, that they made use of, though against the consent, sense and immutable precepts of Scripture; and because obedience for conscience sake was there prescribed; the lesse conscience did men make in commanding; so that several nations have little else to shew for their Christianity (which requires instruction only and example) but a parcell of sever laws concerning opinion or about the modes of worship, not so much in order to

the power of religion as over it. Nevertheleſſe becauſe mankind muſt be governed ſome way and be held up to one law or other, either of Chriſt's or their own making, the vigour of ſuch humane conſtitutions is to be preſerved untill the ſame authority ſhall upon better reaſon revoke them; and as in the mean time no private man may without the guilt of ſedition or rebellion reſiſt, ſo neither by the nature of the English foundation can any publick perſon ſuſpend them without committing an error which is not the leſſe for wanting a legall name to expreſſe it. But it was the maſter-piece therefore of boldneſſe and contrivance in theſe conſpiratours to iſſue this declaration, and it is hard to ſay wherein they took the greater felicity, whether in ſuſpending hereby all the ſtatutes againſt popery, that it might thenceforward paſſe like current money over the nation, and no man dare to reſuſe it, or whether gaining by this a precedent to ſuſpend as well all other laws that reſpect the ſubjects propriety, and by the ſame power to abrogate and at laſt inact what they pleaſed, till there ſhould be no further uſe for the conſent of the people in Parliament.

Having been thus true to their great deſigne and made ſo conſiderable a progreſſe, they advanced with all expedition. It was now high time to declare the war, after they had begun it; and therefore by a manifeſto of the ſeventeenth of March 1672, the pretended cauſes were made publick,  
which

which were, the not having veiled bonnet to the English yacht: though the Dutch had all along, both at home and here, as carefully endeavoured to give, as the English ministers to avoid the receiving of all satisfaction, or letting them understand what would do it, and the council clock was on purpose set forward, lest their utmost compliance in the flag at the hour appointed should prevent the declaration of war by some minutes. The detaining of some few English families (by their own consent) in Surinam after the dominion of it was by treaty surrendered up to the Hollander, in which they had likewise constantly yielded to the unreasonable demands that were from one time to another extended from hence to make the thing impracticable, till even Banister himself, that had been employed as the agent and contriver of this misunderstanding, could not at the last forbear to cry shame of it. And moreover to fill up the measure of the Dutch iniquity, they are accused of pillars, medalls, and pictures: a poet indeed, by a dash of his pen, having once been the cause of a warre against Poland; but this certainly was the first time that ever a painter could by a stroke of his pencill occasion the breach of a treaty. But considering the weaknesse and invalidity of those other allegations, these indeed were not unnecessary, the pillars to adde strength, the medalls weight, and the pictures colour to their reasons.



But herein they had however observed faith with France though on all other sides broken, having capitulated to be the first that should do it. Which as it was no small piece of French courtesey in so important an action to yield the English the precedence, so was it on the English part as great a bravery in accepting to be the formost to discompose the state of all Christendom, and make themselves principal to all the horrid destruction, devastation, ravage and slaughter, which from that fatal 17<sup>th</sup> of March, 1672, has to this very day continued.

But that which was most admirable in the winding up of this declaration, was to behold these words :

“ And whereas we are engaged by a treaty to support  
 “ the peace made at Aix la Chapelle ; we do finally de-  
 “ clare, that, notwithstanding the prosecution of this war,  
 “ we will maintain the true intent and scope of the said  
 “ treaty, and that, in all alliances, which we have, or shall  
 “ make in the progress of this war, we have, and will take  
 “ care, to preserve the ends thereof inviolable, unless pro-  
 “ voked to the contrary.”

And yet it is as clear as the sun, that the French had, by that treaty of Aix la Chapelle, agreed to acquiesce in their former conquests in Flanders, and that the English, Swede,  
 and

and Hollander, were reciprocally bound to be aiding against whomsoever should disturb that regulation, (besides the league offensive and defensive, which his Majesty had entered into with the States General of the United Provinces) all which was by this conjunction with France to be broken in pieces. So that what is here declared, if it were reconcileable to truth, yet could not consist with possibility (which two do seldom break company) unless by one only expedient, that the English, who by this new league with France were to be the infractors and aggressors of the peace of Aix la Chapelle (and with Holland) should, to fulfill their obligations to both parties, have sheathed the sword in our own bowels.

But such was the zeal of the conspirators, that it might easily transport them either to say what was untrue, or undertake what was impossible, for the French service.

That King having seen the English thus engaged beyond a retreat, comes now into the war according to agreement. But he was more generous and monarchal than to assign cause, true or false, for his actions. He therefore, on the 27<sup>th</sup> of March 1672, publishes a declaration of war without any reasons. Only, the ill satisfaction which his Majesty hath of the behaviour of the States General towards him, being risen to that degree, that he can no longer, without diminution to his glory, dissemble his indignation

against

againſt them, &c. therefore he hath reſolved to make war againſt them both by ſea and land, &c. and commands all his ſubjects, *courir ſus*, upon the Hollanders, (a metaphor which, out of reſpect to his own nation, might have been ſpared) for ſuch is our pleaſure.

Was ever, in any age or nation of the world, the ſword drawn upon no better allegation? a ſtile ſo far from being Moſt Chriſtian, that nothing but ſome vain French romance can parallel or juſtify the expreſſion. How happy were it could we once arrive at the ſame pitch, and how much credit and labour had been ſaved, had the compilers of our declaration, inſtead of the mean Engliſh way of giving reaſons, contented themſelves with that of the diminution of the Engliſh honour, as the French of his glory! But nevertheleſs, by his embaſſador to the Pope, he gave afterwards a more clear account of his conjunction with the Engliſh, and that he had not undertaken this war againſt the Hollanders, but for extirpating of hereſie: To the emperor, that the Hollanders were a people who had forſaken God, were hereticks, and that all good Chriſtians were in duty bound to aſſociate for their extirpation, and ought to pray to God for a bleſſing upon ſo pious an enterpriſe: And to other Popiſh princes, that it was a war of religion and in order to the propagation of the Catholic Faith.

And

And in the second article of his demands afterward from the Hollanders, it is in exprefs words contained, “ That  
 “ from thenceforward there fhall be not only an intire  
 “ liberty, but a publick exercife of the Catholick Apofto-  
 “ lick Romane Religion throughout all the United Pro-  
 “ vinces. So that wherefoever there fhall be more than one  
 “ church, another fhall be given to the Catholicks : that  
 “ where there is none, they fhall be permitted to build one;  
 “ and till that be finished, to exercife their divine fervice  
 “ publickly in fuch houfes as they fhall buy, or hire for that  
 “ purpofe. That the States General, or each province in  
 “ particular, fhall appoint a reasonable falary for a curate  
 “ or prieft in each of the faid churches, out of fuch revenues  
 “ as have formerly appertained to the church, or otherwife.”  
 Which was conformable to what he published now abroad,  
 that he had entered into the war only for God’s glory; and  
 that he would lay down armes ftreightwayes, would the  
 Hollanders but reftore the true worfhip in their dominions.

But he made indeed twelve demands more, and notwithstanding all this devotion, the article of commerce, and for revoking their placarts againft wine, brandy, and French manufactures was the firft, and tooke place of the Catholick Apoftolic Romane Religion. Whether all thefe were therefore onely words of courfe, and to be held or let loofe according to his occafions, will better appeare when we  
 fhall



shall have heard that he still insists upon the same at Nimegen, and that, although deprived of our assistance, he will not yet agree with the Dutch but upon the termes of restoring the true worship. But, whatever he were, it is evident that the English were sincere and in good earnest in the design of Popery; both by that declaration abovementioned of indulgence to the recusants, and by the negotiation of those of the English Plenipotentiaries\* (whom for their honour I name not) that being in that year sent into Holland pressed that article among the rest upon them, as without which they could have no hope of peace with England. And the whole proesse of affaires will manifest further, that both here and there it was all of a piece, as to the project of religion, and the same thread ran throw the web of the English and French counsells, no lesse in relation to that, then unto government.

Although the issuing of the French King's declaration and the sending of our English Plenipotentiaries into Holland be involved together in this last period, yet the difference of time was so small that the anticipation is inconsiderable. For having declared the warre but on the 27<sup>th</sup> of March, 1672, he struck so home and followed his blow so close, that by July following, it seemed that Holland could no longer stand him, but that the swiftnesse and force of his motion was something supernatural. And it was thought necessary  
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\* Buckingham, Arlington, Halifax.

to fend over those Plenipotentiaries, if not for interest yet at least for curiosity. But it is easier to find the marks than reasons of some mens actions; and he that does only know what happened before, and what after, might perhaps wrong them by searching for further intelligence.

So it was, that the English and French navies being joyned, were upon the 28<sup>th</sup> of May, 1672, attacked in Soule Bay by De Ruyter, with too great advantage. For while his Royal Highness, then admiral, did all that could be expected, but Monsieur d'Estree, that commanded the French, did all that he was sent for, our English vice-admiral, Mountague, was sacrificed; and the rest of our fleet so mangled, that there was no occasion to boast of victory. So that being here still on the losing hand, 'twas fit somebody should look to the betts on the other side of the water; lest that great and lucky gamster, when he had won all there, and stood no longer in need of the conspirators, should pay them with a quarrel for his mony, and their ill fortune. Yet were they not conscious to themselves of having given him, by any behaviour of theirs, any cause of dissatisfaction, but that they had dealt with him in all things most frankly, that, notwithstanding all the expressions in my Lord Keeper Bridgman's speech, of the treaty between France and his Majesty concerning commerce, wherein his Majesty will have a singular regard to the honour and also to the trade

of this nation, and notwithstanding the intollerable oppressions upon the English traffick in France ever since the King's restauration, they had not in all that time made one step towards a treaty of commerce or navigation with him ; no not even now when the English were so necessary to him, that he could not have begun this war without them, and might probably therefore in this conjuncture have condescended to some equality. But they knew how tender that King was on that point, and to preserve and encrease the trade of his subjects, and that it was by the diminution of that beam of his glory, that the Hollanders had raised his indignation. The conspirators had therefore, the more to gratify him, made it their constant maxime, to burden the English merchant here with one hand, while the French should load them no less with the other, in his territories ; which was a parity of trade indeed, though something an extravagant one, but the best that could be hoped from the prudence and integrity of our statesmen ; insomuch, that when the merchants have at any time come down from London to represent their grievances from the French, to seek redress, or offer their humble advice, they were hector'd, brow-beaten, ridiculed, and might have found fairer audience even from Monsieur Colbert.

They knew moreover, that as in the matter of commerce, so they had more oblig'd him in this war. That except the

irresistible bounties of so great a prince in their own particular, and a frugal subsistence-money for the fleet, they had put him to no charges, but the English navy royal served him, like so many privateers, no purchase, no pay. That in all things they had acted with him upon the most abstracted principles of generosity. They had tyed him to no terms, had demanded no partition of conquests, had made no humane condition; but had sold all to him for those two pearls of price, the True Worship, and the True Government. Which disinterested proceedings of theirs, though suited to forraigne magnanimity, yet, should we still lose at sea, as we had hitherto, and the French conquer all at land, as it was in prospect, might at one time or other breed some difficulty in answering for it to the king and kingdom: however this were, it had so hapned before the arrival of the Plenipotentiaries, that, whereas here in England, all that brought applications from Holland were treated as spies and enemies, till the French King should signify his pleasure; he on the contrary, without any communication here, had received addresses from the Dutch Plenipotentiaries, and given in to them the sum of his demands (not once mentioning his Majesty or his interest, which indeed he could not have done unless for mockery, having demanded all for himself, so that there was no place left to have made the English any satisfaction) and the French ministers therefore did very candidly acquaint those of Holland, that, upon their accepting



those articles, there should be a firm peace, and amity restored: but as for England, the States, their masters, might use their discretion, for that France was not obliged by any treaty to procure their advantage.

This manner of dealing might probably have animated, as it did warrant the English Plenipotentiaries, had they been as full of resolution as of power, to have closed with the Dutch, who, out of aversion to the French, and their intolerable demands, were ready to have thrown themselves into his Majesties armes, or at his feet, upon any reasonable conditions; but it wrought clean otherwise: for, those of the English Plenipotentiaries, who were, it seems, intrusted with a fuller authority, and the deeper secret, gave in also the English demands to the Hollanders, consisting in eight articles, but at last the ninth faith,

“ Although his Majesty contents himself with the foregoing conditions, so that they be accepted within ten dayes, after which his Majesty understands himself to be no further obliged by them: He declares nevertheless precisely, that albeit they should all of them be granted by the said States, yet they shall be of no force, nor will his Majesty make any treaty of peace or truce, unless the Most Christian King shall have received satisfaction from the said States in his particular.” And by this means they made it impossible for the Dutch, however desirous,  
to

to comply with England, excluded us from more advantageous terms than we could at any other time hope for, and deprived us of an honest, and honourable evasion out of so pernicious a war, and from a more dangerous alliance. So that now it appeared by what was done that the conspirators, securing their own fears at the price of the publick interest and safety, had bound us up more strait then ever, by a new treaty, to the French project.

The rest of this year passed with great success to the French, but none to the English. And therefore the hopes upon which the war was begun, of the Smyrna and Spanish fleet, and Dutch prizes, being vanished, the slender allowance from the French not sufficing to defray it, and the ordinary revenue of the King, with all the former aides being (as was fit to be believed) in less than one years time exhausted, the Parliament, by the conspirators good leave, was admitted again to sit at the day appointed, the 4<sup>th</sup> of February, 1672.

The warr was then first communicated to them, and the causes, the necessity, the danger, so well painted out, that the Dutch abusive historical pictures, and false medalls (which were not forgot to be mentioned) could not be better imitated or revenged: onely, there was one great omission of their false pillars, which upheld the whole fabrick of the English declaration. Upon this signification, the House of  
Commons

Commons (who had never failed the Crown hitherto upon any occasion of mutual gratuity) did now also, though in a warre, contrary to former usage, begun without their advice, readily vote no less a summe than 1,250,000*l*. But for better colour, and lest they should own in words what they did in effect, they would not say it was for the warre, but for the King's extraordinary occasions.

And because the nation began now to be aware of the more true causes for which the warre had been undertaken, they prepared an Act before the Money Bill slipt thorow their fingers, by which the Papists were obliged to pass thorow a new state Purgatory, to be capable of any publick employment; whereby the House of Commons, who seem to have all the great offices of the kingdom in reversion, could not but expect some wind-falls.

Upon this occasion it was, that the earl of Shaftsbury, though then Lord Chancellour of England, yet engaged so far in defence of that Act, and of the Protestant Religion, that in due time it cost him his place, and was the first moving cause of all those misadventures, and obloquy, which since he lyes (above not) under.

The declaration also of indulgence was questioned; which, though his Majesty had out of his princely, and gracious inclination, and the memory of some former obligations,

gations, granted, yet upon their representation of the inconveniences, and at their humble request, he was pleased to cancel, and declare, that it should be no precedent for the future: for otherwise some succeeding governour, by his single power suspending penal laws, in a favourable matter, as that is of religion, might become more dangerous to the government, than either papists or fanaticks, and make us either, when he pleased: so legal was it in this session to distinguish between the King of England's personal, and his parliamentary authority.

But therefore the further fitting being grown very uneasy to those who had undertaken for the change of religion and government, they procured the recess so much sooner, and a Bill sent up by the Commons in favour of Dissenting Protestants, not having passed thorow the Lords preparation, the Bill concerning Papists was enacted in exchange for the money, by which the conspirators, when it came into their management, hoped to frustrate, yet, the effect of the former. So the Parliament was dismissed till the 27<sup>th</sup> of October 1673.

In the mean time therefore they strove with all their might to regain by the war, that part of their design, which they had lost by Parliament; and though several honourably forsook their places rather than their consciences, yet there was never wanting some double-dyed son of our church, some Pro-  
testant



testant in grain, to succeed upon the same conditions. And the difference was no more, but that their offices, or however their counsels, were now to be administered by their deputies, such as they could confide in.

The business of the land army was vigorously carried on, in appearance to have made some descent in Holland, but though the regiments were compleated and kept imbodyed, it wanted effect, and therefore gave cause of suspicion: the rather, because no Englishman, among so many well-disposed, and qualified for the work, had been thought capable, or fit to be trusted with chief command of those forces, but that Monsieur Schomberg, a French Protestant, had been made general, and Colonel Fitsgerald, an Irish Papist, major general, as more proper for the secret; the first of advancing the French government, the second of promoting the Irish religion.

And therefore the dark hovering of that army so long at Black Heath might not improbably seem the gatherings of a storm to fall upon London; but the ill successes which our fleet met withall this year, also, at sea, were sufficient, had there been any such design at home, to have quasht it: for such gallantries are not to be attempted, but in the highest raptures of fortune.

There were three several engagements of ours against the Dutch navy in this one summer, but while nothing was  
tenable

tenable at land, against the French, it seemed that to us at sea every thing was impregnable; which is not to be attributed to the want of courage or conduct, either the former year under the command of his Royal Highness, so great a soldier, or this year under the Prince Robert; but is rather to be imputed to our unlucky conjunction with the French, like the disasters that happen to men by being in ill company.

But besides it was manifest that in all these wars, the French meant nothing less than really to assist us: he had first practised the same art at sea, when he was in league with the Hollander against us, his navy never having done them any service, for his business was only to see us batter one another. And now he was on the English side, he only studied to sound our seas, to spy our ports, to learn our building, to contemplate our way of fight, to consume ours, and preserve his own navy, to increase his commerce, and to order all so that the two great naval powers of Europe being crushed together, he might remain sole arbitrator of the ocean, and by consequence master of all the isles and continent. To which purposes the conspirators furnished him all possible opportunities. Therefore it was that Monsieur d'Estree, though a person otherwise of tried courage and prudence, yet never did worse than in the third and last engagement; and because brave Monsieur d' Martel did

better, and could not endure a thing that looked like cowardise or treachery, though for the service of his monarch, commanded him in, rated him, and at his return home he was, as then was reported, discountenanced and dismissed from his command, for no other crime but his breaking of the French measures, by adventuring one of those sacred shippis in the English, or rather his own master's quarrel.

His Royal Highnesse (by whose having quitted the Admiralty, the sea service thrived not the better) was now intent upon his marriage, at the same time the Parliament was to reassemble the 27<sup>th</sup> of October 1673, the Princeesse of Modena, his consort, being upon the way for England, and that businesse seemed to have passed all impediment. Nor were the conspirators, who (to use the French phrase) made a considerable figure in the government, wholly averse to the Parliament's meeting: for if the House of Commons had, after one year's unfortunate war, made so vast a present to his Majesty of 1,250,000*l.* but the last February, it seemed the argument would now be more pressing upon them, that by how much the ill successes of this year had been greater, they ought therefore to give a yet more liberal donative. And the conspirators as to their own particular reckoned, that while the nation was under the more distresse and hurry they were themselves safer from Parliament, by the publick calamity.

A supply

A supply therefore was demanded with much more opportunity and assurance than ever before, and that it should be a large one and a speedy: they were told that it was now *pro aris & focis*, all was at stake. And yet besides all this, the payment of the debt to the bankers upon shutting the Exchequer was very civilly recommended to them. And they were assured that his Majesty would be constantly ready to give them all proofes of his zeal for the true religion and the laws of the realm, upon all occasions: but the House of Commons not having been sufficiently prepared for such demands, nor well satisfied in several matters of fact, which appeared contrary to what was represented, took check; and first interposed in that tender point of his Royall Highness's match, although she was of his own religion, which is a redoubled sort of marriage, or the more spiritual part of its happiness. Besides, that she had been already solemnly married by the duke's proxy, so that unless the Parliament had been Pope and claimed a power of dispensation, it was now too late to avoide it. His Majesty by a short prorogation of six days, when he understood their intention, gave them opportunity to have desisted: but it seems they judged the national interest of religion so farre concerned in this matter, that they no sooner met again, but they drew up a second request by way of address to his Majesty with their reasons against it: that for his Royall Highness to marry the Princess of Modena, or any other



of that religion, had very dangerous consequences: that the mindes of his Majesties Protestant subjects will be much disquieted, thereby filled with infinite discontents, and jealousies: that his Majesty would thereby be linked into such a foraine alliance, which will be of great disadvantage and possibly to the ruine of the Protestant religion: that they have found by sad experience how such marriages have always increased Popery, and encouraged priests and jesuits to pervert his Majesties subjects: that the Popish party already lift up their heads in hopes of his marriage: that they fear it may diminish the affection of the people toward his Royall Highnesse, who is by blood so near related to the crown: that it is now more then one age, that the subjects have lived in continual apprehensions of the increase of Popery, and the decay of the Protestant religion: finally that she having many kindred and relations in the court of Rome, by this means their enterprises here might be facilitated, they might pierce into the most secret counsells of his Majesty, and discover the state of the realm: that the most learned men are of opinion, that marriages no further proceeded in may lawfully be dissolved: and therefore they beseech his Majesty to annul the consummation of it, and the rather, because they have not yet the happiness to see any of his Majesties own lineage to succeed in his kingdomes.

These reasons, which were extended more amply against his Royal Highnesses marriage, obtained more weight, because

cause most men are apt to judge of things by circumstances, and to attribute what happens by the conjuncture of times, to the effect of contrivance. So that it was not difficult to interpret what was in his Royal Highness, an ingagement only of honour, and affection, as proceeding from the conspirators counsels, seeing it made so much to their purpose.

But the business was too far advanced to retreat, as his Majesty with great reason had replied to their former address, the marriage having been celebrated already, and confirmed by his Royal Authority, and the House of Commons though fitting when the Duke was in a treaty for the Archdutchess of Inspruck, one of the same religion, yet having taken no notice of it.

Therefore while they pursued the matter thus, by a second address, it seemed an easier thing, and more decent, to prorogue the parliament, than to dissolve the marriage. And, which might more incline his Majesty to this resolution, the House of Commons had now bound themselves up by a vote, That having considered the present state of the nation, they would not take into deliberation, nor have any further debate upon any other proposals of aide, or any surcharge upon the subject, before the payment of the 1,250,000 l. in eighteen months, which was last granted, were expired, or at least till they should evidently see that the obstinacy of the Hollanders should oblige them to the contrary,  
nor

nor till after the kingdom should be effectually secured against the dangers of Popery, and Popish counsellours, and that order be taken against other present misdemeanours.

There was yet another thing, the Land-Army, which appearing to them expensive, needless, and terrible to the people, they addressed to his Majesty also, that they might be disbanded. All which things put together, his Majesty was induced to prorogue the parliament again for a short time, till the 7<sup>th</sup> of January, 1673: that in the mean while the Princess of Modena arriving, the marriage might be consummated without further interruption.

That session was opened with a large deduction also by the new Lord Keeper, this being his first experiment, in the Lords House, of his eloquence and veracity, of the Hollanders averfeness to peace or reason, and their uncivil and indirect dealing in all overtures of treaty with his Majesty; and a demand was made therefore, and re-inforced as formerly, of a proportionable and speedy supply. But the Hollanders that had found themselves obstructed alwayes hitherto, and in a manner excluded from all applications, and that whatever means they had used was still mis-interpreted, and ill represented, were so industrious, as by this time (which was perhaps the greatest part of their crime) to have undeceived the generality of the nation in those particulars.

The

The House of Commons therefore, not doubting but that if they held their hands in matter of money a peace would in due time follow, grew troublesome rather to several of the great ministers of state, whom they suspected to have been principal in the late pernicious counsels. But instead of the way of impeachment, whereby the crimes might have been brought to examination, proof and judgment, they proceeded summarily within themselves, noting them only with an ill character, and requesting his Majesty to remove them from his counsels, his presence, and their publick employments. Neither in that way of handling were they impartial.

Of the three which were questioned, the Duke of Buckingham seemed to have much the more favourable cause, but had the severest fortune. And this whole matter not having been managed in the solemn methods of national justice, but transmitted to his Majesty, it was easily changed into a court intrigue, where though it be a modern maxime,

“ That no state minister ought to be punished, but especially not upon parliamentary applications :”

Yet other offenders thought it of security to themselves, in a time of publick discontent, to have one man sacrificed, and so the Duke of Buckingham having worse enemies, and



as it chanced worse friends, than the rest, was after all his services abandoned, they having only heard the sound, while he felt all the smart of that lash from the House of Commons.

But he was so far a gainer, that with the loss of his offices, and dependance, he was restored to the freedom of his own spirit, to give thence-forward those admirable proofs of the vigour and vivacity of his better judgment, in asserting, though to his own imprisonment, the due liberties of the English nation.

This manner of proceeding in the House of Commons, was a new way of negotiating the peace with Holland, but the most effectual; the conspirators living all the while under continual apprehensions of being called to further account for their actions, and no money appearing, which would either have perpetuated the war, or might, in case of a peace, be misapplied to other uses than the building of ships, insinuated by the Lord Keeper.

The Hollander's proposals, by this means, therefore, began to be thought more reasonable, and the Marquis del Fresno, the Spanish minister in this court, laboured so well, that his Majesty thought fit to communicate the overture to both Houses, and though their advice had not been asked to the war, yet not to make the peace without it. There

was

was not much difficulty in their resolutions. For the generall bent of the nation was against the war, the French now had by their ill behaviour at sea, in all the engagements, raised also the English indignation, their pernicious counsels were visible in their book of the *Politique Françoise*, tending by frequent levys of men, and mony, to exhaust, and weaken our kingdome, and by their conjunction with us, on set purpose, to raise, betwixt the king and his people, a rationall jealousy of popery, and French government, till we should insensibly devolve into them by inclination or necessity: as men of ill conversation pin themselves maliciously on persons more sober, that if they can no otherwise debauch them, they may blast their reputation by their society, and so oblige them to theirs, being suspected by better company.

Besides all which the very reason of traffick which hath been so long neglected by our greater statesmen was now of some consideration, for as much as by a peace with the Hollander the greatest part of the trade and navigation of Europe, as long as the French King disturbed it, would of course fall into the English management. The Houses therefore gave their humble advice to his Majesty for a just and honorable peace with the States Generall, which, when it could be no longer resisted, was concluded.

In the seventh article of this treaty it is said,

“ That the treaty which was made at Breda in the yeare  
“ 1667, as also all the others, which are by this present  
“ treaty confirmed, shall by the present be renewed, and  
“ shall continue in their full force and vigour, as far as  
“ they shall not be contrary unto this said present treaty.”

Which words are the more to be taken notice of, that they may be compared afterwards with the effects that follow, to see how well on the English part that agreement hath been observed.

The businesse of the peace thus being once over, and this Parliament still lowring upon the ministers of state, or bogling at the land forces (whereof the eight new raised regiments were upon the request of the Commons at last disbanded) or employed in further bills against Popery, and for the education, and Protestant marriage henceforward of those of the royal family; the necessity of their further fitting seemed not so urgent, but that they might have a repose till the 10<sup>th</sup> of November 1674, following.

The conspirators had hitherto failed of the accomplishing their design, by perpetual disappointments, and which was most grievous to them, foresaw, that the want of mony would still necessitate the frequent fitting of Parliament, which danger they had hoped long ere this to have conquered.

quered. In this state of their affaires the French King therefore was by no meanes to be further disobliged, he being the master of their secret, and the only person which, if they helped him at this plunge, might yet carry them thorow. They were therefore very diligent to profit themselves of all the advantages to this purpose that their present posture could afford them. They knew that his Majesty, being now disengaged from war, would of his royall prudence interpose for peace by his mediation, it being the most glorious character that any prince can assume, and for which he was the more proper, as being the most potent, thereby to give the sway, and the most disinterested whereby to give the equity requisite to such a negociation; and the most obliged in honour, as having been the occasion by an unforeseen consequence of drawing the sword of all this part of Europe. But if they feared any propension in his Majesty to one party it was toward Spaine, as knowing how that crowne (as it is at large recited, and acknowledged, in the preamble of the last treaty between England and Holland) had been the only instrument of the happy peace which after that pernicious war we now enjoyed.

Therefore they were resolved by all their influence, and industry (though the profit of the war did now wholly redound to the English nation, and however in case of peace it was our interest that, if any, France should be depressed



to any equality) to labour that by this mediation France might be the onely gainer, and having all quiet about him, might be at perfect leifure to attend their project upon England. And one of these our statesmen being pressed, solved all arguments to the contrary with an oraculous French question,

*Faut-il que tout se fasse par politique, rien par amitié?*

“ Must all things be done by maxims or reasons of state; “ nothing for affection?”

Therefore that such an absurdity as the ordering of affairs abroad, according to the interest of our nation, might be avoided, the English, Scotch and Irish regiments, that were already in the French service, were not only to be kept in their full complement, but new numbers of souldiers daily transported thither, making up in all, as is related, at least a constant body of 10,000 men, of his Majesties subjects, and which oftentimes turned the fortune of battle on the French side by their valour.

How far this either consisted with the office of a mediator, or how consonant it was to the seventh article, above mentioned, of the last treaty with Holland; it is for them to demonstrate who were the authors. But it was indeed a good way to train up an army, under the French discipline and principles, who might be ready seasoned upon  
occasion

occasion in England, to be called back and execute the same counsels.

In the mean time, they would be trying yet what they could do at home. For the late proceedings of Parliament, in quashing the indulgence, in questioning ministers of state, in bills against Popery, in not granting money whensoever asked, were crimes not to be forgiven, nor (however the conspirators had provided for themselves) named in the act of general pardon.

They began therefore after fifteen years to remember that there were such a sort of men in England as the old cavalier party; and reckoned, that by how much the more generous, they were more credulous than others, and so more fit to be again abused. These were told, that all was at stake, church and state. (How truly said! but meant, how falsely!) That the nation was running again into forty one; that this was the time to refresh their antient merit, and receive the recompence double of all their loyalty, and that henceforward the cavaliers should have the lottery of all the great or small offices in the kingdom, and not so much as Sir Joseph Williamson to have a share in it.

By this means they indeed designed to have raised a civil war, for which they had all along provided, by new forts,  
and

and standing forces, and to which they had on purpose both in England and Scotland given all provocation if it would have been taken, that so they might have a *rase campagne* of religion, government, and propriety? or they hoped at least by this means to fright the one party, and encourage the other, to give henceforward money at pleasure, and that money on what title soever granted, with what stamp coyned, might be melted down for any other service or uses. But there could not have been a greater affront and indignity offered to those gentlemen (and the best did so resent it) than whether these hopes were reall, to think them men that might be hired to any base action, or whether as hitherto but imaginary, that by erecting the late King's statue that whole party might be rewarded in effigie.

While these things were upon the anvil the 10<sup>th</sup> of November was come for the Parliament's fitting, but that was put off till the 13<sup>th</sup> of April 1675. And in the mean time, which fell out most opportune for the conspirators, these counsells were matured, and something further to be contrived, that was yet wanting: the Parliament accordingly meeting, and the House of Lords, as well as that of the Commons, being in deliberation of severall wholesome bills, such as the present state of the nation required, the great design came out in a bill unexpectedly offered one morning in the House of Lords, whereby all such as enjoyed any

beneficial office, or employment, ecclesiastical, civil, or military, to which was added, privy counsellors, justices of the peace, and members of parliament, were under a penalty to take the oath, and make the declaration, and abhorrence, insuing,

“ I A. B. do declare, that it is not lawful upon any pre-  
 “ tence whatsoever to take up armes against the King, and  
 “ that I do abhorre that traiterous position of taking armes  
 “ by his authority against his person, or against those that  
 “ are commissioned by him in pursuance of such commif-  
 “ sion. And I do swear, that I will not at any time in-  
 “ deavour the alteration of the government either in church  
 “ or state. So help me God.”

This same oath had been brought into the House of Commons in the plague year at Oxford, to have been imposed upon the nation, but there, by the assistance of those very same persons that now introduce it, 'twas thrown out, for fear of a general infection of the vitals of this kingdome: and though it passed then in a particular bill, known by the name of the Five Mile Act, because it only concerned the non-conformist preachers, yet even in that, it was thoroughly opposed by the late Earle of Southampton, whose judgement might well have been reckoned for the standard of prudence and loyalty. It was indeed happily  
 said,



said, by the Lord Keeper, in the opening of this session, “ No influences of the starrs, no configuration of the heavens, “ are to be feared, so long as these two Houses stand in a “ good disposition to each other, and both of them in a “ happy conjunction with their Lord and Sovereign.” But if he had so early this Act in his prospect, the same astrology might have taught him, that there is nothing more portentous, and of worse omen, then when such an oath hangs over a nation, like a new comet foreboding the alteration of religion, or government. Such was the holy league in France in the reigne of Henry III. Such in the time of Philip II. the oath in the Netherlands. And so the oaths in our late King’s time taught the Fanaticks, because they could not swear, yet to covenant. Such things therefore are, if ever, not needlessly thought for good fortune sake only to be attempted, and when was there any thing lesse necessary? No King of England had ever so great a treasure of this peoples affections except what those ill men have, as they have done all the rest, consumed; whom but out of an excessse of love to his person, the kingdome would never (for it never did formerly) so long have suffered: the old acts of allegiance and supremacy were still in their full vigour, unlesse against the Papists, and even against them too of late, whensoever the way was to be smoothed for a liberall session of Parliament. And moreover to put the crown in full security, this Parliament had by an Act of theirs determined a  
question

question which the wisdom of their ancestors had never decided, that the King hath the sole power of the militia. And therefore my Lord Keeper did, by his patronizing this oath, too grossely prevaricate, against two very good state maxims, in his harangue to the Parliament, for which he had consulted not the astrologer, but the historian, advising them first, that they should not *quieta movere*, that is, said he “when men stirre those things or questions which are, “and ought to be in peace.” And secondly, that they should not *res parvas magnis motibus agere*: That is, saith he againe, “when as much weight is laid upon a new and not “always necessary proposition as if the whole summe of “affaires depended upon it.”

And this oath, it seems, was the little thing he meant of, being forsooth but a moderate security to the church and crown, as he called it, but which he and his party layd so much weight on, as if the whole sum of affaires did depend upon it.

But as to the *quieta movere*, or stirring of those things or questions which are and ought to be in peace, was not this so, of taking armes against the King upon any pretence whatsoever? and was not that also in peace, of the traitorous position of taking armes by his authority against his person? had not the three acts of Corporations, of Militia, and the Five Miles, sufficiently quieted it? why was it fur-

ther stirred? but being stirred, it raises in mens thoughts many things more; some less, others more to the purpose.

Sir Walter Tirrell's arrow grazed upon the deer it was shot at, but by that chance killed King William Rufus; yet so far was it that Sir Walter should for that chance shot be adjudged of treason, that we do not perceive he underwent any other tryal like that of manslaughter: but which is more to the point, it were difficult to instance a law either in this or other country, but that a private man, if any king in Christendom assault him, may, having retreated to the wall, stand upon his guard; and therefore, if this matter as to a particular man be dubious, it was not so prudent to stirre it in the general, being so well settled. And as to all other things, though since Lord Chancellour, he have in his speech of the 15<sup>th</sup> of February, 1676, said (to testify his own abhorrency) "Away with that ill meant distinction  
" between the natural and the politique capacity." He is too well read to be ignorant that without that distinction there would be no law nor reason of law left in England; to which end it was, and to put all out of doubt, that it is also required in this test, to declare mens abhorrency as of a traitorous position, to take armes against those that are commissioned by him, in pursuance of such commission; and yet neither is the tenour, or rule, of any such commission specified, nor the qualification of those that shall be armed  
with

with such commissions, expressed or limited. Never was so much sense contained in so few words. No conveyancer could ever in more compendious or binding terms have drawn a disfranchisement of the whole birth-right of England.

For as to the commission, if it be to take away any mans estate, or his life by force, yet it is the King's commission: or if the person commissioned be under never so many disabilities by Acts of Parliament, yet his taking this oath removes all those incapacities, or his commission makes it not disputable. But if a man stand upon his defence, a good judge for the purpose, finding that the position is traitorous, will declare that by this law he is to be executed for treason.

These things are no niceties, or remote considerations (though in making of laws, and which must come afterwards under construction of judges, *durante bene placito*, all cases are to be put and imagined) but there being an Act in Scotland for 20,000 men to march into England upon call, and so great a body of English soldiery in France, within summons, besides what forainers may be obliged by treaty to furnish, and it being so fresh in memory, what sort of persons had lately been in commission among us, to which add the many bookes then printed by licence, writ, some by men of the black, one of the green cloath, wherein



the absoluteness of the English monarchy is against all law asserted.

All these considerations put together were sufficient to make any honest and well-adviced man to conceive indeed, that upon the passing of this oath and declaration the whole sum of affaires depended.

It grew therefore to the greatest contest, that has perhaps ever been in Parliament, wherein those Lords, that were against this oath, being assured of their own loyalty and merit, stood up now for the English liberties with the same genius, virtue and courage, that their noble ancestors had formerly defended the great charter of England, but with so much greater commendation, in that they had here a fairer field, and the more civil way of decision: they fought it out under all the disadvantages imaginable: they were overlaid by numbers: the noise of the House, like the wind, was against them, and if not the sun, the fire-side was always in their faces; nor being so few, could they, as their adversaries, withdraw to refresh themselves in a whole days engagement: yet never was there a clearer demonstration how dull a thing is humane eloquence, and greatness how little, when the bright truth discovers all things in their proper colours and dimensions, and shining shoots its beams thorow all their fallacies. It might be injurious, where all of them did so excellently well, to attribute more to any one  
of

of those Lords than another, unless because the Duke of Buckingham, and the Earl of Shaftsbury, have been the more reproached for this brave action, it be requisite by a double proportion of praise to set them two on equal terms with the rest of their companions in honour. The particular relation of this debate, which lasted many dayes with great eagernes on both sides, and the reasons but on one, was in the next session burnt by order of the Lords, but the sparkes of it will eternally fly in their adversaries faces.

Now before this test could in so vigorous an opposition passe the House of Peers, there arose unexpectedly a great controversy betwixt the two Houses, concerning their priviledges on this occasion; the Lords according to their undoubted right, being the Supream Court of Judicature in the nation, had, upon petition of Doctor Shirley, taken cognizance of a cause between him and Sir John Fagg, a member of the House of Commons, and of other appeales from the Court of Chancery, which the Commons, whether in good earnest, which I can hardly believe, or rather some crafty parliament men among them, having an eye upon the test, and to prevent the hazard of its coming among them, presently took hold of, and blew the coales to such a degree, that there was no quenching them.

In the House of Peers both partyes, as in a point of their own privilege, easily united, and were no lesse inflamed  
against

againſt the Commons, and to uphold their own ancient jurisdiction; wherein nevertheleſſe both the Lords for the teſt, and thoſe againſt it, had their own particular reaſons, and might have accused each other perhaps of ſome artifice; the matter in concluſion was ſo huſbanded on all ſides, that any longer converſe betwixt the two Houſes grew impracticable, and his Maſteſty prorogued them therefore till the 13<sup>th</sup> of October 1675, following: And in this manner that fatal Teſt, which had given ſo great diſturbance to the mindes of our nation, dyed the ſecond death; which, in the language of the divines, is as much as to ſay, it was damned.

The Houſe of Commons had not in that ſeſſion been wanting to vote 300,000l. towards the building of ſhips, and to draw a bill for appropriating the ancient tunnage and poundage, amounting to 400,000l. yearly to the uſe of the navy, as it ought in law already, and had been granted formerly upon that ſpecial truſt and confidence, but neither did that 300,000l. although competent at preſent, and but an earneſt for future meeting, ſeem conſiderable, and had it been more, yet that bill of appropriating any thing to its true uſe, was a ſufficient cauſe to make them both miſcarry, but upon pretenſe of the quarrel between the Lords and Commons in which the ſeſſion thus ended.

The

The conspirators had this interval to reflect upon their own affairs. They saw that the King of France (as they called him) was so busy abroad, that he could not be of farther use, yet, to them here, than by his directions, while his armies were by assistance of the English forces, severall times saved from ruines. They considered that the Test was defeated, by which the Papists hoped to have had reprisals for that of Transubstantiation, and the conspirators to have gained commission, as extensive and arbitrary, as the malice of their own hearts could dictate: that herewith they had missed of a legality to have raised mony without consent of Parliament, or to imprison or execute whosoever should oppose them in pursuance of such their commission. They knew it was in vaine to expect that his Majesty in that want, or rather opinion of want, which they had reduced him to, should be diverted from holding this session of Parliament: nor were they themselves for this once wholly averse to it, for they presumed either way to find their own account, that if money were granted it should be attributed to their influence, and remaine much within their disposal, but if not granted, that by joyning this with other accidents of Parliament, they might so represent things to his Majesty as to incense him against them, and distrusting all parliamentary advice to take counsel from themselves, from France, and from necessity.



And in the meane time they fomented all the jealoufies which they caufed. They continued to inculcate forty and one in court, and country.

Thofe that refufed all the mony they demanded, were to be the onely recufants, and all that afferted the libertyes of the nation, were to be reckoned in the claffis of Prefbyterians.

The 13<sup>th</sup> of October came, and his Majefty now asked not only a fupply for his building of fhips, as formerly, but further, to take off the anticipation upon his revenue.

The Houfe of Commons took up again fuch publick bills as they had on foot in their former fitting, and others that might either remedy prefent, or prevent future mifchiefs.

The bill for *Habeas Corpus*; that againft fending men prifoners beyond fea; that againft raifing mony without confent of Parliament; that againft Papifts fitting in either Houfe; another act for fpeedier convicting of Papifts; that for recalling his Majeftys fubjects out of the French fervice, &c. And as to his Majeftys fupply, they proceeded in their former method of the two bills, one for raifing 300,000l. and the other for appropriating the tunnage and poundage to the ufe of the navy.

And in the Lords Houfe there was a good difpofition toward things of publick intereft: but 300,000l. was fo infid

fipid a thing, to thofe who had been continually regaled with millions, and that act of appropriation, with fome others, went fo much againft ftomach that there wanted only an opportunity to reject them, and that which was readieft at hand was the late quarrel betwixt the Houfe of Lords and the Commons. The Houfe of Commons did now more peremptorily than ever oppofe the Lords jurifdiction in appeals: the Lords on the other fide were refolved not to depart from fo effentiall a priviledge and authority, but to proceed in the exercife of it: fo that this difpute was raifed to a greater ardure and contention than ever, and there appeared no way of accommodation. Hereupon the Lords were in confultation for an addrefſe to his Majeſty containing many weighty reaſons for his Majeſtyes diſſolving this Parliament, deduced from the nature and behaviour of the preſent Houfe of Commons: but his Majeſty, although the tranſaction between the two Houfes was at preſent become impracticable, judging that this Houfe might at ſome other time be of uſe to him, choſe only to prorogue the Parliament; the blame of it was not onely laid, but aggravated, upon thoſe in both Houfes, but eſpecially on the Lords Houſe, who had moſt vigorously oppoſed the French and Popiſh intereſt. But thoſe who were preſent at the Lords, and obſerved the conduct of the great miniſters there, conceived of it otherwiſe; and as to the Houfe of Commons, who in the heat of the conteſt had voted,

“ That whosoever shall solicite or prosecute any appeal  
“ against any Commoner of England, from any court of  
“ equity before the House of Lords, shall be deemed and  
“ taken a betrayer of the rights and liberties of the Com-  
“ mons of England, and shall be proceeded against accord-  
“ ingly.”

Their Speaker, going thorow Westminster Hall to the House, and looking down upon some of those lawyers, commanded his mace to seize them, and led them up prisoners with him, which it is presumed, that he being of his Majesties privie councill, would not have done, but for what some men call his Majesties service; and yet it was the highest, this, of all the provocations which the Lords had received in this controversie. But however this fault ought to be divided, there was a greater committed in proroguing the Parliament from the 22<sup>d</sup> of November 1675, unto the 15<sup>th</sup> of February 1676, and holding it after that dismission, there being no record of any such thing done since the being of Parliaments in England, and the whole reason of law no lesse then the practise and custome holding contrary.

This vast space betwixt the meetings of Parliament cannot more properly be filled up, than with the coherence of those things abroad and at home, that those that are intelligent may observe whether the conspirators found any interruption,

terruption, or did not rather fute this event alfo to the continuance of their counfells. The earl of Northampton is not to be eſteemed as one engaged in thoſe counfells, being a perſon of too great honour, though the advancing of him to be Conſtable of the Tower was the firſt of our domeſtick occurrents. But if they could have any hand in it, 'tis more probable that left he might perceive their contrivances, they apparelled him in ſo much wall to have made him inſenſible. However men conjectured even then by the quality of the keeper, that he was not to be diſparaged with any mean and vulgar priſoners. But another thing was all along very remarkable, that during this inter-parliament, there were five judges places either fell, or were made vacant; (for it was ſome while before that Sir Francis North had been created Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas) the five that ſucceeded, were Sir Richard Rainsford, Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench; Mountagne, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer; Vere Bartie, Barrifter at Law, one of the Barons of the Exchequer; Sir William Scroggs, one of the Juſtices of the Common Pleas; and Sir Thomas Jones, one of the Juſtices of the King's Bench: concerning all whom there is ſomething too much to be ſaid; and it is not out of a figure of ſpeech, but for meer reverence of their profeſſion that I thus paſſe it over, conſidering alſo humane infirmity, and that they are all by their patents, *durante bene placito*, bound as it were to the good behaviour. And it is a ſhame



to think what trivially, and to say the best of them, obscure persons have and do stand next in prospect, to come and sit by them. Justice Atkins also, by warping too far towards the laws, was in danger upon another pretense to have made way for some of them, but upon true repentance and contrition, with some almes deeds, was admitted to mercy; and all the rest of the benches will doubtlesse have profited much by his, and some other example. Alas! the wisdom and probity of the law went off for the most part with good Sir Mathew Hales, and justice is made a meere property. This poysonous arrow strikes to the very heart of government, and could come from no quiver but that of the conspirators. What French counsell, what standing forces, what parliamentary bribes, what national oaths, and all the other machinations of wicked men have not yet been able to effect, may be more compendiously acted by twelve judges in scarlet.

The next thing considerable that appeared preparatory for the next session, was a book that came out by publick authority, intituled, “ Considerations touching the true way  
 “ to suppress Popery, &c.” A very good design, and writ, I believe, by a very good man, but under some mistakes, which are not to be passed over: one in the preface, wherein he saith, “ The favour here proposed in behalf of the Ro-  
 “ manists, is not more than they enjoy among Protestants

“ abroad at this day.” This I take not to be true either in Denmark or Sweden, and some other countrys, where Popery is wholly suppressed ; and therefore if that have been effected there, in ways of prudence and consisting with Christianity, it ought not to have been in so general words misrepresented.

Another is, page 59 and 60, a thing ill and dangerously said, concluding “ I know but one instance, that of David “ in Gath, of a man that was put to all these straits, and “ yet not corrupted in his principles.” When there was a more illustrious example near him, and more obvious.

What else I have to say in passing, is, as to the groundwork of his whole design ; which is to bring men nearer, as by a distinction betwixt the church and court of Rome, a thing long attempted but ineffectually, it being the same thing as to distinguish betwixt the church of England, and the English bishops, which cannot be separated. But the intention of the author was doubtless very honest, and the English of that profession are certainly of all Papists the most sincere and most worthy of favour ; but this seemed no proper time to negotiate further than the publick convenience.

There was another book likewise that came out by authority, towards the approach of the session, intitled, “ A “ Packet of Advice to the Men of Shaftsbury, &c.” But the  
name

name of the author was concealed, not out of any sparke of modesty, but that he might with more security exercise his impudence, not so much against those noble lords, as against all publick truth and honesty. The whole composition is nothing else but an infusion of malice, in the froath of the town, and the scum of the university, by the prescription of the conspirators. Nor, therefore, did the book deserve naming, no more than the author, but that they should rot together in their own infamy, had not the first events of the following session made it remarkable, that the wizard dealt with some superior intelligence.

And on the other side, some scattering papers straggled out in print, as is usual, for the information of Parliament men, in the matter of law concerning prorogation, which all of them, it is to be presumed, understood not, but was like to prove therefore a great question.

As to matters abroad from the year 1674, that the peace was concluded betwixt England and Holland; the French King, as a mark of his displeasure, and to humble the English nation, let loose his privateers among our merchantmen: there was thenceforth no security of commerce or navigation, notwithstanding the publick amity betwixt the two crowns, but at sea they murdered, plundered, made prize and confiscated those they met with. The picaroons laid before the mouth of our rivers, hovered  
all

all along the coast, took our ships in the very ports, that we were in a manner blocked up by water. And if any made application at his sovereign port for justice, they were insolently baffled, except some few, that by Sir Ellis Leighton's interest, who made a second prize of them, were redeemed upon easier composition. In this manner it continued from 1674 till the latter end of 1676 without remedy, even till the time of the Parliament's sitting; so that men doubted whether even the conspirators were not complices also in the matter, and found partly their own account in it. For evidence of what is said, formerly, the paper at the end of this treatise annexed may serve, returned by some Members of the Privy Council to his Majesties order, to which was also adjoyned a register of so many of the English ships as then came to notice which the French had taken, (and to this day cease not to treat our merchants at the same rate.) And yet all this while that they made these intolerable and barbarous piracies, and depredations upon his Majesties subjects, from hence they were more diligently than ever supplied with recruits, and those that would go voluntarily into the French service were encouraged, others that would not, pressed, imprisoned, and carried over by maine force, and constraint, even as the Parliament here was ready to sit down; notwithstanding all their former frequent applications to the contrary. And his Majesties magazines were daily emptied, to furnish the French with all sorts of ammu-



ammunition, of which the following note contains but a small parcell, in comparifon of what was daily conveyed away, under colour of cockets for Jarfy, and other places.

*A fhort Account of fome Amunition, &c. exported from the Port of London to France, from June 1675 to June 1677.*

Granadoes without number, fhipt off under the colour of unwrought iron.

Lead fhot            21 tuns.

Gunpowder    7134 barreles.

Iron fhot            18 tun, 600 weight.

Match                88 tun, 1900 weight.

Iron Ordinance 441 quantity, 292 tuns, 900 weight.

Carriages, bandileirs, pikes, &c. uncertain.

Thus was the French king to be gratified for undoing us by fea, with contributing all that we could rap and rend of men, or amunition at land, to make him more potent againft us, and more formidable.

Thus are we at length arrived at this much controverted, and as much expected feffion. . And though the way to it hath proved much longer then was intended in the entry of this difcourfe, yet is it very fhort of what the matter would have afforded, but is paff over to keep within bounds of this

this volume. The 15<sup>th</sup> of February 1676 came, and that very same day the French king appointed his march for Flanders. It seemed that his motions were in just cadence, and that, as in a grand ballet, he kept time with those that were tuned here to his measure. And he thought it a becoming galantrie to take the rest of Flanders our natural out-work, in the very face of the King of England and his *petites maisons* of Parliament.

His Majesty demanded of the Parliament, in his speech at the opening of the sessions, a supply for building of ships, and the further continuance of the additional excise upon beer and ale, which was to expire the 24<sup>th</sup> of June 1677, and recommended earnestly a good correspondence between the two Houses, representing their last differences as the reason of so long a prorogation, to allay them. The Lord Chancellor, as is usual with him, spoiled all which the King had said so well, with straining to do it better; for indeed the mischances of all the sessions, since he had the seals, may in great part be ascribed to his indiscreet and unlucky eloquence; and had not the Lord Treasurer a farre more effectual way of persuasion with the Commons, there had been the same danger of the ill success of this meeting, as of those formerly. Each House being now seated, the case of this long prorogation had taken place so farre without doores, and was of that consequence to the constitution

of all parliaments, and the validity of all proceedings in this session, that even the Commons, though fore against their inclination, could not passe it over : but they handled it so tenderly as if they were afraid to touch it.

The first day, instead of the question, whether the Parliament were by this unprecedented prorogation indeed dissolved ; it was proposed, something ridiculously, whether this prorogation were not an adjournment ? and this debate too they adjourned till the next day, and from thence they put it off till the Munday morning. Then those that had proposed it, yet before they would enter upon the debate, asked, Whether they might have liberty ? as if that had not been more than implied before, by adjourning the debate, and as if freedom of speech were not a concession of right, which the King grants at the first opening of all Parliaments. But by this faintness, and halfe-councell, they taught the House to deny them it. And so all that matter was wrapped up in a cleanly question, Whether their grand committees should sit, which involving the legitimacy of the Houses sitting, was carried in the affirmative, as well as their own hearts could wish : but in the Lords House it went otherwise. For the first day, as soon as the Houses were separate, the Duke of Buckingham, who usually saith what he thinks, argued by all the laws of Parliament, and with great strength of reason, that this prorogation was null, and

and this Parliament consequently dissolved, offering moreover to maintain it to all the judges, and desiring, as had been usual in such cases, but would not here be admitted, that even they might give their opinions. But my Lord Frechwell, as a better judge of so weighty a point in law, did of his great courtship move, that the Duke of Buckingham might be called to the barre, which being opposed by the Lord Salisbury, as an extravagant motion, but the Duke of Buckingham's proposal asserted, with all the Cecilian height of courage and reason, the Lord Arundell of Trerise, a peere of no lesse consideration and authority than my Lord Frechwell, and as much out of order as if the salt had been thrown down, or an hare had crossed his way, opening, renewed the motion for calling the Duke to the barre; but there were yet too many Lords between, and the couriers of the House of Commons brought up advice every moment, that the matter was yet in agitation among them, so that the earl of Shaftsbury had opportunity to appear with such extraordinary vigour, in what concerned both the Duke of Buckingham's person and his proposal, that as the Duke of Buckingham might have stood single in any rational contest, so the Earl of Shaftsbury was more properly another principal, than his second. The Lord Chancellour therefore in answer undertook, on the contrary, to make the prorogation look very formal, laying the best colours upon it, after his manner when advocate,



that the cause would bear (and the worst upon his opponents) but such as could never yet endure the day-light. Thus for five or six hours it grew a fixed debate, many arguing it in the regular method, till the expected news came, that the Commons were rose without doing any thing; whereupon the greater number called for the question, and had it in the affirmative, that the debate should be laid aside.

And being thus flushed, but not satisfied with their victory, they fell upon their adversaries in cool blood, questioning such as they thought fit that same night, and the morrow after, sentencing them, the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Salisbury, the Earl of Shaftsbury, and the Lord Wharton to be committed to the Tower, under the notion of contempt, during his Majestyes and the Houses pleasure. That contempt was their refusing to recant their opinion, and aske pardon of the King and the House of Lords. Thus a prorogation without precedent was to be warranted by an imprisonment without example. A sad instance! and whereby the dignity of Parliaments, and especially of the House of Peers, did at present much suffer, and may probably more for the future; for nothing but Parliament can destroy Parliament. If a House shall once be felon of itselfe and stop its own breath, taking away that liberty of speech, which the King verbally, and of course, allows them, (as  
now

now they had done in both Houses) to what purpose is it coming thither? But it was now over, and by the weakness in the House of Commons, and the force in the House of Lords, this presumptuous session was thus farre settled, and confirmed; so that henceforward men begun to wipe their mouths, as if nothing had been, and to enter upon the publick business.

And yet it is remarkable that shortly after, upon occasion of a discourse among the Commons concerning libells and pamphlets, first one member of them stood up, and in the face of their House, said, "That it was affirmed to him, by a person that might be spoke with, that there were among them, thirty, forty, fifty, God knows how many, outlawed." Another thereupon rose, and told them, "It was reported too, that there were diverse of the members Papists;" a third, "That a multitude of them were bribed and pensioners." And yet all this was patiently hushed up by their House, and digested, being it seems a thing of that nature, which there is no reply to; which may very well administer, and deserve a serious reflexion, how great an opportunity this House of Commons lost of ingratiating themselves with the nation, by acknowledging in this convention their invalidity to proceed in Parliament, and by addressing to his Majesty, as being dissolved, for a dismissal. For were it so, that all the  
 laws

laws of England require, and the very constitution of our government, as well as experience, teaches the necessity of the frequent meeting and change of parliaments, and suppose that the question concerning this prorogation were by the custom of Parliaments to be justified, (which hath not been done hitherto) yet who that desires to maintaine the reputation of an honest man, would not have layed hold upon so plausible an occasion, to breake company when it was grown so scandalous? For it is too notorious to be concealed, that near a third part of the House have beneficial offices under his Majesty, in the privy councill, the army, the navy, the law, the household, the revenue both in England and in Ireland, or in attendance on his Majesties person. These are all of them indeed to be esteemed gentlemen of honor, but more or lesse according to the quality of their severall imployments under his Majesty, and it is to be presumed that they brought along with them some honour of their own into his service at first to set up with. Nor is it fit that such an assembly should be destitute of them to informe the Commons of his Majesties affaires, and communicate his counsells, so that they do not, by irregular procureing of elections in place where they have no proper interest, thrust out the gentlemen that have, and thereby disturbe the severall countreys; nor that they croude into the House in numbers beyond modesty, and which, instead of giving a temper to their deliberations, may seem to affect  
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the predominance. For although the House of Peers, besides their supream and sole judicature, have an equal power in the legislature with the House of Commons, and as the second thoughts in the government have often corrected their errours; yet it is to be confessed, that the knights, citizens and burgesſes there aſſembled, are the repreſenters of the people of England, and are more peculiarly impowred by them to tranſact concerning the religion, lives, liberties and the propriety of the nation. And therefore no honourable perſon, related to his Majeſties more particular ſervice, but will in that place and opportunity ſuſpect himſelf, leſt his gratitude to his maſter, with his ſelf-intereſt, ſhould tempt him beyond his obligation there to the publick. The ſame excludes him that may next inherit from being guardian to an infant: not but there may the ſame affection and integritie be found in thoſe of the fathers ſide as thoſe on the mothers, but out of decent and humane caution, and in like manner however his Majeſties officers may be of as ſound and untainted reputation as the beſt, yet common diſcretion would teach them not to ſeek after and ingroſſe ſuch different truſts in thoſe bordering intereſts of the king and countrey, where from the people they have no legall advantage, but ſo much may be gained by betraying them. How improper would it ſeem for a privy counſellour if in the Houſe of Commons he ſhould not juſtify the moſt arbitrary proceedings of the counſill table,



table, represent affaires of state with another face, defend any misgovernment, patronize the greatest offenders against the kingdome, even though they were too his own particular enemies, and extend the supposed prerogative on all occasions, to the detriment of the subjects certaine and due libertyes! What self denyall were it in the learned counsell at law, did they not vindicate the misdemeanours of the judges, perplex all remedies against the corruptions and incroachment of courts of judicature, word all acts towards the advantage of their own profession, palliate unlawfull elections, extenuate and advocate publick crimes, where the criminall may prove considerable; step into the chaire of a money bill and pen the clauses so dubiously, that they may be interpretable in Westminster-Hall beyond the Houses intention, mislead the House, not only in point of law, but even in matter of fact, without any respect to veracity, but all to his own further promotion! What soldier in pay, but might think himself fit to be cashiered, should he oppose the increase of standing forces, the depression of civill authority, or the levying of mony by whatsoever means or in what quantity? Or who of them ought not to abhorre that traiterous position, of taking armes by the king's authority against those that are commissioned by him in pursuance of such commission? What officer of the navy, but takes himself under obligation to magnify the expence, extoll the management, conceal the neglect, in-  
crease

create the debts and press the necessity, rigging and unrigging it to the House in the same moment, and representing it all at once in a good and a bad condition? Should any member of parliament and of the exchequer omit to transform the accounts, conceal the issues, heighten the anticipations, and in despite of himself oblige whosoever chance to be the Lord Treasurer; might not this reverfioner justly expect to be put into present possession of the office? Who that is either concerned in the customes, or of their brethren of the excise, can with any decency refuse, if they do not invent, all further impositions upon merchandise, navigation, or our own domestick growth and consumption; and if the charge be but temporary, to perpetuate it? Hence it shall come that instead of relieving the crown by the good old and certain way of subsidies, wherein nothing was to be got by the House of Commons, they devised this foraine course of revenue, to the great greivance and double charge of the people, that so many of the members might be gratified in the farmes or commissions.

But to conclude this digression, whatsoever other offices have been set up for the use of the members, or have been extinguished upon occasion, should they have failed at a question, did not they deserve to be turned out? Were not all the votes as it were in fee farme, of those that were

intrusted with the sale? Must not Surinam be a sufficient cause of quarrel with Holland, to any commissioner of the plantations? Or who would have denyed mony to continue the war with Holland, when he were a commissioner of prizes, of sick and wounded, of transporting the English, or of starving the Dutch prisoners? How much greater then would the hardship be for those of his Majesties household, or who attend upon his royall person, to forget by any chance vote, or in being absent from the House, that they are his domestick servants? Or that all those of the capacity abovementioned are to be looke upon as a distinct body under another discipline; and whatsoever they may commit in the House of Commons against the national interest, they take themselves to be justified by their circumstances; their hearts indeed are, they say, with the country, and one of them had the boldness to tell his Majesty, that he was come from voting in the House against his conscience.

And yet these gentlemen being full, and already in employment, are more good natured and less dangerous to the publick, than those that are hungry and out of office, who may, by probable computation, make another third part of this House of Commons. Those are such as having observed by what steps, or rather leaps and strides, others of their House have ascended into the highest places of the kingdom,

dom, do upon meafuring their own birth, eftates, parts, and merit, think themfelves as well and better qualified in all refpects as their former companions. They are generally men, who by fpeaking againft the French, inveighing againft the debauches of court, talking of the ill management of the revenue, and fuch popular flourifhes, have cheated the countrys into electing them, and when they come up, if they can fpeak in the Houfe, they make a faint attaque or two upon fome great minifter of ftate, and perhaps relieve fome other that is in danger of Parliament, to make themfelves either way confiderable.

In matters of money they feem at firft difficult, but having been difcourft with in private, they are fet right, and begin to underftand it better themfelves, and to convert their brethren: for they are all of them to be bought and fold, only their number makes them cheaper, and each of them doth fo overvalue himfelf, that fometimes they outftand or let flip their own market.

It is not to be imagined, how fmall things, in this cafe, even members of great eftates will ftoop at, and moft of them will do as much for hopes, as others for fruition, but if their patience be tired out, they grow at laft mutinous, and revolt to the country, till fome better occafion offer.

Among thefe are fome men of the beft underftanding were they of equal integrity, who affect to ingroffe all bufi-



nessè, to be able to quash any good motion by parliamentary skill, unlesse themselves be the authors, and to be the leading men of the House, and for their naturall lives to continue so. But these are men that have been once fooled, most of them, and discovered, and slighted at court, so that till some turn of state shall set them in their adversaryes place, in the mean time they look fullen, make big motions, and contrive speccious bills for the subject, yet onely wait the opportunity to be the instruments of the same counsellis, which they oppose in others.

There is a third part still remaining, but as contrary in themselves as light and darknesse; those are either the worst, or the best of men; the first are most profligate persons, that have neither estates, consciences, nor good manners, yet are therefore picked out as the necessary men, and whose votes will go furthest; the charges of their elections are defraied, whatever they amount to, tables are kept for them at Whitehall, and through Westminster, that they may be ready at hand, within call of a question: all of them are received into pension, and know their pay-day, which they never faile of: insomuch that a great officer was pleased to say, "That they came about him like so many " jack-daws for cheese at the end of every session." If they be not in Parliament they must be in prison, and as they are protected themselves, by priviledge, so they sell their protections to others, to the obstruction so many years together  
of

of the law of the land, and the publick justice; for these it is, that the long and frequent adjournments are calculated, but all whether the court, or the monopolizers of the country party, or those that profane the title of old cavaliers, do equally, though upon differing reasons, like death apprehend a dissolution. But notwithstanding these, there is an handfull of salt, a sparkle of soul, that hath hitherto preserved this grosse body from putrefaction, some gentlemen that are constant, invariable, indeed Englishmen, such as are above hopes, or fears, or dissimulation, that can neither flatter, nor betray their king or country: but being conscious of their own loyalty, and integrity, proceed throw good and bad report, to acquit themselves in their duty to God, their prince, and their nation; although so small a scantling in number, that men can scarce reckon of them more than a *quorum*; insomuch that it is lesse difficult to conceive how fire was first brought to light in the world than how any good thing could ever be produced out of an House of Commons so constituted, unlesse as that is imagined to have come from the rushing of trees, or battering of rocks together, by accident, so these, by their clashing with one another, have struck out an usefull effect from so unlikely causes. But whatsoever casuall good hath been wrought at any time by the assimilation of ambitious, factious, and disappointed members, to the little, but solid, and unbyassed party, the more frequent ill effects, and consequences.

quences of so unequal a mixture, so long continued, are demonstrable and apparent. For while scarce any man comes thither with respect to the publick service, but in design to make, and raise his fortune, it is not to be expected, the debauchery, and lewdness, which, upon occasion of election to Parliaments, are now grown habitual thorow the nation. So that the vice, and the expence, are risen to such a prodigious height, that few sober men can indure to stand to be chosen on such conditions. From whence also arise feuds, and perpetuall animosities, over most of the countyes, and corporations, while gentlemen of worth, spirit, and ancient estates, and dependances, see themselves overpowered in their own neighbourhood by the drunkenness, and bribery, of their competitors. But if nevertheless any worthy person chance to carry the election, some mercenary or corrupt sheriffe makes a double return, and so the cause is handed to the Committee of elections, who aske no better, but are ready to adopt his adversary into the House if he be not legitimate. And if the gentleman agrieved seek his remedy against the sheriffe in Westminster-Hall, and the proofes be so palpable, that the King's Bench cannot invent how to do him injustice, yet the major part of the twelve judges shall upon better consideration vacate the sheriff's fine, and reverse the judgement; but those of them that dare dissent from their brethren are in danger to be turned off the bench without any cause assigned. While

men therefore care not thus how they get into the House of Commons, neither can it be expected that they should make any conscience of what they do there, but they are onely intent how to reimburse themselves (if their elections were at their own charge) or how to bargain their votes for a place or a pension. They lift themselves streightways into some Court faction, and it is as well known among them, to what Lord each of them retaine, as when formerly they wore coates and badges. By this long haunting so together they are grown too so familiar among themselves, that all reverence of their own assembly is lost, that they live together not like Parliament men, but like so many good fellows met together in a publick house to make merry. And which is yet worse, by being so thoroughly acquainted, they understand their number and party, so that the use of so publick a counsel is frustrated, there is no place for deliberation, no perswading by reason, but they can see one anothers votes through both throats and cravats before they hear them.

Where the cards are so well known, they are only fit for a cheat, and no fair gamster but would throw them under the table.

Hereby it is that their House hath lost all the antient weight and authority, and being conscious of their own guilt and weakness, dare not adventure, as heretofore, the impeaching



peaching of any man before the Lords, for the most hainous crimes of state, and the most publick misdemeanours; upon which confidence it is, that the conspirators have so long presumed, and gone unpunished. For although the conspirators have sometimes (that this House might appear still necessary to the people, and to make the money more glib) yielded that even their own names should be tossed among them, and grievances be talked of, yet at the same time they have been so prevalent as to hinder any effect, and if the House has emancipated itself beyond instructions, then by chastizing them with prorogations, frightening them with dissolution, comforting them with long, frequent, and seasonable adjournments, now by suspending, or diminishing their pensions, then again by increasing them, sometimes by a scorn, and otherwhiles by a favour, there hath a way been found to reduce them again under discipline. All these things and more being considered, and how doubtful a foot this long Parliament now stood upon by this long prorogation, there could not have been a more legal, or however no more wise and honest a thing done, than for both the Lords and Commons to have separated themselves, or have besought his Majesty to that purpose, lest the conspirators should any longer shelter and carry on their design against the government and religion, under this shadow of Parliamentary authority. But it was otherwise ordered, of which it is now time to relate the consequences.

The

The four Lords having thus been committed, it cannot properly be said that the House of Peers was thenceforward under the government of the Lord Fretchwel, and the Lord Arundel of Trerise, but those two noble Peers had of necessity no small influence upon the counsels of that House, (having hoped ere this to have made their way also into his Majesty's privy council) and all things fell out as they could have wished, if under their own direction. For most of them, who had been the most active formerly in the publick interest, were mute in the House, whether, as is probable, out of reverence to their two persons, and confidence in their wisdom, they left all to their conduct, and gave them a general proxy, or whether, as some would have it, they were fullen at the commitment of the four Lords, and by reason of that, or the prorogation, began now to think the Parliament, or their House to be *non compos*. But now therefore Doctor Cary, a commoner, was brought to the barre before them, and questioned concerning a written book which it seems he had carried to be printed, treating of the illegality of this prorogation, and because he satisfied them not in some interrogatories, which no man would in common honour to others, or in self preservation, as neither was he in law bound to have answered, they therefore fined him a thousand pounds, under that new notion of contempt, when no other crime would do it, and sentenced him to continue close prisoner in the Tower until pay-

ment. Yet the Commons were in so admirable good temper (having been conjured by the charming eloquence of the Lord Chancellor, to avoid all misunderstanding between the two Houses) that there could no member, or time, be found in all the session, to offer their House his petition, much lesse would that breach upon the whole Parliament, by imprisoning the Lords, for using their liberty of speech, be entertained by them upon motion, for fear of entrenching upon the privilege of the House of Peers, which it had been well for them if they had been as tender of formerly.

One further instance of the complexion of their House, at that season, may be sufficient. One Master Harrington had before the session been committed close prisoner (for that was now the mode, as though the Earl of Northampton would not otherwise have kept him close enough) by order of the King and council, the warrant bearing “for sub-  
“ornation of perjury, tending to the defamation of his  
“Majesty, and his government, and for contemptuously de-  
“claring he would not answer his Majesty any question,  
“which his Majesty, or his privy council should aske him.” As this gentleman was hurried along to the Tower, he was so dexterous as to convey into a friend’s hand passing by, a blanke paper onely with his name, that a petition might be written above it, to be presented to the House of Commons, without rejecting for want of his own hand in the subscription. His case notwithstanding the warrant was thus:

He had met with two Scotch soldiers in town returned from Flanders, who complained that many of their countrymen had in Scotland been seized by force, to be carried over into the French service; had been detained in the publick prisons till an opportunity to transport them; were heaved on board fast tyed and bound like malefactors; some of them struggling and contesting it, were cast into the sea, or maimed: in conclusion an intolerable violence and barbarity used to compell them, and this near the present session of Parliament. Hereupon this gentleman considering how oft the House of Commons had addressed to his Majesty and framed an Act for recalling his Majesties subjects out of the French service, as also that his Majesty had issued his Proclamation to the same purpose, thought he might do a good and acceptable thing in giving information of it to the House as time served, but withall knowing how witnesses might possibly be taken off, he for his own greater security took them before a Master of Chancery, where they confirmed by oath the same things they had told him. But hereupon he was brought before his Majesty, and the Privy Councill, where he declared this matter, but being here asked by the Lord Chancellour some insnaring and improper questions, he modestly, as those that were by affirmed, desired to be excused from answering him further, but after this, answered his Majesty with great humility and respect to divers questions. This was the subornation of perjury, and this the



contempt to his Majesty, for which he was made close prisoner. Upon his petition to the House of Commons he was sent for, and called in, where he is reported to have given a very clear account of the whole matter, and of his behaviour at the council board. But of the two Scotch soldiers the one made himself perjured without being suborned by Harrington, denying or misrepresenting to the House what he had sworn formerly. And the other, the honest fellow it seems of the two, only was absented. But however divers honourable members of that House attested voluntarily, that the soldiers had affirmed the same thing to them, and indeed the truth of that matter is notorious, by several other soldiers that since came over, and by further account from Scotland. Master Harrington also carried himself towards the House with that modesty, that it seemed inseparable from him, and much more in his Majesties presence, so that their House was inclined, and ready to have concerned themselves for his liberty. But Master Secretary Williamson stood up, having been a principal instrument in committing him, and because the other crimes rather deserved thanks and commendation, and the warrant would not justify itself, he insisted upon his strange demeanour toward his Majesty, deciphered his very looks, how truly it matters not, and but that his Majesty and the House remained still living flesh and blood, it might have been imagined by his discourse that Master Harrington had the head of a Gorgon. But this story  
so

so wrought with, and amazed the Commons, that Mr. Harrington found no redresse, but might thank God that he escaped again into close prison. It was thought notwithstanding by most men that his looks might have past any where but with a man of Sir Joseph's delicacy. For neither indeed had Master Harrington ever the same opportunities that others had of practising the *hocus pocus* of the face, of playing the French *scaramuccie*, or of living abroad to learn how to make the Plenipotentiary *grimafs* for his Majesty's service.

And now to proceed, rather according to the coherence of the matters, than to the particular date of every day's action: by this good humour, and the House being so free of the liberty of their fellow commoners, it might be guessed that they would not be lesse liberal of their mony this session.

The Bill therefore for 600,000*l.* tax for eighteen months towards the building and furnishing of ships easily passed, without once dreaming any more of appropriating the customes. For the nation being generally possessed by the members with the defects of the navy, and not considering at all from what neglect it proceeded, the House of Commons were very willing, and glad to take this occasion, of confirming the authority of their sitting, and to pay double the summe that in the former sessions they had thought necessary towards the fleet; hereby to hedge in, and purchase

purchase their own continuance. And for the same purpose they ingrossed the Act with so numerous a list of Commissioners, that it seemed rather a register or muster-roll of the nation, and that they raised the whole kingdom to raise the money. For who could doubt that they were still a lawful Parliament, when they saw so many gentlemens names (though by the clerks hand onely) subscribed to an Act of their making? onely Mr. Seymour, the speaker, would have diminished the number in his own country. For he had entred into a combination, that none should serve the King or their country thorow Devonshire, in any capacity but under his approbation, and therefore he highly inveighed against many gentlemen of the best rank there, that ought him no homage, as persons disaffected, opposing their names at a Committee of the whole House, before he heard them. But being checked in his careere, he let fall the contest, with as much judgment and modesty, as he had begun it with boldnesse and indiscretion.

This Bill was not enough, but though the nation had hoped to be relieved from the additionall excise upon beer and ale, which the Triple League had fooled them into, but was now of course to expire the 24<sup>th</sup> of June 1677; yet a Bill for the continuing of it for three years more passed them likewise with little difficulty: for the late fear of dissolution was still so fresh upon them, that they would continue  
any

any thing to buy their own continuance; and this Bill might, considering their present want of legality, have been properly intituled, “ An Act for the extraordinary occasion of “ the House of Commons.” But that they might seem within this tenderesse to themselves not to have cast off all toward the people, they sunk all former grievances into a Bill of Chancery, knowing well that a sute in that court would be sooner ended, then a reformation of it be effected; and that thereby they might gain work enough to direct the whole session. And of their usuall Bills for the liberty of the subjects, they sent up only that of *Habeas Corpus*; pretending, and perhaps truly, that they durst not adventure them either in their own or the Lords House as they were now governed, lest they should be further ensnared by struggling for freedome. But lest they should trouble themselves too much with religion, the Lords presented them with two Bills of a very good name, but of a strange and unheard of nature. The one intituled “ An Act for securing the Protestant Religion by educating the children of the royall “ family, and providing for the continuance of a Protestant “ clergy.” The other “ An Act for the more effectually “ conviction and prosecution of Popish recusants.” And with these they sent down another for the further regulation of the presses and suppressing all unlicensed books, with clauses most severe and generall upon the subject, whereof one for breaking all Houses whatsoever on suspicion of any such



such pamphlet, whereby Master L'Esrange's authority was much amplified to search any other house with the same liberty as he had Sir Thomas Doleman's.

But as to those two Bills of religion, although they were of the highest consequence that ever were offered in Parliament since Protestantism came in (and went out of fashion) yet it is not to be imagined, how indisputable and easy a passage they found through the House of Peers to the House of Commons; which must be ascribed to the great unanimity among them, after the committing of the four Lords, and to the power of those two noble Peers, their adversaries, which was now so established, that their sense being once declared, the rest seemed to yield them an implicit faith and obedience; and they were now in such vogue, that whatsoever was spoken or done any where abroad in perfection, with great weight and judgement, men said it was *a la Fraischeville*; but if genteely and acutely, *a la Trerise*.

That intituled "An Act for the more effectual conviction and prosecution of Popish recusants" is too long to be here inserted, and the fate it met with, makes it unnecessary, for as soon as it was first read a gentleman of great worth and apprehension spake short but roundly and thorough against it.

A second immediately moved that it might not onely be thrown out, but with a particular mark of infamy. And it being without any more ado ready to be put to the question, a third demanded that they should stay a while to see whether there were any one so hardy as to speak a word for it. Which no man offering at, it was forthwith rejected with this censure added to the journal.

And because the body of the Bill was contrary to the title, this unusual sentence of the House of Commons, though excusable by the crimes of the Bill, yet was not to be justified by the rules of intercourse between the two Houses. But because all men have hence taken occasion to accuse the Lords Spiritual, as the authors both of this Bill and the other, it is necessary to insert here the true fact in their just vindication. It was above two years ago that a select caball of great ministers had been consulting about church matters, though it seldom happens (nor did it in this instance) that the statesmen are more fortunate in meddling with religion, then the churchmen with government, but each marris them with tampering out of their provinces. This only difference, that what ecclesiastical persons may do by chance or consequence, that harm the others commit on set purpose. For it was by these politicians, that these two cockatrice eggs were layd and by their assiduous incubation hatched. It is true indeed afterwards they took some few of the

Bishops into communication, and as it were for advice, upon what was before resolved. And to make this Bill go the better down, they flattered them with the other, as wholly calculated forsooth to the church's interest. And by this means possibly they prevailed so far, that the bishops, both there and in the House, less vigorously opposed. But that the bishops were either the contrivers or promoters of the Bill, is a scandalous falsehood, and devised by the authors to throw the odium off from themselves upon the clergy, and (the Bills that aimed at the ruine of the church of England having miscarried) to compass the end by this defamation. A sufficient warning to the clergy, how to be intrigued with the statesmen for the future.

The second Bill follows :

*An Act for further securing the Protestant Religion, by educating the Children of the Royal Family therein; and for the providing for the continuance of a Protestant Clergy.*

TO the intent that the Protestant Religion, which through the blessing of God hath been happily established in this realm, and is at present sufficiently secured by his Majesty's known piety and zeal for the preservation thereof, may remain secure in all future times.

Be

Be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and Commons in this Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That upon the demise of his Majesty that now is, to whom God grant a long and prosperous reign, and upon the demise of any other King or Queen regnant, that shall hereafter bear the imperial crown of this realme, the archbishops, and all and every the bishops of England and Wales, for the time being, as shall not be disabled by sicknesse or other infirmity, shall, within forty dayes next after such demise, repaire to Lambeth House, and being there assembled, to the number of nine at least, shall cause to be fairely ingrosed in parchment the oath and declaration following :

“ I                      King or Queen of England, do declare  
 “ and swear, that I do believe that there is not any tran-  
 “ substantiation in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or  
 “ in the elements of bread and wine, at or after the con-  
 “ secration thereof by any person whatsoever. So help  
 “ me God.”

Which blanck shall be filled up with the Christian name of such King or Queen. And thereupon the prelates so assembled shall without delay repaire to the persons of such succeeding King or Queen regnant, and in humble manner



tender the said oath or declaration, to be taken by such succeeding King or Queen regnant, which they are hereby authorized to administer, and shall abide in or near the court by the space of fourteen dayes, and at convenient time, as often as conveniently they may, they shall appear in the presence of such King and Queen ready to receive commands for administering the said oath and declaration, which if such succeeding King and Queen shall make and subscribe in presence of them, or any nine or more of them, they shall attest the doing thereof, by subscribing their names to a certificate, indorsed upon the said indorsment, and carry the same into the high court of Chancery there to be safely deposited amongst the records of the said court. And if such King or Queen regnant shall refuse or omit to make and subscribe the said oath and declaration, for the space of fourteen dayes after such humble tender made in manner aforesaid, the said prelates may depart from the court without any further attendance on this occasion. But if at any time afterward such King or Queen shall be pleased to take and subscribe the said oath and declaration, and shall signifie such pleasure to the archbishops and bishops or any nine or more of them, the said archbishops and bishops, or such nine or more of them, are hereby authorized and required forthwith to administer the same, and to attest and certify the same in manner aforesaid.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any succeeding King or Queen regnant shall refuse or omit to make such oath and declaration, within the time therefore limited, the same having been tendered in manner aforesaid, or there shall be any let, obstruction, or hindrance whatsoever, to their making the said tender in manner aforesaid, they are hereby enjoined and required to endorse upon the said engrossment such refusall or omission, or any obstruction, let or hinderance, that shall happen to them, whereby they are not able to make the said tender, according to the act, and attest the same by subscribing their names thereunto, and carry the same into the high Court of Chancery, there to be safely deposited in manner aforesaid. And if any the said persons, hereby appointed to make the said tender, shall neglect or refuse to do the same, or in case of any refusal, or omission of making the said oath and declaration, or in case of any obstruction or hindrance to the making of the said tender, shall refuse or neglect to make certificate thereof in manner aforesaid, that the archbishoprick or bishoprick of the person or persons so refusing, shall be *ipso facto* void, as if he or they were naturally dead, and the said person or persons shall be incapable, during his or their life or lives, of that, or any other ecclesiastical preferment.

And be it further enacted, that if any King or Queen regnant, at the time when the imperial crown of this realme

realme shall devolve, shall be under the age of fourteen years, and that upon his or her attaining the said age of fourteen years, the archbishops and bishops shall, and are upon the like penalties hereby enjoyned, within fourteen dayes next after such attaining to the said age, to assemble at the said place, and thereupon to do and perform all things in preparing and tendering the said oath and declaration, and making certificate of the taking or omission thereof, that are required by this Act to be done, upon the demise of any King or Queen regnant.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that untill any succeeding King or Queen regnant shall make the said oath and declaration, in manner aforesaid, such respective King or Queen shall not grant, confer, or dispose of any archbishoprick or any bishoprick, in England or Wales, otherwise than in manner following, that is to say, within seven dayes after the vacancy of any bishoprick or see shall be known to the archbishop of Canterbury for the time being, he shall and is hereby required to send forth a summons in writing to all the prelates in England and Wales, requiring them to meet at a certain convenient time and place, to be appointed by the summons, to consult concerning the nomination of fit persons for the supply of that vacancy. And in case of vacancy of the archbishoprick of Canterbury, the archbishop of York, for the time being. And if that see shall be also vacant, such prelate of  
4 the



the realm, as by the statute of 31 H. 8. ought to have place before the rest in Parliament, shall and are hereby required to issue forth the said summons, and at the said time and place, so appointed, in manner aforesaid, the prelates then assembled, being seven at the least, or the major part of them, shall, by writing under their hands and seals, nominate three persons, natural born subjects of the King, and in holy orders, for the supplying of the said vacancy, and to be placed in such order as the said prelates so assembled or the major part of them shall think fit, without regard to dignity, antiquity, or any other form, which writing shall be presented to the King, who may thereupon appoint one of the three persons so to be named, to succeed in the said vacancy. And the person so appointed or chosen, shall by due form of law, according to the course now used, be made bishop of that see. But if in thirty days after such presentment, of such names, the King or Queen regnant shall not elect or appoint which of the said three persons shall succeed in the said vacant see; or if after such election or appointment there shall be any obstruction in pressing of the usual instruments and formalities of law, in order to his consecration, then such person, whose name shall be first written in the said instrument of nomination, if there be no election or appointment made by the King, within the time aforesaid, shall be the bishop of the vacant see. And if there be an election or appointment made, then the person so appointed shall  
be



be the bishop of the vacant see. And the archbishop of the province wherein the said vacancy shall be, or such other person or persons, who ought by his Majesties ecclesiastical laws to consecrate the said bishop, shall upon reasonable demand, and are hereby required to make consecration accordingly upon pain of forfeiting treble damages and costs to the party grieved, to be recovered in any of his Majesties Courts at Westminster. And immediately after such consecration, the person so consecrated shall be, and is hereby enacted to be compleat bishop of the said vacant see, and is hereby vested in the temporalities of the said bishoprick, and in actual possession thereof, to all intents and purposes, and shall have a seat and place in Parliament, as if he had by due forms of law been made bishop, and had the temporalities restored unto him; and in case the person so first named in the said instrument of nomination, or the person so elected by the King or Queen regnant, shall then be a bishop, so that no consecration be requisite, then immediately after default of election or appointment by the King, or immediately after such election or appointment, if any shall be made within the said time, and any obstructions in pressing the instruments and formalities in law, in such cases used, the bishop so first named or elected and appointed, shall thereupon, *ipso facto*, be translated, and become bishop of that see, to which he was so nominated and appointed, and shall be, and is hereby vested in the temporalities and  
actual

actual possession thereof to all intents and purposes, and shall have his seat and place in Parliament accordingly, and his former see shall become vacant, as if he had been by due forms of law chosen and confirmed into the same, and had the temporalities restored unto him.

And be it further enacted, that until the making the said oath and declaration in manner aforesaid, the respective succeeding Kings and Queens that shall not have made and subscribed the same, shall not grant or dispose of any deanry, or arch-deconary, prebendary, mastership of any college, parsonage, vicarage, or any ecclesiastical benefice or promotion whatsoever, to any other person, but such person as shall be nominated for the same, unto the said King or Queen regnant, by the archbishop of Canterbury, or guardians of the spiritualities of the said archbishoprick, for the time being, if the same be within the province of Canterbury, and by the archbishop of York, or guardians of the spiritualities of the said archbishoprick for the time being, if the same be within the province of York, by writing under their respective hands and seals; and in case any such as shall be accordingly nominated, shall not be able to obtain presentation or grant thereof within thirty dayes, next after such nomination, then the said person shall and may, and is hereby enabled, by force of the said nomination, to require institution and induction from such per-

son and persons unto whom it shall belong to grant the same, who shall accordingly make institution and induction, as if the said person were lawfully presented by the said King or Queen regnant, upon pain to forfeit to the party grieved, treble damages and costs, to be recovered in any of his Majesties courts at Westminster; and in cases where no institution or induction is requisite, the said person so nominated, from and after the end of the said thirty days, shall be and is hereby actually vested in the possession of such deanry, archdeaconry, prebendary, mastership, rectory, parsonage, or vicarage, donative, or other ecclesiastical benefice or promotion, and shall be full and absolute proprietor and incumbent thereof, to all intents and purposes as if he had obteyned possession thereof upon a legall grant by the said King or Queen regnant, and proceeding thereupon in due form of law.

Provided always and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that it shall and may be lawful for the Lord High Chancellor of England, or the Lord Keeper of the great seal of England, for the time being, to pass presentations or grants, to any ecclesiastical benefice, under value in the King's gift, in such manner as hath been accustomed, any thing in this present act to the contrary notwithstanding.

And be it further enacted, that during such time as any King or Queen regnant shall be under the said fourteen  
yeares,

yeares, no person that shall be Lord Protector, or Regent of this realme, during such minority, shall in any wise, either in the name of the King or Queen regnant, or in his own name grant, confer or dispose, of any archbishoprick, bishoprick, deanry, prebendary, mastership of any college, parsonage, vicarage, or other ecclesiastical benefice or promotion whatsoever, but the same shall be disposed of in manner abovementioned, during such minority, untill such Lord Protector or Regent shall make and subscribe the said oath and declaration, (*mutatis mutandis*) before such nine or more of the said prelates, as he shall call to administer the same unto him, which oath and declaration they are hereby authorized and required to administer, under the penaltyes aforesaid, when they shall be called thereunto, by such Lord Protector or Regent, for the time being.

And be it further enacted, that the children of such succeeding King or Queen regnant, that shall not have made and subscribed the oath and declaration in manner aforesaid, shall from their respective ages of seven years, untill the respective ages of fourteen yeares, be under the care and government of the archbishops of Canterbury and York, and bishop of London, Durham and Winchester, for the time being, who are hereby enjoyned and required to take care that they be well instructed and educated in the true



Protestant Religion, as it is now established by law. And to the intent that the archbishops and bishops, for the time being, may effectually have the care and government of such children, according to the true intent of this law; be it enacted, that after any such children shall have attained their respective ages of fourteen years, no person shall have, enjoy, bear and execute any office, service, employment or place of attendance relating to their persons, but such as shall be approved of in writing under the hands and seals of the said archbishops and bishops in being, or the major part of such of them as are there in being. And if any person shall take upon him to execute any such office, service, employment, or place of attendance, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, he shall forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds for every moneth he shall so execute the same, to be recovered by any person that will sue for the same, in any action of debt, bill, plaint or information, in any of his Majesties courts at Westminster, shall also suffer imprisonment for the space of six months without bayle or mainprize.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no person born within this realme or any other of his Majesties dominions, being a Popish priest, deacon, or ecclesiastical person, made, or deemed; or professed by any authority or jurisdiction derived, challenged, or pretended  
from

from the see of Rome, or any jesuite whatsoever shall be allowed to attend the person of the Queen's Majesty that now is, or any Queen consort, or Queen dowager, that shall be hereafter, whilst they are within this realme, or by pretence of such service, or any other matter, shall be exempted from the penall laws already made against such persons coming into, being or remaining in this kingdom, but shall be, and are hereby lyable to the utmost severity thereof.

Provided alwayes, that it shall and may be lawfull for Master John Huddleston, being one of the Queen's Majesties domestique servants, to attend her said Majesties service, any thing in this act or any other law to the contrary notwithstanding.

And be it further enacted, that after the death of the Queen's Majesty, to whom God grant a long and happy life, all lay persons whatsoever, born within this realme, or any other of his Majesties dominions, that shall be of the household, or in the service or employment of any succeeding Queen consort, or Queen dowager, shall do and performe all things in a late Act of this Parliament, entituled, " An Act for preventing dangers which may happen from Popish recusants" required to be done and performed by any person, that shall be admitted into the service or employment of his Majesty, or his royal highnesse the Duke of York,

York, which if they shall neglect or refuse to do and perform, and neverthelesse, after such refusall, do execute any office, service, or employment under any succeeding Queen consort, or Queen dowager, every person so offending shall be lyable to the same penalties and disabilities, as by the said Act are or may be inflicted upon the breakers of that law. Provided always, that all and every person or persons, that shall, by virtue of this act, have or claym any archbishoprick, bishoprick, deanry, prebendary, parsonage, vicarage, or other ecclesiastical benefits, with cure or without cure, shall be and is hereby enjoyned, under the like penalties and disabilitys, to do and perform all things whatsoever, which by law they ought to have done if they had obteyned the same, and by the usuall course and form of law, without the help and benefit of this act.

And be it further enacted, that all and every archbishops, bishops, appointed by this Act to assemble upon the demise of his Majesty, or any other King or Queen regnant, in order to repaire and make humble tender of the oath and declaration aforementioned, to any succeeding King or Queen, be bound by this Act to administer the same, shall before such tender and administration thereof, and are hereby required to administer the same oath and declaration, to one another, with such of the archbishops and bishops, at any time assembled as by the statute

31 H. 8. ought to have precedence of all the rest of them that shall be so assembled, is hereby authorized and required to administer to the rest of them, and the next in order to such prelates is hereby authorized and required to administer the same to him, and the same oath and declaration being engrossed in other piece of parchment, they and every of them are hereby enjoined to subscribe their names to the same, and to return the same into the high Court of Chancery, hereafter with their certificate, which they are before by this Act appointed to make. And if any of the said archbishops or bishops shall be under the same penalties, forfeiture, and disabilities, as are hereby appointed for such archbishops and bishops, as neglect or refuse to make any tender of the said oath and declaration, to any succeeding King or Queen regnant.

And be it further enacted, that the archbishop of Canterbury, or archbishop of York, or such other bishop to whom it shall belong to issue forth summons to all the bishops of England and Wales, requiring to meet and consult concerning the nomination of fit persons, for the supply of any archbishoprick, or bishoprick, according to this Act, shall make the said summons in such manner that the time therein mentioned for the meeting the said archbishops and bishops, shall not be more then forty days, distinct from the time of the date, and issuing out of the said summons.

And



And be it further enacted, that in case any person intituled by this Act doth demand consecration, in order to make him bishop of any vacant see, in manner aforesaid, shall demand the same of the archbishop of the province, and such archbishop that shall neglect or refuse to do the same, either by himself or by others commissioned by him, by the space of thirty days, that then such archbishop shall over and besides the treble damages, to the party before appointed, forfeit the summe of one thousand pounds to any person that will sue for the same, in any of his Majesties courts at Westminster by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information, wherein no essoyne, protection, or wager of law, shall be allowed. And being thereof lawfully convicted, his archbishoprick shall thereby become, *ipso facto*, voyd as if he were naturally dead, and he shall be and is hereby made incapable and disabled to hold, have, receive the same, or any other bishoprick, or ecclesiastical benefice whatsoever.

And be it further enacted, that after such neglect or refusall by the space of thirty dayes after demand, to make such consecration, or in case of the vacancy of the archbishoprick, such bishop of the said province, for time being, who by the statute of 31 H. 8. ought to have precedence of all the rest, calling to his assistance a sufficient number of bishops, who are likewise required to assist, at such time

and place, as he shall thereunto appoint, shall and is hereby required, upon reasonable demands, to make such consecration which shall be good and effectual in law, as if the said bishops were thereunto authorized, and empowered by commission from such archbishop, or any other person, or persons, having authority to grant commission for the doing the same.

And be it further enacted, that the said bishops and every of them are hereby enjoined and required to perform the same, upon pain of forfeiting, upon any neglect or refusal, treble damages to the party grieved, to be recovered with costs, in any of his Majesties courts of record, at Westminster, as also the sum of one thousand pounds to any person that will sue for the same, in any of his Majesties courts at Westminster, by any action of debt, bill, plaint or information, wherein no effoyn, protection, or wager of law shall be allowed; and being lawfully convicted of any such neglect or refusal, his or their bishoprick that shall be so convicted, shall become, *ipso facto*, void, as if he or they were naturally dead, and he or they are hereby made incapable, and disabled to have, hold, or receive the same, or any other bishoprick or any other ecclesiastical benefice whatsoever.

Yet this notorious bill had not the same accident with the first, but was read a second time, and committed; wherein their Houses curiosity seemes to have led them, rather than any satisfaction they had in the matter, or hope of amending it, for it died away, the committee disdaining, or not daring publickly to enter upon it, some indeed having, as is said, once attempted it in private, and provided R. S. a fit lawyer for the chairman, but were discovered. And thus let these two bills perish like unseasonable and monstrous births, but the legitimate issue of the conspirators, and upon the hopes of whose growth they had built the succession of their projects.

Henceforward another scene opens: the House of Commons thorow the whole remainder of this session, falling in with some unanimity, and great vigor against the French counsels. Of which their proceedings it were easy to assigne the more intimate causes; but they having therein also acted according to the public interest, we will be glad to suppose it to have been their only motive. That business having occasioned many weighty debates in their House, and frequent addresses to his Majesty, deserves a more particular account. Nor hath it been difficult to recover it, most of them being unwilling to forget any thing they have said to the purpose, but rather seeking to divulge what they think was bravely spoken; and that they  
may

may be thought somebody, often arrogating where they cannot be disproved, another man's conception to their own honour.

March the 6<sup>th</sup>, 1676, the House being resolved into a Committee of the whole House to consider of grievances, resolved:

“ That a Committee be appointed to prepare an address, to represent unto his Majesty the danger of the power of France, and to desire that his Majesty, by such alliances as he shall think fit, do secure his kingdoms, and quiet the fears of his people, and for preservation of the Spanish Netherlands.”

“ MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

“ WE your Majesties most loyal subjects, the knights, citizens and burgessees, in Parliament assembled, find ourselves obliged in duty and faithfulness to your Majesty, and in discharge of the trust reposed in us, by those whom we represent, most humbly to offer to your Majesties consideration that the mindes of your people are much disquieted with the manifest dangers arising to your Majesty by the growth and power of the French King; especially by the acquisition already made, and the further progresse like to be made by him, in the



“ Spanish Netherlands, in the preservation and security  
 “ whereof, we humbly conceive the interest of your Ma-  
 “ jesty, and the safety of your people, are highly con-  
 “ cerned; and therefore we most humbly beseech your  
 “ Majesty to take the same into your royall care, and to  
 “ strengthen yourself with such stricter alliances, as may  
 “ secure your Majesties kingdomes, and secure and preserve  
 “ the said Spanish Netherlands, and thereby quiet the mindes  
 “ of your Majesties people.”

This addresse was presented to his Majesty the 16<sup>th</sup>  
 of March, and his Majesties answer was reported to the  
 House of Commons, by Mr. Speaker, the 17<sup>th</sup> of March,  
 which was thus :

“ THAT his Majesty was of the opinion of his two  
 “ Houses of Parliament; that the preservation of Flanders  
 “ was of great consequence; and that he would use all  
 “ means in his power for the safety of his kingdoms.”

A motion was therefore made for a second address upon the  
 same subject, on Monday, March 26<sup>th</sup>, which here followeth:

“ MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

“ WE your Majesties most loyal subjects, the knights,  
 “ citizens, and burgessees in Parliament assembled, do, with  
 “ unspeakable joy and comfort, present our humble thanks

“ to your Majesty, for your Majesties gracious acceptance  
 “ of our late address, and that your Majesty was pleased in  
 “ your princely wisdom to express your concurrence and  
 “ opinion with your two Houses in reference to the prefer-  
 “ vation of the Spanish Netherlands.

“ And we do with most earnest and repeated desires im-  
 “ plore your Majesty, that you would be pleased to take  
 “ timely care to prevent those dangers that may arise to  
 “ these kingdoms by the great power of the French king,  
 “ and the progress he daily makes in those Netherlands and  
 “ other places.

“ And therefore that your Majesty would not defer the  
 “ entering into such alliances as may obtain those ends, and  
 “ in case it shall happen, that in pursuance of such alli-  
 “ ances, your Majesty should be engaged in a war with  
 “ the French king, we do hold ourselves obliged, and do  
 “ with all humility and cheerfulness assure your Majesty,  
 “ that we your most loyal subjects shall alwayes be ready  
 “ upon your signification thereof in Parliament, fully, and  
 “ from time to time, to assist your Majesty with such aydes  
 “ and supplies as, by the Divine assistance, may enable  
 “ your Majesty to prosecute the same with success.

“ All which we do most humbly offer to your Majesty as  
 “ the unanimous sense and desire of the whole kingdom.”

*March 30, 1677.*

IT was alledged against this address, that to press the King to make further alliances with the confederates against the French King, was in effect to press him to a war, that being the direct and unavoidable consequence thereof.

That the consideration of war was most proper for the King, who had the intelligence of *forraine affaires*, and knew the *arcana imperii*.

That it was a dangerous thing hastily to incite the King to a war.

That our merchant ships and effects would be presently seized by the French King within his dominions, and thereby he would acquire the value of, it may be near a million, to enable him to maintain the war against us.

That he would fall upon our plantations, and take, plunder, and annoy them.

That he would send out abundance of capers, and take and disturb all our trading ships in these seas, and the Mediterranean.

That we had not so many ships of war as he, and those thirty which were to be built with the 600,000l. now given, could not be finished in two years.

That we had not naval stores and ammunition, &c. sufficient for such a purpose, and if we had, yet the season  
of

of the year was too far advanced to fet out a confiderable fleet: and we could not now lay in beef, pork, &c.

That when we were ingaged in a war, the Dutch would likely flip collar, leave us in the war, and fo gain to themfelves the fingular advantage of fole trading in peace, which is the privilege we now injoy, and fhould not be weary of.

That it was next to impoffible, to make alliances with the feveral parties as might be expected, fuch and fo various were the feverall interefts, and crosse-biaffes, of and amongft the emperour, the Spaniard, the Dane, the Dutch, the Brandenburgh, and the feverall leffer princes of Germany, and others.

That we might eafily enter into a war, but it would be hard to find the way out of it, and a long war would be destructive to us; for though the emperour, French, Spaniard, &c. ufe to maintain war for many years, yet a trading nation, as England is, could not endure a long-winded war.

On the other fide, it was faid:

That they did not addrefse for making war but making leagues, which might be a means to prevent war.

That the beft way to preferve peace, was to be in a preparation for war.

That



That admitting a war should ensue thereupon, as was not unlikely, yet that would tend to our peace, and safety in conclusion; for it must be agreed, that if the power of France were not reduced, and brought to a more equal ballance with its neighbours, we must fight or submit, first or last.

That it was commonly the fate of those that kept themselves neutral, when their neighbours were at war, to become a prey to the conqueror.

That now or never was the critical season to make war upon the French, whilst we may have so great auxiliary conjunction; and if it were a dangerous and formidable thing to encounter him now, how much more would it be so when this opportunity was lost, the confederacy disbanded, a peace made on the other side the water, and we left alone to withstand him single.

That as to his seizing our merchants effects, the case was (the same and) no other now than it would be three years hence, or at any time whenever the war should commence.

That as to our plantations and our traders, we must consider, though the French King was powerful, he was not omnipotent, and we might as well defend them as the Dutch do theirs, by guards, convoys, &c. and chiefly when the French have so many enemies, and we shall have so many friends, as no other time is like to afford.

That

That they were sorry to hear we had not ships, stores, &c. equal to the French, and to our occasions, and hoped it would appear to be otherwise.

That the season was not so far spent, but that a competent fleet might be set out this summer, and that however deficient we might be in this kind, the Dutch were forward and ready to make an effectually supplement in that behalf.

That howsoever ill and false some men might esteem the Dutch, yet interest will not lie, and it is so much their interest to confine and bring down the French, that it is not to be apprehended, but they will steadily adhere to every friend and every alliance they shall joyn with for that purpose.

That however cross and divers the several confederates and their interests were, yet a common alliance may be made with them against the French, and as well as they have allied themselves together, as well may the alliance be extended to another, to be added to them, *viz.* the King of England.

That a numerous and vigorous conjunction against him is the way to shorten the work, whereas if he should hereafter attack us singly, he would continue the war on us as long as he pleased, till he pleased to make an end of it and us together, by our final destruction.

That if now we should neglect to make alliances, we had no cause to expect to have one friend, when the French should make peace beyond sea, and single us out for conquest; for all that are conjoynd against the French, are provoked and disobliged, by reason of the great number of English, Scotch and Irish, which have served, and do still serve the French, and it was proved at the bar of this House within this fortnight, that one thousand men were levyed in Scotland, and sent to the French service in January last, and some of them by force and pressing.

Also that it was understood and resented, that we had mainly contributed to this overgrown greatnesse of the French, by selling Dunkirk, that speciall key and inlet of Flanders, by making war on the Dutch, in 1665. Whereupon the French joyned with the Dutch, under which shelter and opportunity the French King layd the foundation of this great fleet he now hath, buying then many great ships of the Dutch, and building many others: as to which, but for that occasion, the Dutch would have denied and hindred him, by not observing the triple league, and by our making a joynt war with the French against the Dutch, in which the French yet proceeds and triumphs. So that in this respect we have much to redeem and retrieve.

That enmity against the French was the thing wherein this divided nation did unite, and this occasion was to be  
laid

laid hold on, as an opportunity of moment amongst ourselves.

That the bent and weight of the nation did lean this way, and that was a strong inducement and argument to incline their representatives.

That it had been made appear, and that in Parliament, that upon the balance of the French trade, this nation was detrimented yearly 900,000*l.* or a million, the value of the goods imported from France annually so much exceeding that of the goods exported hence thither, whereby it is evident, that such a sum of the treasure and money of the nation was yearly exhausted and carryed into France, and all this by unnecessary wines, silks, ribbons, feathers, &c. the saving and retrenching of which expence, and exhaustion, will in a great degree serve to maintaine the charge of a war.

That the present was the best time for the purpose, and that this would give reputation to the confederates, and comfort and courage to our best friends immediately, and safety to ourselves in futurity, against the *old perpetuall enemy of England.*

The second addressè was presented to his Majesty, March the 30<sup>th</sup>, and till the 11<sup>th</sup> of Aprill they received no answer: insomuch that it became doubtfull, whether the mony bill



would be accepted or no, and if the Commons made any difficulty in passing them, unless they were first secured against the French interest, it seemed that the supply would be rejected by the conspirators good will; and that even the building of ships, how necessary soever, might rather have been respited again, as it had in former sessions, and for the whole long prorogation. But their House was farr from such obstinacy; and the news being come of the taking both of Valenciennes and St. Omar, with the defeat of the prince of Orange at Mont-Cassel, so that now there was no further danger of preventing or interrupting the successes of the French King, this campaign, at last therefore, upon the 11<sup>th</sup> of Aprill, this following answer was offered to their House, from his Majesty, by Master Secretary Coventry.

C. R.

“ HIS Majesty having considered your last address, and  
 “ finding some late alteration in affaires abroad, thinks it  
 “ necessary to put you in mind, that the only way to pre-  
 “ vent the dangers which may arise to these kingdoms,  
 “ must be by putting his Majesty timely in a condition to  
 “ make such fitting preparation, as may enable him to do  
 “ what may be most for the security of them. And if for  
 “ this reason you shall desire to sit any longer time, his  
 “ Majesty is content you may adjourn now before Easter,  
 “ and

“ and meet again suddenly after, to ripen this matter, and  
 “ to perfect some of the most necessary bills now depend-  
 “ ing.”

“ Given at our Court at Whitehall the 11<sup>th</sup> of  
 “ April, 1677.”

Somewhat was said on both these matters, but the greater debate of them was adjourned till next day, and then reassumed.

Then it was moved that the House should adjourn till after Easter, and then meet again, with a resolution to enable the King to make such preparations as should be thought necessary, and also pass some necessary bills for the kingdom, which if they did not, the blame of the neglect must rest upon themselves, and it would be observed they had not sat to any effect this four years; and that now they had a session, and had given a million, they did take little care to redress grievances, or pass good laws for the people, and that they should not be able to give any account of themselves to their neighbours in the country, unless they should face them down, that there was no grievance or mischief in the nation to be redressed, and that the King had stopped their mouths, and laid it to them by offering to them to sit longer.

Others

Others said, they should perfect the two money bills, and give the King ease, and take another time to consider further of religion, liberty, and property, especially seeing all bills now depending would be kept on foot, the intended recess being to be but an adjournment; that they had very good laws already, and would give their shares in any new ones they were making, to be in the country at the present time; that it was necessary for them to be there the 10<sup>th</sup> of May, to execute the act for 600,000*l.* &c. and some time was to be allowed for their journeyes, and rest after it; that the passing some necessary bills came in the end of the King's message, and by the by; for his Majesty faith, that if for this reason, that is, for making of preparations, &c. they should desire to sit longer, and if so, then also take the opportunity of passing such bills. So the sense and inclination of the House was to rise before Easter, as had been before intimated and expected.

Then they fell upon the main consideration of the message, and to make a present answer.

The secretary and other ministers of state said, that the alteration of affaires which his Majesty took notice of, was the success of the French against the prince of Orange, in the battel, and their proceeding to take Cambray, and St. Omars.

Thus

Thus by inches or rather great measures they were taking in Flanders (which was reckoned the out-work of England, as well as Holland) and they said plainly, nothing could put his Majesty in a condition to make fitting preparations to preserve the kingdom, but ready money.

To this it was answered, that it was not proper nor usual to aske money at the end of a session, and it was fit that alliances should be first made, and that they should adjourn rather till that were done, for they ought not to give money till they knew for what, and it was clearly spoken and made out to them, that if there were no summers war, there was money enough given already.

It was replied, that they had not direction from his Majesty as to what he had resolved, and it might be not convenient to discover and publish such things, but they would offer their guesse and ayme at some things, if there were any approaches towards war, though they ought to consider and compute like him in the Gospel, whether with such a force they could encounter a king that came against them with such a force, they should think of providing a guard for the Isle of Wight, Jersey, Guernsey and Ireland, and secure our coasts, and be in a defensive posture on the land; we might be attacked in a night.

Also there would be a necessity of an extraordinary summer guard at sea; his Majesty did use to apply 400,000l.



yearly out of the customes upon his fleets, (the very harbour expence) which in anchorage, mooring, docks, and repaires, &c. was 110,000*l. per annum*, and he was now setting forth forty ships for the summer guard, but if there were a disposition towards war, there must be more ships, or at least those must be more fully manned, and more strongly appointed, and furnished the more, especially if the breach were sudden, for otherwise, our trading ships at sea, as well as those ships and goods in the French ports, would be exposed. Now is it reasonable that the remainder, which was above and beyond the King's ordinary allowance, should be supplied by the Parliament, and the extraordinary preparations of this kind for the present, could not amount to less than 200,000*l.*

It was answered, that it was a melancholy thing to think Jersey, &c. were not well enough secured, at least as well as in the year 1665, when we alone had war with the French and Dutch too, and yet the King's revenue was less than now: that the revenue of Ireland was 50,000*l. per annum*, beyond the establishment (that is, the civil, military, and all payments of the government) which if not sent over hither, but disposed there, would suffice to defend that kingdom, and they remember that about a moneth ago, they were told by some of these gentlemen, that the French King would not take more townes in Flanders if he

he

he might have them, but was drawing off to meet the Germans, who would be in the field in May, and therefore it was strange he should be represented now as ready to invade us, and that we must have an army raised and kept on our islands and land. No they would not have that; it would be a great matter in the balance, if the King's subjects were withdrawn from the French service, and applied on the other side, and till that were done, that we did continue to be contributory to the greatness of France; but a fleet would protect our whole. Ships are the defence of an island, and thereby we may hope to keep at a distance, and not apprehend, or prepare to meet him at our doors. He learns by Sicily what it is to invade an island; he is not like to attempt an invasion of us, till he hath some mastery at sea, which is impossible for him to have so long as he is diverted and employed at land in the Mediterranean, and in the West Indies, as he is.

And as to our merchant ships and goods, they are in no more danger now than they were in any war whatsoever. Nay, there was more expectation of this, then there was of the last war, for the first notice we or the Dutch had of that breach, was the attempt upon their Smyrna fleet.

Also it is observed, that what was said a fortnight ago (that the season was too far advanced to lay in beef, and it would stink) was admitted to be a mistake, for that now it was

urged, that a greater and better appointed fleet must be furnished out, but still it was insisted on, that they were in the dark, his Majesty did not speak out, that he would make the desired alliances against the growth of France, and resolve with his Parliament to maintain them, and so long as there was any coldness or reservedness of this kind, they had no clear grounds to grant money for preparations. His Majesty was a prince of that goodness and care towards his people, that none did distrust him, but there was a distrust of some of his ministers, and a jealousy that they were under French influences; and complaints and addresses had been made against them; and upon the discourse of providing for the safety of the nation, it being said we might be secured by the guaranty of the general peace, it was reflected on as a thing most pernicious to us, and that our money and endeavours could not be worse applied, than to procure that peace. Articles are not to be relied on. All that they desired was, that his Majesty and his people unanimously, truly, sincerely and thoroughly declare and engage in this business, with a mutual confidence speaking out on both sides, and this, and nothing but this, would discharge and extinguish all jealousies.

But it was objected, it was not convenient to discover his Majesties secret purposes in a publick assembly, it might be too soon known abroad, and there was no reason to distrust  
his

his Majesty, but that being enabled, he would prepare and do all things expedient for the kingdom.

It was answered, that it was usual for forraigne ministers to get notice of the councils of princes, as the Earl of Bristol ambassador in Spain, in the last part of King James's reign, procured copies, and often the sight of the originals of dispatches, and cabinet papers of the King of Spain. But acknowledging that his Majesties councils cannot be penetrated by the French, yet the things would in a short time discover themselves: besides they said, they did not much desire secrecy, for let the King take a great resolution, and put himself at the head of his Parliament and people in this weighty and worthy cause of England, and let a flying post carry the news to Paris, and let the French King do his worst.

His Majesty never had nor never will have cause to distrust his people. In 1667, in confidence of our aid, he made a league without advice of Parliament (commonly called the Triple League) which was for the interest of England, and whereby his Majesty became the arbiter of Christendom, and in the name and upon the account of that, the Parliament gave him several supplies.

In 1672, he made war without the advice of Parliament, which war the Parliament thought not for the interest of England to continue, yet even therein they would not leave him, but gave him 1,200,000*l.* to carry himself on and out of it.



How much more are they concerned and obliged to supply and assist him in these alliances (and war if it ensue) which are so much for the interest of England, and entered into by the pressing advice of Parliament.

We hope his Majesty will declare himself in earnest, and we are in earnest; having his Majesty's heart with us, *let his hand rot off that is not stretcht out for this affair*; we will not stick at this or that sum or thing, but we will go with his Majesty to all extremities.

We are now affraid of the French King, because he has great force, and extraordinary thinking men about him, which manage his affaires to a wonder, but we trust his Majesty will have his business managed by thinking men, that will be provident and careful of his interest, and not suffer him to pay *cent. per cent.* more than the things are worth, that are taken up and used, and if the work be entered upon in this manner, we hope England will have English success with France: as it is in bowling, if your bowl be well set out, you may wink, and it will go to mark.

Were the thing clear and throughly undertaken, there would be less reason to dispute of time; there never was a council but would sit on Sunday, or any day, for such publick work.

In

In fine, they said, the business must lie at one door or another, and they would not for any thing, that it should flat in their hands.

And although they should hope in an exigence his Majesty would lend to his people, who had given so much to him, yet they said they could not leave him without providing him a sum of money, as much as he could use between this and some convenient time after Easter, when he might, if he please, command their full attendance, by some publick notification, and this was the mentioned sum of 200,000l. The expedient they provided for doing this, was adding a borrowing clause to the bill for almost 600,000l. (such an one as was in the Poll Bill) the effect of which is to enable his Majesty presently to take up, on the credit of this bill, 200,000l. ready money at 7l. *per cent. per annum* interest.

And this they said might now be done, though the bill were passed by them, and also (save that they had made the above mentioned amendment) by the Lords, for that Poll Bill was explained by another Act passed a few days after, in the same session. But in Hackwell's *Modus tenendi Parli.* pag. 173, was a more remarkable precedent, and exact in the point.

But after some discourse of setting loose part of this 600,000l.  $\text{£}^c$ . they reflected that this 600,000l.  $\text{£}^c$ . was  
appropriate

appropriate for the building of ships, and they would not have this appropriation unhinged by any means, and thereupon resolved to annex the borrowing clause to the bill for continuing the additional duty of excise, for three years, which was not yet passed; against which it was objected, that it was given for other purposes, *viz.* to give the King ease to pay interest for his debts, &c. But on the contrary it was answered, that the preamble speaks not of his debts, but his extraordinary occasions; but besides, they did not intend to withdraw so much of their gift, but did resolve to re-emburse his Majesty the 200,000*l.* so much of it as he should lay out in extraordinary preparations.

But then it was objected, that this would be a kind of denouncing of war, and that 200,000*l.* was a miserable, mean and incompetent sum to defend us against those whom we should provoke.

But it was answered, that it was but an earnest of what they intended, and that they were willing to meet again and give further supplies; besides the French King was not formidable for any great hurt that he could do us during the confederacy; there were several princes of Germany, as the archbishop of Metz and Triers, the Palgrave, the Duke of Newburgh, &c. which are at war with him and are safe; and yet they are much more weak and inconsiderable than we; but they are defended not by their own strength, but by the whole confederacy.

The

The debate concluded in voting the following answer, which was presented to his Majesty by the Speaker and the whole House, Friday April the 13<sup>th</sup>.

“ MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

“ WE your Majesties most dutifull and loyall subjects  
 “ the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, do,  
 “ with great satisfaction of mind, observe the regard your  
 “ Majestie is pleased to expresse to our former addressses, by  
 “ intimating to us the late alterations of affaires abroad, and  
 “ do return our most humble thanks for your Majesties most  
 “ gracious offer made to us thereupon in your late message :  
 “ and having taken a ferious deliberation of the same, and  
 “ of the preparation your Majesty hath therein intimated to  
 “ us were fitting to be made, in order to those publick ends,  
 “ we have for the present provided a security in a bill for the  
 “ additional duty of excise, upon which your Majesty may  
 “ raise the sum of 200,000l. And if your Majesty shall  
 “ think fit to call us together again for this purpose, in some  
 “ short time after Easter, by any publick signification of  
 “ your pleasure, commanding our attendance; we shall at  
 “ our next meeting not only be ready to re-imburse your  
 “ Majesty what sums of money shall be expended upon such  
 “ extraordinary preparations as shall be made in pursuance  
 “ of our former addressses; but shall likewise with thankfull  
 “ hearts



“ hearts proceed then, and at all other times, to furnish your  
 “ Majesty with so large proportion of assistance and supplies  
 “ upon this occasion, as may give your Majesty and the  
 “ whole world, an ample testimony of our loyalty and affec-  
 “ tion to your Majesties service, and as may enable your Ma-  
 “ jesty, by the help of Almighty God, to maintain such  
 “ stricter alliances as you shall have entered into against all op-  
 “ position whatsoever.”

Easter Monday, April 19<sup>th</sup>, another message in writing  
 from his Majesty was delivered by Secretary Williamson to  
 the House of Commons (*viz.*)

C. R.

“ HIS Majesty having considered the answer of this House  
 “ to the last message about enabling him to make fitting  
 “ preparations for the security of these kingdoms, finds by it  
 “ that they have only enabled him to borrow 200,000l.  
 “ upon a fund given him for other uses; his Majesty desires  
 “ therefore this House should know, and he hopes they will  
 “ always believe of him, that not only that fund, but any  
 “ other within his power shall be engaged to the utmost of  
 “ his power for the preservation of his kingdoms; but as his  
 “ Majesties condition is (which his Majesty doubts not but  
 “ is as well known to this House as himself) he must tell  
 “ them plainly that without the summe of six hundred  
 “ thousand

“ thousand pounds, or credit for such a summe, upon new  
 “ funds, it will not be possible for him to speak or act those  
 “ things which should answer the ends of their severall ad-  
 “ dresses, without exposing the kingdom to much greater  
 “ danger: His Majesty doth further acquaint you that  
 “ having done his part, and laid the true state of things  
 “ before you, he will not be wanting to use the best means  
 “ for the safety of his people, which his present condition  
 “ is capable of.

“ Given at our Court at Whitehall, April 16<sup>th</sup>, 1677.”

Thereupon the House fell into present consideration of  
 an answer, and in the first place, it was agreed to return  
 great thanks to his Majesty for his zeal for the safety of the  
 kingdome, and the hopes he had given them that he was  
 convinced and satisfied, so as he would speak and act ac-  
 cording to what they had desired, and they resolved to  
 give him the utmost assurance, that they would stand by  
 him, and said no man would be unwilling to give a fourth or  
 third part to save the residue. But they said they ought to  
 consider that now they were a very thin House, many of  
 their Members being gone home, and that upon such a  
 ground as they could not well blame them; for it was upon  
 a presumption that the Parliament would rise before Easter,  
 as has been intimated from his Majesty within this fortnight,

and universally expected since, and it would be unparliamentary, and very ill taken by their fellow-members, if in this their absence they should steal the privilege of granting money, and the thanks which are given for it; that this was a national business if ever any were, and therefore fit to be handled in a full national representative, and if it had hitherto seemed to go up-hill, there was a greater cause to put the whole shoulder to it, and this would be assuring, animating, and satisfactory to the whole nation. But they said it was not their mind to give or suffer any delay, they would desire a recess but for three weeks or a month at most.

And the 200,000*l.* which they had provided for present use, was as much as could be laid out in the mean time, though his Majesty had 600,000*l.* more ready told upon the table.

And therefore they thought it most reasonable and adviseable that his Majesty should suffer them to adjourn for such a time; in the interim of which his Majesty might, if he pleased, make use of the 200,000*l.* and might also compleat the desired alliances, and give notice by proclamation to all members to attend at the time appointed.

The answer is as followeth :

“ MAY

“ MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

“ WE your Majesties most loyal subjects the commons  
 “ in this present Parliament assembled, having considered  
 “ your Majesties last message, and the gracious expressions  
 “ therein contained, for imploying your Majesties whole  
 “ revenue at any time to raise money for the preservation of  
 “ your Majesties kingdoms; find great cause to return our  
 “ most humble thanks to your Majesty for the same, and  
 “ to desire your Majesty to rest assured, that you shall find  
 “ as much duty and affection in us, as can be expected  
 “ from a most loyal people, to their most gracious sove-  
 “ reign; and whereas your Majesty is pleased to signify to  
 “ us, that the sum of 200,000*l.* is not sufficient without a  
 “ further supply, to enable your Majesty to speak or act  
 “ those things which are desired by your people; we hum-  
 “ bly take leave to acquaint your Majesty, that many of our  
 “ members (being upon an expectation of an adjournment  
 “ before Easter) are gone into their several countries, and  
 “ we cannot think it parliamentary in their absence to take  
 “ upon us the granting of money, but do therefore desire  
 “ your Majesty to be pleased that this House may adjourn  
 “ itself for such short time, before the sum of 200,000*l.*  
 “ can be expended, as your Majesty shall think fit, and by  
 “ your royal proclamation to command the attendance of



“ all our members at the day of meeting; by which time  
 “ we hope your Majesty may have so formed your affaires,  
 “ and fixed your alliances, in pursuance of our former ad-  
 “ dressies, that your Majesty may be gratioufly pleased to  
 “ impart them to us in Parliament; and we no wayes doubt  
 “ but at our next assembling, your Majesty will not only  
 “ meet with a compliance in the supply your Majesty de-  
 “ fires, but withall such farther assistance as the posture of  
 “ your Majesties affaires shall require; in confidence whereof  
 “ we hope your Majesty will be encouraged in the mean  
 “ time to speak and act such things as your Majesty shall  
 “ judge necessary for attaining those great ends as we have  
 “ formerly represented to your Majesty.”

And now the money bill being passed both Houses, and  
 the French having, by the surrender of Cambray also to them,  
 perfected the conquest of this campagne, as was projected,  
 and the money for further preparations having been asked,  
 onely to gain a pretence for refusing their addressies, the  
 Houses were adjourned April the 16<sup>th</sup>, till the 21<sup>st</sup> of May  
 next. And the rather, because at the same moment of their  
 rising, a grand French embassade was coming over. For  
 all things betwixt France and England moved with that  
 punctual regularity, that it was like the harmony of the  
 spheres, so consonant with themselves, although we cannot  
 hear the musick.

There

There landed immediately after the recess, the Duke of Crequy, the archbishop of Rheims, Monsieur Barrillon, and a traine of three or four hundred persons of all qualities, so that the Lords Spirituall and Temporall of France, with so many of their Commons, meeting the King at Newmarket, it looked like another Parliament, and that the English had been adjourned, in order to their better reception. But what addresse they made to his Majesty, or what Acts they passed, hath not yet been published; but those that have been in discourse were :

“ An Act for continuing his Majesties subjects in the service of France.

“ An Act of abolition of all claymes and demandes from the subjects of France, on account of all prizes made of the English at sea, since the year 1674 till that day, and for the future.

“ An Act for marrying the Children of the Royal Family to Protestant Princes.

“ An Act for a further supply of French Mony.”

But because it appears not that all these, and many others of more secret nature, passed the Royall assent, it sufficeth thus far to have mentioned them. Onely it is most certain, that

that although the English Parliament was kept aloofe from the businesse of war, peace, and alliance, as improper for their intermeddling, and presumptuous; yet with these three estates of France all these things were negotiated and transacted in the greatest confidence. And so they were adjourned from Newmarket to London, and there continued till the return of the English Parliament, when they were dismissed home with all the signes and demonstrations of mutuall satisfaction.

And for better preparations at home, before the Parliament met, there was printed a second packet of advice to the men of Shaftsbury; the first had been fold up and down the nation, and transmitted to Scotland, where three hundred of them were printed at Edinburgh, and forty copyes sent from thence to England, fairely bound up and gilded, to shew in what great estimation it was in that kingdome; but this, the sale growing heavy, was dispersed as a donative all over England, and it was an incivility to have enquired from whence they had it, but it was a book though it came from Hell, that seemed as if it dropped from Heaven among men: some imagined by the weight and the wit of it, that it proceeded from the two lords, the black and the white, who, when their care of the late sitting was over, had given themselves carriere, and after the triumphs of the tongue, had established those trophies of the pen, over  
their

their imprisoned adversaries. But that had been a thing unworthy of the Frechwellian generosity, or Trerifian magnanimity; and rather befits the mean malice of the same vulgar scribler, hired by the conspirators at so much a sheet, or for day wages; and when that is spent, he shall for lesse money blaspheme his God, revile his prince, and belye his country, if his former books have omitted any thing of those arguments; and shall curse his own father into the bargain.

*Monday, May 21, 1677.*

The Parliament met according to their late adjournment, on and from April 16<sup>th</sup> to May 21<sup>st</sup>, 1677.

There was no speech from the King to the Parliament, but in the House of Commons.

This meeting was opened with a verball message from his Majesty, delivered by Secretary Coventry, wherein his Majesty acquainted the House, that having, according to their desire in their answer to his late message April 16<sup>th</sup>, directed their adjournment to this time, because they did alledge it to be unparliamentary to grant supplies when the House was so thin, in expectation of a speedy adjournment; and having also issued out his proclamation of summons to the end there might be a full House, he did now



expect they would forthwith enter upon the consideration of his last message, and the rather, because he did intend there should be a recess very quickly.

Upon this it was moved, that the King's last message (of April 16) and the answer thereto, should be read, and they were read accordingly.

Thereupon, after a long silence, a discourse began about their expectation, and necessity of alliances.

And particularly, it was intimated that an alliance with Holland was most expedient, for that we should deceive ourselves if we thought we could be defended otherwise; we alone could not withstand the French King; his purse and power was too great: nor could the Dutch withstand him; but both together might.

The general discourse was, that they came with an expectation to have alliances declared, and if they were not made so as to be imparted, they were not called or come to that purpose they desired, and hoped to meet upon, and if some few days might ripen them, they would be content to adjourn for the mean time.

The Secretary and others said, these alliances were things of great weight and difficulty, and the time had been short, but if they were finished, yet it was not convenient to publish them,

them, till the king was in a readineſſe and poſture to proſecute and maintain them, till when his Majeſty could not ſo much as ſpeak out, inſiſting on his words, “ that with-  
 “ out 600,000l. it would not be poſſible for him to ſpeak or  
 “ act thoſe things which ſhould answer the ends of their  
 “ ſeveral addreſſes, without expoſing the kingdom to much  
 “ greater dangers.”

By others it was obſerved and ſaid, that they met now upon a publick notice by proclamation, which proclamation was in purſuance of their laſt addreſſe, in which addreſſe they deſire the King they may adjourn for ſuch time; as within which (they hoped) allyances might be fixed, ſo as to be imparted; they mentioned not any particular day; if his Majeſty had not thought this time long enough for the purpoſe, he might have appointed the adjournment for a longer time; or he might have given notice by proclamation that upon this account they ſhould re-adjourn to a yet longer time.

But ſurely, the time has been ſufficient, eſpecially conſidering the readineſs of the parties to be allyed with; it is five weeks ſince our reſeſſe. He that was a miniſter chiefly employed in making the Triple League, has ſince published in print that that league was made in five dayes, and yet that might well be thought a matter more tedious and long than this; for when people are in profound peace (as the

Dutch then were) it was not easy to embark them presently into leagues. They had time, and might take it, for greater deliberation. But here the people are in the distresse of war, and need our allyance, and therefore it might be contracted with ease and expedition, were we as forward as they.

Neither is five weeks the limit of the time that has been for this purpose, for it is about ten weeks since we first addressed for these allyances.

And as to the objection, that it was not fit to make them known before preparation were made, they said, the force of that lay in this, that the French would be allarmed. But they answered that the asking and giving money for this purpose would be no lesse an allarm. For the French could not be ignorant of what addresses and answers have passed; and if mony be granted to make warlike preparations, for the end therein specified, it is rather a greater discovery and denouncing of what we intended against the French.

Grotius (*de jure Belli & Pacis*) saies, if a prince make extraordinary preparations, a neighbour prince who may be affected by them may exostulate, and demand an account of the purpose for which they are intended, and if he receive not satisfaction that they are not to be used against him, it is a cause of war on his part, so as that neighbour  
may

may begin if he think fit, and is not bound to stay till the first preparer first begin actually hostility, and this is agreeable to reason, and the nature of government.

Now the French King is a vigilant prince, and has wise ministers about him, upon which general account (though we had not as we have seen an extraordinary French embassy here during our recess) we should suppose that the French King has demanded an account of our King's purpose, and whether the extraordinary preparations that are begun and to be made are designed against him or not. In which case his Majesty could give but one of three answers.

1. To say, they are not designed against him, and then his Majesty may acquaint us with the same, and then there is no occasion of our giving money.

2. To say, they are designed against him, in which case his Majesty may very well impart the same to us. For it were in vain to conceal it from us, to the end that the French might not be alarmed, when it is before expressly told the French, that the design was against him.

3. To give a doubtful answer. But that resolves into the second. For when a prince, out of an apprehension that extraordinary preparations may be used against him, desires a clear, categorical and satisfactory answer concerning the matter (as the manner of princes is) a dubious answer does



not at all fatisfie his inquiry, nor allay his jealousy; but, in that cafe it is, and is ufed, to be taken and underftood, that the forces are defigned againft him.

And if his Majefty have given no anfwer at all (which is not probable) it is the fame with the laft.

So that this being fo, by one meanes or other the French have the knowledge of the King's purpofe, and if it be known to, or but gueffed at by them, why is it concealed from his Parliament? why this darkneffe towards us?

Befides we expect not fo much good as we would, fo long as we are afraid the French fhould know what we are a doing.

In this ftate of uncertainty and unripenefs, the Houfe adjourned to Wednesday morning nine o'clock, having firft ordered the Committee for the Bill for recalling his Majefties fubjects out of the fervice of the French King, to fit this afternoon, which did fit accordingly, and went thorough the Bill.

*Wednesday, May 23<sup>d</sup>, 1677.*

His Majefty fent a meffage for the Houfe to attend him prefently at the Banquetting Houfe in Whitehall, where he made the following fpeech to them:

“ GEN-

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ I HAVE sent for you hither, that I might prevent  
 “ those mistakes and distrusts which I find some are ready to  
 “ make, as if I had called you together only to get money  
 “ from you, for other uses than you would have it employ-  
 “ ed. I do assure you on the word of a King, that you  
 “ shall not repent any trust you repose in me for the safety  
 “ of my kingdoms ; and I desire you to believe I would not  
 “ break my credit with you, but as I have already told you,  
 “ that it will not be possible for me to speak or act those  
 “ things which should answer the ends of your several ad-  
 “ dresses, without exposing my kingdoms to much greater  
 “ dangers, so I declare to you again, I will neither hazard  
 “ my own safety, nor yours, until I be in a better condi-  
 “ tion than I am able to put myself, both to defend my  
 “ subjects and offend my enemies.

“ I do further assure you, I have not lost one day since  
 “ your last meeting, in doing all I could for your defence ;  
 “ and I tell you plainly it shall be your fault, and not mine,  
 “ if your security be not sufficiently provided for.”

The Commons returning to their House, and the speech being there read, they presently resolved to consider it, and after a little while resolved into a Committee of the whole House, for the more full, free, and regular debate.

The

The secretary and others propounded the supplying the King, wherein they said they did not press the House, but they might do as they pleased. But if it be expected that alliances be made, and made known, there must be 600,000*l.* raised to make preparation before, for the King had declared that without it, it could not be possible for him *to speak or act*; he could not safely move a step further. The King had the right of making peace, war, and leagues, as this House has of giving money: he could not have money without them, nor they alliances without him. The King had considered this matter, and this was his judgment, that he ought by such a summe to be put into a posture to maintain and prosecute his alliances, before they could or should be declared, and truly otherwise our nakedness and weakness would be exposed.

'Tis true, as has been objected, the asking and giving money for this purpose would alarm as much as the declaring alliance, but then it would defend too. A whip will alarm a wild beast, but it will not defend the man; a sword will alarm the beast too, but then it will also defend the man.

We know the King would strip himself to his shirt rather than hazard the nation; he has done much already, he has set out, and made ready to set out, forty-four ships, but they must be distributed to several places for convoys, &c.

There would need, it may be forty more in a body; and it is difficult to get seamen; many are gone into the service of the French, Dutch, &c. the King is fain to presse now.

The King has not had any fruit of the 200,000*l.* credit provided him upon the three years excise; he has tryed the City to borrow money of them thereupon, and my Lord Mayor returned answer, that he had endeavoured but could not encourage his Majesty to depend upon the City for it.

Several others, somewhat different, spake to this effect: We should consider in this case, as in the case of the King's letters patents, proclamations, &c. if any thing in them be against law and reason, lawyers and courts judge it void, and reckon it not to be said or done by the King: for the King can do no wrong, though his council may. So we must look upon the King's speeches and messages as the product of council, and therefore if any mistake be therein, it must be imputed to the error of his council, and it must be taken that the King never said it. Now to apply certainly the treating and concluding of alliances, requires not a previous summe of mony, however the King's council may misinform. They may be propounded and accepted, by the meanes of the forraign ministers, even without an embassy to be sent hence, and yet if that were requisite, it were not an extraordinary charge.

Allyances.



Allyances may be made forthwith, and then mony would be granted forthwith; if they were declared to-day, the 600,000*l.* should be given to-morrow, and as occasion should require.

And there is no fear but money would be found for this purpose: our own extravagancies would maintaine a war.

The mony which has been provided the King already this session, is sufficient for all preparations that can possibly be made before these allyances may be made.

Forty ships of ours, with the help of the Dutch, are a good defence against the French at sea, now he is so entangled with Sicily, the West Indies, &c. In the Triple League it was stipulated, that forty of our ships, and forty of the Dutch, should be provided, and they were thought sufficient for the purpose.

If it were required that forty more ships should be set out, 600,000*l.* is enough to maintain and pay a whole year clear for the carpenters work, and such like as should presently be required; for the fitting them to go out a little money will serve.

And surely this is the only preparation that can be meant, for if it should be meant, that we should fortifie the land with forts, garrisons, walled towns, &c. it is not six millions will do it: but our strength, force, and defence, is our ships,

ships, for the debate of this day it is as great and weighty as ever was any in England; it concerns our very being, and includes our religion, liberty and property; the doore towards France must be shut and guarded, for so long as it is open our treasure and trade will creep out and their religion creep in at it, and this time is our season; some mischief will be done us, and so there will at any time when the war is begun, but now the least.

The French is not very dangerous to us, nor to be much feared by us at this present, but we ought to advise and act so now, as we may not fear or despair hereafter when the French shall make peace beyond sea, and likely he will make allyances with those people with whom we deferr to make them; how ripe and great is our misery then?

The power and policy of the French is extraordinary, and his money influences round about him.

We are glad to observe upon what is said by and of the King, that his Majesty agrees with us in the end, and we hope he will be convinced of the reasonableness of the means, which is to make and follow these allyances, without which plainly we can give no account to ourselves, or those we represent, of giving money.

We have made severall addressses about some of the King's ministers, their management, &c. of which we have seen

little fruit. There have continually almost to this hour gone out of England succours to France, of men, powder, ammunition, ordnance, &c. not to rake into the matter, how far the ministers have been active or passive in this, nor to mention any other particulars, we must say that unless the ministers, or their minds are altered, we have no reason to trust money in their hands, though we declare we have no purpose to arraign or attempt upon them, but would rather propose to them an easy way how they might have oblivion, nay, and the thanks of the people, *viz.* that they should endeavour and contend, who could do most to dispose the King to comply with this advice of his Parliament.

We think the prosecuting these alliances, the only good use for which our money can be employed, and therefore, before we give, we would be secure it should be applied to this purpose, and not by miscounsellors be diverted to others.

This is the mature counsel of the Parliament, and no crossè or other counsel is to be received or trusted, for attaining these great advices which the King and Parliament are agreed on.

To part with money before allyances are made, is needlesse and to no purpose; at best it would be the way to spend that money beforehand, in vaine, which we shall need hereafter, when we shall be forced to enter into this defence against France.

It would be like an error committed in the late King's time, and which looks as if men had given counsel on purpose to destroy that good King; he had, by the care and faithfulness of Bishop Juxton and others, collected and preserved a good summe of money before the Scottish rebellion, in one thousand six hundred and thirty nine; upon that rebellion he was advised to raise an army at land, which indeed was necessary; but he was likewise advised to set out severall of his great rate ships; this appeared in the papers of Sir Robert Long's office, and may there be seen still, if the papers are not scattered. A man cannot tell to what end this advice was given, unless to spend the King's money, for the admiralty of Scotland is not now, and much less then was so considerable, as to require any such force against it. And if the design were to hinder their commerce and succours by sea, the charge of one of those great ships might have been divided and applied to the setting out five or six less ships, each of which was capable of doing as much for that service, as such a great one, and could keep out at sea longer.

It is a plain case, unless the power of France be lowered we cannot be safe: without conjunction with other confederates, it cannot be done. The question is, whether the present be the proper time for the work. Certainly it is; there is a happy confederation against the French, which we



cannot so well hope to have continued without our coming into it, much lesse can we hope to recover or recruite it, if once broken : the very season of the year favours the businesse. It is proper and safe to begin with the French in the summer, now he is engaged and not at leisure, whereas in winter when the armies are drawn out of the field he will be able to apply himself to us.

As to the citizens not advancing mony upon the late credit, we are informed they were never regularly or effectually asked ; my Lord Major indeed was spoken to, and perhaps some of the aldermen, but all they are not the city ; he sent about curiously to some of the citizens, to know if they would lend, of which they took little or no notice, it being not agreeable to their way and usage, for the custom in such cases has always been, that some lord of the council did go down to the common council, which is the representative body of the city, and there propound the matter.

Besides in this particular case the citizens generally asked the same question we do, are the alliances made ? and said if they were made they would lend money, but if not, they saw no cause for it.

Philip the Second of Spaine made an observation in his will, or some last memorial, and 'tis since published in print by Monsieur ; he observes the vanity of any prince's aspiring at  
at

at the universal monarchy, for that it naturally made the rest of the world joyntly his enemies; but ambition blinds men, suffers them not to look back on such experiences: but this observation shews what is natural for others to do in such a case, and that the way to repell and break such a design is by their universall confederation.

Philip the Second was most capable of making this observation, for in his hands perished the Spanish design of the universal monarchy, and that chiefly by reason of the conjunction of the English and Dutch against him.

In the process of this debate, gentlemen did more particularly explain themselves, and propound to address their design to the King, for a league offensive and defensive, with the Dutch against the French power.

Against which a specious objection was made, that the Dutch were already treating with the French, and 'twas like they would slip collar, make a separate peace for themselves, and leave us engaged in a war with France.

To which was answered, that there was no just fear of that; the Dutch were interested in repressing the power of France as well as we, and they knew their interest; it was reasonable for them to say, if England, which is as much concerned in this danger, will not assist us, we will make the best terms we can for ourselves, there is yet a seam of  
land

land between the French and us, we may trade by or under them, &c.

But if England will joyn with the Dutch, they cannot find one syllable of reason to desert the common cause.

They have observed a propensity in the people of England to help them, but not in the court of England. If they can find that the court does heartily joyn, it will above all things oblige and confirm them.

In one thousand six hundred and sixty seven, when the Dutch were in peace and plenty, when Flanders was a greater bullwork to them, for the French had not pierced so far into it, and when the direction of their affaires was in a hand of inveterate enmity to the Crown of England (John de Witt) yet then their interest did so far govern him and them, as to enter into the Triple League, against the growth and power of France, and keep it more, and most certainly therefore now they are exhausted and weakened by a war, and stand in need of our help, now the French have approached nearer the brink of their country, and are encreased in naval force to the danger of their trade and navigation, and now their affaires are chiefly directed by a kinsman of the crown of England, the prince of Orange, they cannot deflect or start from a league they make with us against our common enemy.

It

It was moved, that there might be a league offensive and defensive with Spain and the Dutch, and other convenient alliances with the rest of the confederates; but the particular concerning Spain was retracted and laid aside by the general discourse of the members to this purpose: we do covet an allyance with Spain above others, for that they are owners of the Netherlands, for whose preservation we have addressed; that it is with Spain that we have the most, if not the only profitable trade, and the Spaniards are good, gallant and sure friends; but they are remote, and we know not whether there are full powers here or at Brussels for this matter, and to wait for their coming from Madrid would make church-work, whereas we need the swiftest expedition.

Therefore they voted their address to be particular and expressly for such a league with the Dutch, and as to the Spaniards together with the other confederates in general.

This passed with very general consent; there was an extraordinary full House, and upon putting the question, there were but two negative voices to it.

There were more than ordinary particulars appointed to be in the address, but no contest or debate about them.

The vote was as followeth:

“ Resolved,



“ Resolved,

“ THAT an addresse be made to the King, that his  
 “ Majesty would be pleased to enter into a league, offensive  
 “ and defensive, with the States General of the United Pro-  
 “ vinces, and to make such other alliances with others of  
 “ the confederates, as his Majesty shall think fit, against  
 “ the growth and power of the French King, and for the  
 “ preservation of the Spanish Netherlands, and that a com-  
 “ mittee be appointed to draw up the addresse, with reasons  
 “ why this House cannot comply with his Majesties Speech,  
 “ until such alliances be entered into, and further shewing  
 “ the necessity of the speedy making such alliances, and  
 “ when such alliances are made, giving his Majesty affu-  
 “ rance of speedy and chearfull supplies, from time to  
 “ time, for supporting and maintaining such alliances.”

To which (the speaker re-assuming the chair, and this being reported) the House agreed, and appointed the committee.

And adjourned over Ascension Day till Friday.

In the interim, the committee appointed met and drew the address according to the above mentioned order, a true copy of which is here annexed.

“ MAY

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

“YOUR Majesties most loyal and dutiful subjects, the  
 “Commons in Parliament assembled, have taken into their  
 “serious consideration, your Majesties gracious speech, and  
 “do beseech your Majesty, to believe it is a great affliction  
 “to them, to find themselves obliged (at present) to de-  
 “cline the granting your Majesty the supply your Majesty  
 “is pleased to demand, conceiving it is not agreeable to the  
 “usage of Parliament, to grant supplies for maintenance of  
 “wars, and alliances, before they are signified in Parlia-  
 “ment (which the two wars against the States of the United  
 “Provinces, since your Majesties happy restoration, and  
 “the league made in January 1668, for preservation of  
 “the Spanish Netherlands, sufficiently proved, without  
 “troubling your Majesty with instances of greater anti-  
 “quity) from which usage if we might depart, the prece-  
 “dent might be of dangerous consequence in future times,  
 “though your Majesties goodnesse gives us great security  
 “during your Majesties reign, which we beseech God long  
 “to continue.

“This consideration prompted us in our last addressse to  
 “your Majesty, before our last recessse, humbly to men-  
 “tion to your Majesty, our hopes, that before our meeting  
 “again your Majesties alliances might be so fixed, as that

“ your Majesty might be graciously pleased to impart them  
 “ to us in Parliament, that so our earnest desires of sup-  
 “ plying your Majesty, for prosecuting those great ends we  
 “ had humbly laid before your Majesty, might meet with no  
 “ impediment or obstruction ; being highly sensible of the  
 “ necessity of supporting, as well as making the alliances,  
 “ humbly desired in our former addresses, and which we  
 “ still conceive so important to the safety of your Majesty,  
 “ and your kingdoms, that we cannot (without unfaith-  
 “ fulness to your Majesty and those we represent) omit,  
 “ upon all occasions, humbly to beseech your Majesty, as  
 “ we now do, *to enter into a league offensive and defensive*  
 “ *with the States General of the United Provinces, against the*  
 “ *growth and power of the French King, and for the preser-*  
 “ *vation of the Spanish Netherlands, and to make such other*  
 “ *alliances, with such other of the confederates, as your Ma-*  
 “ *jesty shall think fit and usefull to that end ; in doing which*  
 “ (that no time may be lost) we humbly offer to his Majesty  
 “ these reasons for the expediting of it.

1. “ That if the entering into such alliances should  
 “ draw on a war with the French King, it would be least  
 “ detrimental to your Majesties subjects at this time of the  
 “ year, they having now fewest effects within the dominion  
 “ of that King.

2. “ That

2. “ That though we have great reason to believe the  
 “ power of the French King to be dangerous to your Ma-  
 “ jesty and your kingdoms, when he shall be at more leisure  
 “ to molest us; yet we conceive the many enemies he has  
 “ to deal with at present, together with the situation  
 “ of your Majesty’s kingdoms, the unanimity of the people  
 “ in the cause, the care your Majesty hath been pleased to  
 “ take of your ordinary guards of the sea, together with the  
 “ credit provided by the late act for an additional excise for  
 “ three years, make the entering into, and declaring alliances  
 “ very safe, until we may in a regular way give your Majesty  
 “ such further supplies, as may enable your Majesty to sup-  
 “ port your alliances, and defend your kingdoms.

“ And because of the great danger and charge which must  
 “ necessarily fall upon your Majesty’s kingdoms, if through  
 “ want of that timely encouragement and assistance, which  
 “ your Majesty’s joining with the States General of the United  
 “ Provinces, and other the confederates would give them, the  
 “ said States or any other considerable part of the confede-  
 “ rates should this next winter, or sooner, make a peace or  
 “ truce with the French King (the prevention whereof must  
 “ hitherto be acknowledged a singular effect of God’s goodness  
 “ to us) which if it should happen, your Majesty would be  
 “ afterwards necessitated with fewer, perhaps with no alli-  
 “ ances or assistance to withstand the power of the French



“ King, which hath so long and so successfully contended  
 “ with so many, and so potent adversaries, and whilest he con-  
 “ tinues his over-balancing greatness, must alwayes be dan-  
 “ gerous to his neighbours, since he would be able to op-  
 “ press any one confederate before the rest could get toge-  
 “ ther, and be in so good a posture of offending him as they  
 “ now are, being joyntly engaged in a war. And if he  
 “ should be so successful as to make a peace, or disunite the  
 “ present confederation against him, it is much to be feared;  
 “ whether it would be possible ever to reunite it, at least it  
 “ would be a work of so much time and difficulty, as would  
 “ leave your Majesties kingdomes exposed to much misery  
 “ and danger.

“ Having thus discharged our duty, in laying before your  
 “ Majesty the dangers threatning your Majesty, and your  
 “ kingdomes, and the onely remedies we can think of,  
 “ for the preventing, securing, and quieting the minds of  
 “ your Majesties people, with some few of those reasons  
 “ which have moved us to this, and our former addressses  
 “ on these subjects, we most humbly beseech your Majesty  
 “ to take the matter to your serious consideration, and to  
 “ take such resolutions, as may not leave it in the power  
 “ of any neighbouring prince, to rob your people of that  
 “ happineffe which they enjoy under your Majesties gra-  
 “ cious government; beseeching your Majesty to rest con-  
 “ fident

“ fident and affured, that when your Majesty fhall be pleased  
 “ to declare fuch alliances in Parliament, we fhall hold our-  
 “ felves obliged, not only by our promifes, and affurances  
 “ given, and now with great unanimity revived in a full  
 “ Houfe, but by the zeal and defires of thofe whom we  
 “ represent, and by the interefts of all our fafetyes, moft  
 “ chearfully to give your Majesty from time to time fuch  
 “ fpeedy fupplies and affiftances, as may fully and plenti-  
 “ fully anfwer the occafions, and by God’s bleffing preferve  
 “ your Majesty’s honour and the fafety of the people. All  
 “ which is moft humbly fubmitted to your Majefties great  
 “ wifdom.”

*Friday, May 25<sup>th</sup>, 1677.*

Sir John Trevor reported from the faid committee the  
 addrefse, as it was drawn by them, which was read.

Whereupon it was moved to agree with the committee,  
 but before it was agreed to there was a debate and division  
 of the Houfe.

It was obferved and objected that there was but one reafon  
 given herein for declining the granting money, and that is  
 the unprecedentedneffe, and as to one of the instances to  
 this purpofe mentioned, *viz.* the King’s firft Dutch war, it  
 was faid to be miftaken, for that the 2,500,000*l.* was voted  
 before the war was declared.

But

But it was answered, that if the declaration was not before the grant of the money (which quære) yet 'twas certain that the war itself, and great hostilities were before the money, and some said there might be other reasons assigned against giving money before the alliances, but they rather desired to spare them, onely in general said, it was not reasonable to grant money before there was a change (they would not say of counsellors but of counfels) and an hearty undertaking these alliances would be the best demonstration of that change; for the swerving from this interest and part, was the step by which we went awry, and the returning thereto would restore us to our right place and way.

And a gentleman produced and read the King's speech made Monday the 10<sup>th</sup> of February 1667, wherein he spake chiefly of the league which afterwards, when the Swede came into it, was called the Triple League.

“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ I AM glad to see you here again to tell you what I  
 “ have done in this intervall, which I am confident you will  
 “ be pleased with, since it is so much to the honour and  
 “ security of the nation. I have made a league offensive  
 “ and defensive with the States of the United Provinces, and  
 “ likewise a league for an efficacious mediation of peace  
 “ between the two crowns, into which league that of  
 “ Sweden

“ Sweden by its ambaffador hath offered to enter as a prin-  
 “ cipal. I did not at our laft meeting move you for any  
 “ aid, though I lie under great debts contracted by the laft  
 “ war, but now the pofture of our neighbours abroad, and  
 “ the confequence of this new alliance will oblige me for  
 “ our security to fet out a confiderable fleet to fea this fum-  
 “ mer, and befides I muft build more great fhips, and ’tis  
 “ as neceffary that I do fomething in order to the fortifying  
 “ fome of our ports. I have begun myfelf in order to thefe  
 “ ends, but if I have not your speedy affiftance, I fhall not  
 “ be able to go thorow with it, wherefore I do earneftly de-  
 “ fire you to take it into your speedy confideration, &c.”

Which fhews the proper courfe and praftice, that Kings  
 firft communicate their alliances made, before they demand  
 fupplies upon the account of them.

So the exception was let fall.

But the grand objection managed againft it, was upon  
 the main point of the addrefs, wherein they defired his  
 Majefty to make a league offenfive and defenfive with the  
 Dutch, and fuch other alliances with the reft as he fhould  
 think fit.

Those who were againft this particular (or particularize-  
 ing) in the addrefs, fpoke to this effect :



This is an invasion upon his Majesties prerogative of making peace, war and leagues, and it is the worse for the distinction that is used, in respect of the Dutch and the rest; by which you giving him express directions as to the Dutch, and referring to his discretion as to the others, it looks and gives an umbrage as if what he was to do was by your leave.

The antient land mark, the boundaries between King and people, must not be removed; this power is one of the few things reserved entirely to the Crown: Parliaments are summoned to treat *de arduis*, but he *de quibusdam arduis*; this is unprecedented.

The marriages of the Royal Family is such a peculiar thing reserved to the King, and the matter of the Lady Arrabella is an instance. Queen Elizabeth resented it high, that the Parliament should propound her marrying, and she said that however it is well they did not name the person, if they had named the person it had been intolerable, now here you name the person whom you would have the King ally.

If you may go so far, you may come to draw a treaty, and propose to the King to sign it; by this you would put a great indecorum upon the King; he is now concerned as a mediator at Nimmegen, and it would be an indecent thing for him at the same time to declare himself a party. It is  
believed

believed the House of Austria (though they sent full powers to Nimmegen, for the purpose, yet) never intended to conclude a peace. But it was an absurd thing for them to declare so in publick; there must be publick decorum.

This is the way for the King to have the worse bargain with the confederates; for they observing how he is importuned, and as it were driven to make these alliances, will slacken and lessen those advantageous offers, which otherwise they would be forced to make.

And again and again, they said his Majesty did agree with this House in the end, and they did not doubt but he would prosecute it by the same means as was desired; but his prerogative was not to be incroacht upon: this manner of proceeding would never obtain with the King, nay, it would make the address miscarry with the King.

On the other side several spoke to this effect:

We ought to consider we are upon the question of agreeing an address drawn by our committee, by our order.

If they have not in matter and manner corresponded with our direction or intention, we have cause to disagree. But here the exception taken, and cause pressed why we should not agree with them is, because they have observed the very

words and substance of our order, which exactly justifieth this draught.

This passed on Wednesday, upon a full debate, in a very full House, two only contradicting, but not one speaking or thinking the King's prerogative was toucht: and therefore it is strange it should be made the great objection and question of this day.

But the prerogative is not at all intrenched upon; we do not, nor do pretend to treat or make alliances; we only offer our advice about them, and leave it with the King; he may do as he pleaseth, either make or not make them. It is no more than other persons may do to the King, or doubtless the privy council may advise him in this particular, and why not his great council? This rate of discourse would make the King's prerogative consist merely in not being advised by his Parliament (of all people.)

There are manifold precedents of such advices: leagues have been made by advice of Parliament, and have been ratified in Parliament: in Edw. 2. Rich. 2. and especially in Henry the fifth's time, and particularly with Sigismond the emperour and king of the Romans, and Henry the fifth was a magnanimous prince and not to be imposed upon.

18 Jac. the Parliament advised the King about making and managing a war, Rushw. Coll. 36, 41, 42, 45, 46.

And

And we may well remember our own advising the first Dutch war; and making leagues is less than war.

But if there was no precedent in this particular case, it was no objection, for matter of advice is not to be circumscribed by precedent. If there be a new case that a prince should joyn in a war, together with another prince, when that prince was too potent before, and that when this was discerned, and a peace made, yet succors should continually go out of the first prince's dominions to the service of the other prince, and that notwithstanding several addresses and advices to the contrary.

'Tis true, as objected, that the Commons have sometimes declined advising in the matter of war, &c. proposed to them. But that shews not their want of right to meddle therewith, but rather the contrary. The very truth is, it has been the desire and endeavour of Kings in all ages, to engage their Parliaments in advising war, &c. that so they might be obliged to supply the King to the utmost for and through it, but they out of a prudent caution have sometimes waved the matter, lest they should engage further or deeper than they were aware or willing.

Since his Majesty is treating as mediator at Nimmegen, about the general peace, it is a great reason why he should specify the alliances desired as we have done, that we might



make it known, we are far from defiring fuch alliances as might be made by and with a general peace ; but on the contrary coveting fuch as might prevent and fecure us againft that dangerous and formidable peace.

Doubtlefs the confederates will offer honourable and worthy terms ; their neceffity is too great to boggle or take advantages, nor will they think this league the lefs worth becaufe we advife it, but rather value it the more becaufe it is done unanimoufly by the King with the advice and applaufe of his people in Parliament.

We cannot fuppose that our proceeding thus to his Majesty (Rufh. Coll. 171, 172, 177, 178) will prejudice our addrefs or endanger its mifcarriage, fince it is for his Majesties advantage, in that it obliges us to fupply him to all degrees through this affaire, and the more particular it is, the more ftill for the King's advantage, for if it had been more general, and the King thereupon had made alliances, whatever they were, men might have thought and faid they were not the alliances intended, and it might be ufed as an excufe or reason for their not giving money to fupply his Majesty hereafter, but this, as it is now, doth moft exprefly, ftremely and particularly bind us up.

We reflect that a great deal of time (and precious time) has been fpent fince, and in our addrefse on this fubject,  
and

and finding no effectual fruit, especially of our last addresse, we have cause to apprehend we are not clearly understood in what we mean. Now it is the ordinary way of pursuing discourse in such case, and it is proper and naturall for us to speak (out) more explicitly and particularly, and tell his Majesty, that what we have meant is a league offensive and defensive; and to perswade us again to addresse on, in more general terms, as before, is to perswade us, that as we have done nothing this ten weeks, so we should do nothing still.

And said his Majesty in his late message and last speech, has been pleased to demand 600,000*l.* for answering the purpose of our addresses, and assures us that the money shall not be employed to other uses than we would have it employed, it is most seasonable for us to declare plainly the use and purpose we intend, that so it may be concerted and clearly understood of all hands, and therefore it is well done to mention to his Majesty these express alliances, we thinking no other alliances worth the said sum, and we withal promising and undertaking that his Majesty shall have this and more for these ends.

Nor have we any cause to apprehend that his Majesty will take amiss our advising leagues in this manner. We have presented more than one addresse for alliances against the growth and power of the French King, and his Majesty  
has

has received, admitted, and answered them without any exception, and if we may address for alliances against a particular prince or state, why not for alliances with a particular prince or state? it cannot be lesse regular or parliamentary than the former.

And moreover (though we know that punctuall precedents are on our side, besides our Commissions by our writts, to treat *de arduis & urgentibus, regem, statum & defensionem regni, & ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, concernentibus*. And besides the King's general intimations in his printed speech, yet) if it be said to be a decent and proper thing to have his Majesty's leave and consent, before we proceed on such a matter, in such a manner, as we now do, we say, that that in effect is with us too; for we consider all our former addresses, and his Majesty's answers and messages thereupon, and it will appear that his Majesty has engaged and encouraged us too upon this subject; and that which he expects and would have, is not to limit or check our advice, but to open and enlarge our gift. His Majesty appears content to be thoroughly advised, provided he be proportionably furnished and enabled with money, which we being now ready to do, we clearly and conclusively present him our advice, for the application of it: "To prevent those mistakes and distrusts which his Majesty says he findes some are so ready to make, as if he had called us together only to get money from us, for other uses than we would have it imployed."

And truly the advising these allyances, together with affuring his Majesty thereupon to assist and supply him presently, and plentifully to prosecute the same, is our only way of complying and corresponding with his last speech: for those leagues followed and supported by these supplies are the only means and methods to put his Majesty in the best condition, both to defend his subjects, and offend his enemies: and so there will be no fault in his Majesty nor us, but his and our security will sufficiently provide for.

Besides it will be worse, it will be a very bad thing indeed not to make the addressé for this particular league, now, since we have resolved it already. Our intention being to have the Dutch, &c. comforted, encouraged and assured, we did order this on Wednesday, and there is publick notice taken of it abroad, and beyond sea. If we should now upon solemn debate set the same aside, it would beget a great doubt, discomfort, and discouragement to them; it is one thing never to have ordered it; another, to retract it.

Also it was said, that it was necessary, but was not all that was necessary, for suppose (which was not credible) that France should be prevailed with to deliver up all Lorraine, Flanders, Alsatia, and other conquered places; are we safe? No, he has too many hands, too much money, and this  
money



money is in great measure (a million sterling yearly at least) supplied him from hence. We must depress him by force as far as may be, but further we must have leagues and laws to impoverish him, we must destroy the French Trade. This would quiet and secure us, this would make our lands rise, and this would enable us to set the King at ease.

After this long debate the House came to the question whether this particular of a league offensive and defensive with the Dutch should be left out of the address, upon which question the House divided, Yeas 142, Noes 182. So that it was carried by 40 it should stand.

Then the main question was put for agreeing, with their committee, this address: which passed in the affirmative without division of the House.

Then it was ordered, that those Members of the House who were of his Majesty's Privy Council, should move his Majesty to know his pleasure, when the House might wait upon him with their address.

Mr. Powle reported from the Committee, amendments to the bill for recalling his Majesty's subjects out of the French King's service, which were read and agreed to by the House, and the bill with the amendments ordered to be ingrossed. And then the House adjourned to the morrow.

*Saturday,*

*Saturday, May 26<sup>th</sup> 1677, in the morn.*

The House being fate had notice by Secretary Coventry that the King would receive their address at three in the afternoon.

The bill for recalling his Majesties subjects, &c. being then ingrossed, was read the third time and passed; the effect of the bill in short was this :

That all and every of the natural born subjects of his Majesty who should continue or be, after the first of August next, in the military service of the French King, should be disabled to inherit any lands, tenements or hereditaments, and be incapable of any gift, grant or legacy, or to be executor or administrator; and being convicted, should be adjudged guilty of felony, without benefit of the clergy, and not pardonable by his Majesty, his heirs or successors, except only by Act of Parliament, wherein such offenders should be particularly named.

The like appointment for such as should continue in the sea-service of the French King, after the first of May, 1678.

This act, as to the prohibiting the offence and incurring the penalties, to continue but for two years, but the executing and proceeding upon it for offences against the

act might be at any time, as well after as within the two years.

Then it was ordered, that Mr. Powle should carry up this Bill to the Lords, and withall should put the Lords in mind of a Bill for “The better suppressing the growth of “Popery,” which they had sent up to their Lordships before Easter, which was forthwith done accordingly.

As soon as this was ordered, several other bills were moved for to be read, &c. But the members generally said, “no; “they would proceed on nothing but the French and Popery.” So they adjourned to the afternoon, when they attended the King with their address at the Banqueting House in Whitehall. Which being presented, the King answered, That it was long and of great importance; that he would consider of it, and give them an answer as soon as he could.

The House did nothing else but adjourn till Monday morn.

*Monday, May 28, 1677.*

The House being fate, they received notice by Secretary Coventry, that the King expected them immediately at the Banqueting House.

Whither being come, the King made a speech to them on the subject of their address. Which speech, to prevent  
mif-

mistakes, his Majesty read out of his paper, and then delivered the same to the Speaker ; and his Majesty added a few words about their adjournment.

The King's speech is as followeth :

GENTLEMEN,

“ COULD I have been silent I would rather have  
 “ chosen to be so, than to call to mind things so unfit for  
 “ you to meddle with as are contained in some parts of your  
 “ last addresses, wherein you have entrenched upon so un-  
 “ doubted a right of the crown, that I am confident it will  
 “ appear in no age (when the sword was not drawn) that  
 “ the prerogative of making peace and war hath been so  
 “ dangerously invaded.

“ You do not content yourselves with desiring me to  
 “ enter into such leagues as may be for the safety of the  
 “ kingdom, but you tell me what sort of leagues they must  
 “ be, and with whom, (and as your address is worded) it  
 “ is more liable to be understood to be by your leave, than  
 “ at your request, that I should make such other alliances  
 “ as I please with other of the confederates.

“ Should I suffer this fundamental power of making peace  
 “ and war to be so far invaded (though but once) as to  
 “ have the manner and circumstances of leagues prescribed



“ to me by Parliament, it’s plain that no prince or state  
 “ would any longer believe that the soveraignty of England  
 “ rests in the crown ; nor could I think myself to signifie  
 “ any more to foreign princes than the empty sound of a  
 “ King. Wherefore you may rest assured, that no condi-  
 “ tion shall make me depart from, or lessen so essential a  
 “ part of the monarchy. And I am willing to believe so  
 “ well of this House of Commons, that I am confident  
 “ these ill consequences are not intended by you.

“ These are in short the reasons why I can by no means  
 “ approve of your address, and yet though you have de-  
 “ clined to grant me that supply which is necessary to the  
 “ ends of it, I do again declare to you, that as I have done  
 “ all that lay in my power since your last meeting, so I will  
 “ still apply myself by all the means I can, to let the world  
 “ see my care both for the security and satisfaction of my  
 “ people, although it may not be with those advantages to  
 “ them, which by your assistances I might have procured.”

And having said this, he signified to them that they  
 should adjourn till the 16<sup>th</sup> of July.

Upon hearing of this speech read, their House is said to  
 have been greatly appalled, both in that they were so severely  
 checked in his Majesties name, from whom they had  
 been used to receive so constant testimonies of his royal

bounty and affection, which they thought they had deserved; as also, because there are so many old and fresh precedents of the same nature : and if there had not, yet they were led into this by all the steps of necessity, in duty to his Majesty and the nation. And several of them offering therefore modestly to have spoken, they were interrupted continually by the Speaker, contesting that after the King's pleasure signified for adjournment, there was no further liberty of speaking. And yet it is certain, that at the same time in the Lords House, the adjournment was in the usuall forme, and upon the question first propounded to that House, and allowed by them; all adjournments (unlesse made by speciall commission under his Majesties broad seal) being and having alwaies been so, an act of the Houses by their own authority. Neverthelesse, several of their members requiring to be heard, the Speaker had the confidence, without any question put, and of his own motion, to pronounce the House adjourned till the 16<sup>th</sup> of July, and stept down in the middle of the floor, all the House being astonish'd at so unheard of a violation of their inherent privilege and constitution. And that which more amazed them afterwards was, that while none of their own transactions or addresses for the public good are suffered to be printed, but even all written copies of them with the same care as libells suppressed; yet they found this severe speech published in the next day's news book, to mark them out

to

to their own, and all other nations, as refractory disobedient persons that had lost all respect to his Majesty. Thus were they well rewarded for their itch of perpetual fitting and of acting, the Parliament being grown to that height of contempt, as to be gazetted among run-away servants, lost dogs, strayed horses, and highway robbers.

In this manner was the second meeting of this, whether Convention or Parliament, concluded; but by what name soever it is lawfull to call them, or how irregular they were in other things, yet it must be confessed, that this House or barn of Commons deserved commendations for having so far prevented the establishment of Popery, by rejecting the conspiratours two bills, intituled,

1. “ An Act for further securing the Protestant Religion  
“ by educating the Children of the Royal Family therein;  
“ and for the providing for the continuance of a Protestant  
“ Clergy.

2. “ An Act for the more effectual Conviction and Pro-  
“ secution of Popish Recusants.”

And for having in so many addresses applyed against the French power and progresse; and their debates before recited upon this latter subject, do sufficiently show, that there are men of great parts among them, who understand  
the

the interest of the nation, and as long as it is for their purpose, can prosecute it.

For who would not commend chastity, and raile against whoring, while his rival enjoys their mistress?

But on the other side, that poor desire of perpetuating themselves those advantages which they have swallowed, or do yet gape for, renders them so abject, that they are become a meer property to the conspiratours, and must, in order to their continuance, do and suffer such things, so much below and contrary to the spirit of the nation, that any honest man would swear that they were no more an English House of Parliament. And by this weakness of theirs it was, that the House of Peers also (as it is in contiguous buildings) yielded and gave way so far even to the shaking of the government. For had the Commons stood firme, it had been impossible that ever two men, such as the black and white Lords, Trerise and Frechwel, though of so vast fortunes, extraordinary understanding, and so proportionable courage, should but for speaking against their sense have committed the four Lords (not much their inferiours) and thereby brought the whole peerage of England under their vassalage.

They met again at the day appointed, the 16<sup>th</sup> of July; the supposed House of Commons were so well appayed,  
and



and found themselves at such ease, under the protection of these frequent adjournments, which seemed also further to confirm their title to Parliament, that they quite forgot how they had been outlawed in the Gazette, or if any sense of it remained, there was no opportunity to discover it. For his Majesty having signified by Mr. Secretary Coventry his pleasure, that there should be a further adjournment, their Mr. Seymour (the speaker deceased) would not suffer any man to proceed; but an honourable member requiring modestly to have the order read, by which they were before adjourned, he interrupted him and the seconder of that motion. For he had at the last meeting gained one precedent of his own making for adjourning the House without question, by his own authority, and was loath to have it discontinued; so that without more ado, like an infallible judge, and who had the power over councils, he declared, *ex cathedra*, that they were adjourned till the third of December next. And in the same moment stamp'd down on the floor, and went forth (trampling upon, and treading under foot, I had almost said, the privileges and usage of Parliament, but however) without shewing that decent respect which is due to a multitude in order, and to whom he was a menial servant.

In the mean time the four Lords lay all this while in the Tower, looking perhaps to have been set free, at least of course

course by prorogation. And there was the more reason to have expected one, because the corn clause, which deducted, *communibus annis*, 55,000*l.* out of the King's customs, was by the Act of Parliament to have expired.

But these frequent adjournments left no place for divination, but that they must rather have been calculated to give the French more scope for perfecting their conquests, or to keep the Lords closer, till the conspirators designs were accomplished, and it is less probable that one of these was false, than that both were the true causes. So that the Lords, if they had been taken in war, might have been ransomed cheaper than they were imprisoned. When therefore, after so long patience, they saw no end of their captivity, they began to think that the procuring of their liberty deserved almost the same care which others took to continue them in durance; and each of them chose the method he thought most advisable.

The Earl of Shaftsbury having addressed in vain for his Majesty's favour, resorted by *habeas corpus* to the King's Bench, the constant residence of his Justice. But the Judges were more true to their patents than their jurisdiction, and remanded him, Sir Thomas Jones having done him double justice, answering both for himself and his brother Twifden, that was absent and had never heard any argument in the case.

The Duke of Buckingham, the Earle of Salisbury, and the Lord Wharton, had better fortune than he in recurring to his Majesty by a petition, upon which they were enlarged, making use of an honorable evasion, where no legal reparation could be hoped for. Ingratefull persons may censure them for enduring no more, not considering how much they had suffered. But it is honour enough for them to have been confessors, nor as yet is the Earl of Shaftsbury a martyr for the English liberties and the Protestant religion, but may still live to the envy of those that maligne him for his constancy.

There remains now only to relate that before the meeting appointed for the third of December, his Majesties proclamation was issued, signifying that he expected not the members attendance, but that those of them about town may adjourn themselves till the 4<sup>th</sup> of April 1678. Wherein it seemed not so strange, because often done before, as unfortunate that the French should still have so much further leisure allowed him to compleat his design upon Flanders, before the nation should have the last opportunity of interposing their counsells with his Majesty (it cannot now be said) to prevent it. But these words, that the House may adjourn themselves, were very well received by those of the Commons who imagined themselves thereby restored to their right, after Master Seymour's invasion; when in re-

verfal of this, he probably defiring to retain a jurisdiction that he had twice usurped, and to adde this flower to the crown, of his own planting, Mr. Secretary Coventry delivered a written message from his Majesty on the 3<sup>d</sup> of December, of a contrary effect, though not of the same validity with the Proclamation, to wit, that the Houses should be adjourned only to the 15<sup>th</sup> of January 1677. Which as soon as read, Mr. Seymour would not give leave to a worthy member offering to speak, but abruptly, now the third time of his own authority, adjourned them, without putting the question, although Sir J. Finch, for once doing so in *tertio Caroli*, was accused of high treason; this only can be said, perhaps in his excuse, that whereas that in *tertio Car.* was a Parliament legally constituted, Mr. Seymour did here do as a sheriff that disperses a riotous assembly. In this manner they were kickt from adjournment to adjournment, as from one stair down to another, and when they were at the bottom kickt up again, having no mind yet to *go out of doors*.

And here it is time to fix a period, if not to them, yet to this narrative. But if neither one prorogation, against all the laws in being, nor three vitious adjournments, against all precedents, can dissolve them, this Parliament then is immortal, they can subsist without his Majesties authority, and it is less dangerous to say with Capt. Eldson, so lately,



*Si rebellio evenerit in regno, & non accideret fore contra omnes tres status, non est rebellio.*

Thus far hath the conspiracy against our religion and government been laid open, which if true, it was more than time that it should be discovered, but if any thing therein have been falsely suggested, the disproving of it in any particular will be a courtesy both to the publick and to the relator; who would be glad to have the world convinced of the contrary, though to the prejudice of his own reputation. But so far is it from this, that it is rather impossible for any observing man to read without making his own farther remarks of the same nature, and adding a supplement of most passages which are here but imperfectly toucht. Yet some perhaps may object, as if the assistance given to France were all along invidiously aggravated, whereas there have been, and are, considerable numbers likewise of his Majesties subjects in the service of Holland, which hath not been mentioned. But in answer to that, it is well known through what difficulty and hardship they passed thither, escaping hence over, like so many malefactors; and since they are there, such care hath been taken to make them as serviceable as others to the design, that of those three regiments, two, if not the third also, have been new modelled under Popish officers, and the Protestants displaced. Yet had the relator made that voluntary omission in partiality to his argument, he hath abundantly

dantly recompenced in sparing so many instances on the other side which made to his purpose: The abandoning his Majesties own nephew for so many years, in compliance with his and our nations enemies: The further particulars of the French depredations and cruelties exercised at sea upon his Majesties subjects, and to this day continued and tolerated without reparation: Their notorious treacheries and insolencies, more especially relating to his Majesties affairs: these things abroad, which were capable of being illustrated by many former and fresh examples; at home, the constant irregularities and injustice from term to term of those that administer the judicature betwixt his Majesty and his people: The scrutiny all over the kingdom, to find out men of arbitrary principles, that will bow the knee to Baal, in order to their promotion to all publick commissions and employments; and the disgracing on the contrary and displacing of such as yet dare in so universal a depravation be honest and faithful in their trust and offices: The defection of considerable persons both male and female to the Popish religion, as if they entered by couples clean and unclean into the ark of that church, not more in order to their salvation, than for their temporal safety: The state of the kingdom of Ireland, which would require a whole volume to represent it: The tendency of all affairs and counsels in this nation towards a revolution; and (by the great civility and foresight of his Holyness) an English cardinal now for several

several years prepared like Cardinal Poole to give us absolution, benediction, and receive us into apostolical obedience.

It is now come to the fourth act, and the next scene that opens may be Rome or Paris, yet men sit by, like idle spectators, and still give money towards their own tragedy. It is true, that by his Majesty and the churches care, under God's speciall providence, the conspiracy hath received frequent disappointments. But it is here as in gaming, where, though the cheat may lose for a while, to the skill or good fortune of a fairer player, and sometimes on purpose to draw him in deeper, yet the false dice must at the long run carry it, unless discovered, and when it comes once to a great stake, will infallibly sweep the table.

If the relator had extended all these articles in their particular instances, with severall other heads, which out of respect he forbore to enumerate, it is evident there was matter sufficient to have further accused his subjects. And nevertheless, he foresees that he shall on both hands be blamed for pursuing this method. Some on the one side will expect, that the very persons should have been named; whereas he only gives evidence to the fact, and leaves the malefactors to those who have the power of inquiry. It was his design indeed to give information, but not to turn informer. That these to whom he hath onely a publick enmity, no private animosity, might have the privilege of statesmen,

to

to repent at the last hour, and by one signall action to expiate all their former misdemeanours. But if any one delight in the chase, he is an ill woodman that knows not the size of the beast by the proportion of his excrement.

On the other hand, some will represent this discourse (as they do all books that tend to detect their conspiracy) against his Majesty and the kingdome, as if it too were written against the government. For now of late, as soon as any man is gotten into publick employment by ill acts, and by worse continues it, he, if it please the fates, is thenceforward the government, and by being criminal, pretends to be sacred. These are, themselves, the men who are the living libells against the government, and who (whereas the law discharges the prince upon his ministers) do, in danger of being questioned, plead or rather impeach his authority in their own justification. Yea, so impudent is their ingratitude, that as they intitle him to their crimes, so they arrogate to themselves his virtues, challenging whatsoever is well done, and is the pure emanation of his royal goodness, to have proceeded from their influence; objecting thereby his Majesty, if it were possible, to the hatred, and interposing as far as in them lies, betwixt the love of his people: For being conscious to themselves how inconsiderable they would be under any good government, but for their notorious wickedness, they have no other way of subsisting,



sisting, but by nourishing suspicions betwixt a most loyal people, and most gracious sovereign. But this book, though of an extraordinary nature, as the case required, and however it may be calumniated by interested persons, was written with no other intent than of meer fidelity and service to his Majesty, and God forbid that it should have any other effect, than *that the mouth of all iniquity and of flatterers may be stopped*, and that his Majesty, having discerned the disease, may with his healing touch apply the remedy; for so far is the relator himself from any sinister surmise of his Majesty, or from suggesting it to others, that he acknowledges, if it were fit for Cæsar's wife to be free, much more is Cæsar himself from all crime and suspicion. Let us therefore conclude with our own common devotions, "From all privy  
" conspiracy, &c. Good Lord deliver us."

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