

The College of Wooster

## Open Works

---

English Historical Library of Wallace Notestein

Special Collections

---

1645

### **The Kings Cabinet Opened: Or, Certain Packets of Secret Letters & Papers, Written with the Kings Own Hand, and Taken in His Cabinet at Nasby-Field, June 14. 1645. by Victorious SR. Thomas Fairfax Wherein Many Mysteries of State, Tending to the Justification of That Cause, for Which Sir Thomas Fairfax Joyned Battell That Memorable Day Are Clearly Laid Open; Together, with Some Annotations Thereupon. Published by Speciall Order of the Parliament**

Charles I, King of England, 1600-1649

Parker, Henry, 1604-1652

Sadler, John, 1615-1674

Follow this and additional works at: <https://openworks.wooster.edu/notestein>  
May, Thomas, 1595-1650

---

#### **Recommended Citation**

Charles I, King of England, 1600-1649; Parker, Henry, 1604-1652; Sadler, John, 1615-1674; and May, Thomas, 1595-1650, "The Kings Cabinet Opened: Or, Certain Packets of Secret Letters & Papers, Written with the Kings Own Hand, and Taken in His Cabinet at Nasby-Field, June 14. 1645. by Victorious SR. Thomas Fairfax Wherein Many Mysteries of State, Tending to the Justification of That Cause, for Which Sir Thomas Fairfax Joyned Battell That Memorable Day Are Clearly Laid Open; Together, with Some Annotations Thereupon. Published by Speciall Order of the Parliament" (1645). *English Historical Library of Wallace Notestein*. 50.

<https://openworks.wooster.edu/notestein/50>

This Book is brought to you for free and open access by the Special Collections at Open Works, a service of The College of Wooster Libraries. It has been accepted for inclusion in English Historical Library of Wallace Notestein by an authorized administrator of Open Works. For more information, please contact [openworks@wooster.edu](mailto:openworks@wooster.edu).

THE  
Kings Cabinet opened:  
OR,  
CERTAIN PACKETS  
OF SECRET  
LETTERS & PAPERS,

Written with the Kings own Hand,  
and taken in his Cabinet at *Nasby-Field*,  
JUNE 14. 1645.

By Victorious *S<sup>r</sup>. Thomas Fairfax*;

Wherein many mysteries of State, tending to the  
Justification of that CAUSE, for which  
*Sir Thomas Fairfax* joyned battell that  
memorable day are clearly laid open;

Together, with some Annotations thereupon.

---

Published by special Order of the *Parliament*.

---



L O N D O N,

Printed for *Robert Bostock*, dwelling in *Pauls Church-*  
*yard*, at the Sign of the Kings-head, 1645.

THE  
KING'S CABINET OPENED

CERTAIN  
LETTERS & PAPERS

Written with the King's own Hand  
and kept in the Cabinet at Whitehall

By VICTORIOUS KNOWLES Esq;

Whom it is now thought fit to publish to the  
Publick in order to clear the King's  
Character from the several  
Imputations which have been  
cast upon it by the  
Authors of the several  
Libels and Scurrilous  
Tracts which have  
been published  
since the late  
Revolution

Printed by J. B. at the Sign of the Crown in St. Dunstons Church Lane

Printed for J. B. at the Sign of the Crown in St. Dunstons Church Lane  
1704



T were a great sin against the mercies of God, to conceale those evidences of truth, which hee so graciously (and almost miraculously) by surprizall of these Papers, hath put into our hands; nor dare we smother this light under a Bushell, but freely hold it out to our seduced brethren, (for so in the spirit of meekness labouring to reclaim them, we still speak) that they may see their errors, and return into the right way: For those that wilfully deviate, and make it their profession to oppose the truth, we think it below us, to revile them with opprobrious language, remembering the Apostle St. Jude, and that example which he gives us in his Epistle. They may see here in his privat Letters what affection the King beares to his people, what language and titles he bestowes upon his great Councell; which we return not again, but consider with sorrow, that it comes from a Prince seduced out of his proper sphear; one that has left that seat in which he ought, and hath bound himselfe to sit, to sit (as the Psalmist speaks) in the *Chair of the scornfull*; & to the ruine (almost) of three Kingdoms, hath walked *in the counsels of the ungodly*; and though in our tenents we annex no infallibity to the seat of a King in Parliament, as the *Romanists* do to the Papall Chaire, (since all men are subject to error) yet we dare boldly say, that no *English* King did ever from that place, speak

destruction to his people, but safety and honour; nor any that abhorred that Seat and Councell, but did the contrary. Therefore, Reader, to come now to the present businesse of these Letters, thou art either a friend or enemy to our cause: If thou art well affected to that Cause of Liberty & Religion, which the two Parliaments of *England* and *Scotland* now maintain against a combination of all the Papists in *Europe* almost, especially the bloody Tygers of *Ireland*, and some of the Prelaticall and Court Faction in *England*: thou wilt be abundantly satisfied with these Letters here printed, and take notice therefrom, how the Court has been *Caiolde*, (thats the new authentick word now amongst our Cabalisticall adversaries) by the Papists, and we the more beleiving sort of Protestants, by the Court. If thou art an enemy to Parliaments and Reformation, and made willfull in thy enmity beyond the help of miracles, or such revelations as these are, then tis to be expected, that thou wilt either deny these papers to have been written by the Kings own hand, or else that we make just constructions and inferences out of them: Or lastly, thou wilt deny, though they be the Kings own, and beare such a sence as we understand them in, yet that they are blameable, or unjustifiable against such rebels as we are. As to the first, know that the Parliament was never yet guilty of such forgery, the King yet in all the Letters of his, which have been hitherto intercepted, never objected any such thing, and we dare appeale to his own conscience now, knowing that he cannot disavow either his own hand writing, or the matters themselves here written. All the Ciphers, Letters, all circumstances of time, and fact, and the very hand by which they are signed (so generally known and now exposed to the view of all) will averre for us, that no such forgery could be possible. As to our Comments and

Annotations, if there be not perspicuity and modesty in them, there is no common justice nor place for credit left amongst mankind: but indeed most of the main circumstances want no illustration at all to the most vulgar capacities: and therefore we affirm nothing necessary to be believed, but what the printed papers will themselves utter in their own language: and yet for that which is not so clearly warranted here, we have other Papers for their warrant, were they not too numerous, and vast, and too much intermixed with other matter of no pertinence for publication at this time. Touching the last objection, if thou art a perfect malignant, and dost not stick to deny, that there is any thing in these letters unbeseeming a Prince, who professes himself Defender of the true Faith, a tender Father of his Countrey, and has been so sanctimoniously ingaged with frequent, speciall vowes of affection, candour, sincerity, and constancie to his particular protestant subjects of *England* and *Scotland*: Then know, that thou art scarce worthy of any reply, or satisfaction in this point. Our cause is now the same as it was when the King first took up Armes, and as it was when the King made most of these oathes and professions. Our three propositions concerning the abolition of Episcopacy, the setting the Militia of the three Kingdomes in good hands, by advice of Parliament, the vindication of the *Irish* rebels, being all our main demands at the Treaty in February last, and no other then the Propositions sent in June 1642. before any stroke struck, will beare us witnesse that we have rather straitned then enlarged our complaints. But were our cause altered, as it is not; or were we worse rebels then formerly, as none can affirm which takes notice of our late sufferings, and our strange patience even now after the discovery of these Papers, and our late extraordinary successe

in the Field, yet still this clandestine proceeding against us here, and condemning all that are in any degree Protestants at *Oxford*; as also granting a toleration of Idolatry to Papists, indemnity to the murderous Irish, in a close trading way for meer particular advantage, cannot be defended by any, but by the falsest of men, Papists; or the falsest of Papists, Jesuits. Hitherto the *English* have had commission to chastise the *Irish*, the *Irish* have had the like to chastise the *English*, both have spilt each others blood by the Kings warrant; yet as both have been in part owned, so both have been in part disowned, and the King himselfe has not appeared with an open face in the busines, but now by Gods good providence the traverse Curtain is drawn, and the King writing to *Ormond*, and the Queen, what they must not disclose, is presented upon the stage. God grant that the drawing of this Curtain may bee as fatall to Popery, and all Antichristian heresie here now, as the rending of the vaile was to the Jewish Ceremonies in *Judea*, at the expiration of our Saviour.

*Oxford*



Oxford Jan. 9.

Deare heart,

Since my last, which was by Talbot, the Scots Commissioners have sent to desire me to send a Commission to the generall Assembly in *Edinburgh*, which I am resolved not to do; but to the end of making some use of this occasion, by sending an honest man to *London*, and that I may have the more time for the making a handiome negative, I have demanded a passeport for *Philip Warwick*, by whom to return my answer. I forgot in my former to tell thee, that *Lentall* the speaker brags, that *Cardinall Mazarin* keeps a strict intelligence with him; though I will not swear that *Lentall* sayes true, I am sure it is fit for thee to know. As for *Sabrian*, I am confident that either he or his Instructions are not right for him who is eternally thine.

Even now I am advertised from *London* that there are three or four Lords, and eight Commons (beades four Scotch Commissioners) appointed to treat, and they have named *Uxbridge* for the place, though not yet the particular persons. I am likewise newly advertised that *General Goring* prospers wel where he is, and since *Munday* last hath taken 80. of the Rebels Horse: and upon his advance they have quitted *Peterfield* and *Coudry*.

### POSTSCRIPT.

*The settling of Religion, and the Militia, are the first to be treated on: and bee confident, that I will neither quit Episcopacy, nor that sword which God hath given into my hands.*

Copie to my wife 9. Jan. 1644.

By P. A.

This is a true Copie, examined by *Edm. Prideaux*.



Oxford, Sunday 30. March. Deare heart, since my last (which was but 3. dayes ago) there are no alterations hapned of moment, preparations rather then actions being yet our chiefest butinesse, in which we hope that we proceed faster then the Rebels, whose levies both of men and money (for certain) goes on very slowly; and I beleeve, they are much weaker then is thought, even here at Oxford. For instance, A very honett servant of mine, and no fool, shewed me a proposition from one of the most considerable London Rebels, who will not let his name be known untill he have hope that his proposition will take effect, it is this, That since the Treaty is so broken off, that neither the rebels nor I can resume it without at least a seeming totall yeelding to the other. The Treaty should be renewed upon thy motion, with a pre-assurance that the rebels will submit to reason. The answer that I permitted my servant to give, was, That thou art the much fittest person to be the means of so happy & glorious a work as is the peace of this Kingdom; but that upon no terms thy name was to be prophaned, therefore he was to be satisfied of the rebels willingness to yeeld to reason, before he would consent that any such intimation should be made to thee, and particularly concerning Religion and the Militia, that nothing must be insisted upon but according to my former offers. This I beleeve will come to nothing, yet I cannot but advertise thee of any thing that comes to my knowledge of this consequence.

*I must again tell thee, That most assuredly France will bee the best way for transportation of the D. of Lorraines Army, there being divers fit and safe places of landing for them upon the western coasts, besides the Ports under my obedience, as Shelsey neer Chichester and others, of which I will advertise thee when the time comes.*

*By my next I think to tell thee when I shall march into the Field, for which money is now his greatest want (I need say no more) who is eternally thine,*

To my Wife 30. March. 1645. by Petit.

This is a true Copie examined by Edmond Prideaux.

Oxford Thursday 27. March.

Dear heart, I wrote to thee yesterday by *Sakefield*, the subject of it was onely kindnesse to thee; which, I assure thee shall ever be visible in all my actions: And now I come to *Jermins* account, given me by thy command, which is very cleare, hopefull in most particulars, and absolutely satisfactory as concerning thy care & industry. As for the main impediment in the D. of *Lorrains* businesse (which is his passage) why may thou not procure him passage through *France*? (if that of *Holland* be stuck at) it will much secure and facilitate the Sea transportation in respect of landing on the *Western Coast*, which I beleave will be found the best, there being not so many places to chuse on, any where else. But this an opinion, not a direction.

The generall face of my affairs me thinks begins to mend, the dissensions at *London* rather increasing then ceasing, *Montrosse* daily prospering, my *Western* businesse mending apace, and hopefull in all the rest. So that if I had reasonable supplies of money and powder (not to exclude any other,) I am confident to be in a better condition this yeare, then I have been since this rebellion began, and possibly I may put faire for the whole, and so enjoy thy company again, without which nothing can be a contentment unto me. And so farewell dear heart.

I intend (if thou like it) to bestow *Percies* place on the *M. of N. wcastle*, to whom yet I am no wayes engaged, nor will be before I have thy answer. As for *Jack Barclay*, I do not remember that I gave thee any hope of making of him *Master of the Wards*: For *Cottington* had it long ago before thou went hence, and I intended it to *Seer Nich.* if he then would have received it: and I am deceived if I did not tell thee of it.

I direct thee to command *Lo. Jer.* to read to thee the *Ds Letter*, which goes herwith, and in it to mark well that part concerning the transportation of the *D. Lorrains Army*.

To my Wife 27. Mar. 1645. by P. A.

This is a true Copy examined by *Miles Corbet*.

Oxford, Sunday 4. May. Dear Heart, the Rebels new brutish Generall hath refused to meddle with forrain Passes, so as yet

yet I cannot dispatch *Adrian May* to thee, by the way of London which if I cannot very shortly, I will send him by the West, and now, if I could be assured of thy recovery, I would have but few melancholy thoughts, for I thank God my Affairs begins to smile upon me again, Wales being well swept of the Rebels. *Farrington* having relieved it self; and now being secured by *Goring's* coming, my Nephew likewise having brought me a strong party of Horse and Foot, these Quarters are so free that I hope to be marching within three or foure dayes, and am still confident to have the start of the Rebels this year: I am likewise very hopeful that my Son will shortly be in the head of a good Army, for this I have the cheerfull assurance of *Culpeper* and *Hyde*: Of late I have been much pressed to make *Southampton* Master of my Horse, not more for good will to him, as out of fear that *Hamilton* might return to a capacity of recosening me; wherein if I had done nothing, both jealousie and discontents were like to arise, wherefore I thought fit to put my Nephew *Rupert* in that place, which will both save me charge, and stop other mens grumbings: I have now no more to say, but praying for and impatiently expecting of good news from thee, I rest eternally thine.

To my wife 4 *May* 1645.

By *Malin St. Ravy*.

This is a true Copie examined by *Edm. Prideaux*.

V

*Oxford*. 2. *Jan*.

Dear Heart,

HAVING decyphered thine which I received yesterday I was much surpris'd to find thee, blame me for neglecting to write to thee, for indeed I have often complained for want, never mist any occasion of sending to thee; and I assure thee never any dispatch went from either of my Secretaries without one from me, when I knew of it.

“As for my calling those at London a Parliament, I shall refer thee to *Digby* for particular satisfaction, this in generall; If there had been but two (besides my Self) of my opinion, I had not done it, and the Argument that prevailed with me, was that the calling did no wayes acknowledge them, to be a Parliament.

“liament, upon which condition and construction I did it and no  
 “other wayes, and accordingly it is registred in the Councell  
 “books, with the Councels unanimous approbation; but thou  
 “wilt find, that it was by misfortune, not neglect that thou hast  
 “been no sooner advertied of it

As for the conclusion of thy Letter, it would much trouble me, if thou didst not know, thy desire granted before it was asked; yet I wonder not at it, since that which may bear a bad construction, hath been presented to thee in the ugliest form, not having received the true reason and meaning of it, the fear of some such mischance made me the more carefull, to give thee a full account by *Tom Eliot*, of the reasons of the D. of R. and E. of S. journey to London, which if it come soon enough I am confident will free thee from much trouble, but if thou hast not the patience to forbear judging harshly of my actions, before thou hearest the reasons of them, from me, thou may be often subject to be doubly vext, first with slanders, then with having given too much care unto them. To conclude, esteeme me as thou findest me constant to those grounds thou lests me withall, & so farewell Dear heart.

Copie to my wife 2 Jan. 1645: by P. A.

This is a true Copie examined by *Edm. Prideaux*.

## VI

**O***Xford* 19. Feb. old stile. Dear heart, I cannot yet send thee any certain word concerning the issue of our Treaty, onely, the unreasonablenesse of the Rebels, gives daily lesse and lesse hopes, of any accommodation this way; wherefore I hope no rumors shall hinder thee from hastning all thou may, all possible assistance to me, and particularly that of the D. of Lorraines; concerning which I received yesterday, good news from *Dr. Giff*, that the P. of Orange will furnish Shipping for his transportation, and that the rest of his Negotiation goes hopefully on, by which, and many other wayes, I find thy affection so accompanied with dexterity, as I know not whether (in their severall kinds) to esteeme most; but I will say no more of this, lest thou may think that I pretend to do this way, what is but possible to be done by the continued actions of my life; though I leave news to others, yet I cannot but tell thee, that even now I have recei-

ved certain intelligence of a great defeat given to *Argyle* by *Munrofe*; who upon surprize, totally routed thoe Rebels, killed 1500. upon the place. Yester day I received thine of 27. Jan. by the Portugall Agent, the onely way (but expresse) I am confident on, either to receive Letters from thee, or to send them to thee; indeed *Sabran* sent me word yester day, besides some complements of the *Embargo* of the rebels ships in France (which I likewise put upon thy score of kindness) but is well enough content that the Portugall should be charged with thy dispatches. As for trusting the rebels either by going to *London*, or disbanding my Army before a peace, do no wayes feare my hazarding so cheaply or foolishly: for I esteeme the interest thou hast in me at a farre dearer rate, and pretend to have a little more wit (at least by the sympathy that is betwixt us) then to put my selfe into the reverence of perfidious rebels. So impatiently expecting the expresse thou hast promised me, I rest eternally thine

*I can now assure thee, that Hertogen the Irish Agent, is an arrant knave, which shall be made manifest to thee by the first opportunity of sending Pacquets.*

To my Wife 19. Febr. 1645. by P. A.

This is a true Copy examined by <sup>4</sup>Edmond Prideaux.

## VII

Deare heart, the expectation of an expresse from thee (as I find by thine of the 4. Febr.) is very good newes to me, as likewise that thou art now well satisfied with my diligence in writing. As for our treaty, there is every day lesse hopes then other, that it will produce a peace. But I will absolutely promise thee, that if we have one, it shall be such as shall invite thy return. For I avow, that without thy company I can neither have peace nor comfort within my self. The limited dayes for treating, are now almost expired without the least agreement upon any one Article. Wherefore I have sent for enlargement of dayes, that the whole treaty may be laid open to the world. And I assure thee, that thou needst not doubt the issue of this treaty; for my Commissioners are so well chosen (though I say it) that they will neither be threatned nor distressed

disputed from the grounds I have given them; which (upon my word) is according to the little Note thou so well remembers. And in this not onely their obedience, but their judgements concur. I confesse in some respects thou hast reason to bid me beware of going too soon to London: for indeed some amongst us had a greater mind that way then was fit; of which perswasion Percy is one of the chief, who is shortly like to see thee, of whom having said this, is enough to shew thee how he is to be trusted, or beleev'd by thee concerning our proceedings here. In short, there is little or no appearance but that this Summer will be the hottest for war of any that hath been yet: and be confident, that in making peace, I shall ever shew my constancy in adhering to Bishops, and all our friends, and not forget to put a short period to this perpetual Parliament. But as thou loves me, let none perswade thee to slake thine assistance for him who is eternally thine, C. R.

Oxford 25. Feb. 1645.

To my Wife 15. Feb. 1645. by P. A.

This is a true Copie examined by Edmond Prideaux.

VIII

DEar heart, now is come to passe what I fore-saw, the fruitlesse end (as to a present peace) of this treaty; but I am still confident, that I shall find very good effects of it: for besides that my Commissioners have offered, to say no more, full measured reason, and the rebels have stucken rigidly to their demands, which I dare say had been too much, though they had taken me prisoner, so that assuredly the breach will light foully upon them. We have likewise at this time discovered, and shall make it evidently appeare to the world, that the English Rebels, (whether basely or ignorantly, will be no very great difference) have as much as in them lies, transmitted the command of Ireland from the Crown of England to the Scots, which (besides the reflection it will have upon these rebels) will clearly shew, that reformation of the Church is not the chief, much lesse the onely end of the Scotch Rebellion; but it being presumption, & no pietie: so to trust to a good cause, as not to use all lawfull means to maintain it, I have thought of one means more to furnish thee with for my assistance, then hitherto thou hast had: It is that I give thee power to promise in my name (to whom thou thinkest most fit) that I will take away all the penall laws against the Roman Catholicks in England as soon as God shall enable me to do it; so as by their means, or in their favours, I may have so powerfull assistance as may deserve so great a favour, and enable me to do it. But if thou ask what I call that assistance, I answer, that when thou knowest what may be done for it, it will be easily seen, if it deserve to be so esteemed. I need not tel thee what fe-

crefy this busines requires; yet this I wil say, that this is the greatest point of confidence I can exprets to thee; for it is no thanks to me to trust thee in any thing else but in this which is the only thing of difference in opinion betwix us: *And yet I know thou wilt make as good a bargain for me, even in this.* I trusting thee, (though it concern religion) as if thou wert a protestant, the visible good of my affairs is much depending on it, I have so fully intrusted this bearer *Pooly*, that I wil not say more to thee now, but that herewith I send thee a new Cypher (assuring thee, that none hath or shal have any copy of it but my selfe, to the end thou may it use it, when thou shalt find fit to write any thing which thou wilt judge worthy of thy pains to put in cypher, and to be decyphered by none but me; and so likewise from him to thee, who is eternally thine.

To my wife the 5. March 1645. by *Pooly*.

*This is a true Copie examined by* Edm. Prideaux.

4

The litle that is here in Cypher is  
in that which I sent to thee by *Pooly*.

IX

*Oxford*, Wednesday 9 April. 1645.

*Dear Heart:*

**T**Hough it be an uncomfortable thing to write by a slow Messenger, yet all occasions, of this (which is now the onely) way of convering with thee, is so welcome to me as I shall be loath to loose any; but expect neither news or publick busines, from me, by this way of conveyance; yet judging thee by my self even these nothings wil not be unwelcom to thee, though I should chide thee, which if I could I would do, for thy too sudden taking Alarms; I pray thee consider, since I love thee above all earthly things, & that my contentment is unseperably con'oynd with thine, may not all my Actions tend to serve and please thee? *If thou knew what a life I lead, (I speak not in respect of the common distractions) even in point of owne satisfaction I which in my mind, is the chief joy or vexation of ones life, I dare say thou would pity me; for some are too wise, others too foolish, some too busie, others too reserved, many fantastick. In a word, when I know none better (I speak not now in relation to usefulness) then 35:9:8: 270:55:5:7:67:18. 294:35:69:16:54:6:38:1: 67: 68: 9: 66: thou may easily judge how my conversation pleaseth me. I confesse thy company hath perhaps made me in this, hard to be pleased, but not lesse to be pitied by thee, who art the only cure for this disease. The end of all is this, to desire thee to comfort me as often as thou can with thy letters, & dost not thou think, that to know particulars of thy health, & how thou spendest the time, are pleasing subjects unto me, though thou hast no other businesse to write of? Beleeve me, sweet heart, thy kindnesse is as necessary to comfort my heart, as thy assistance is for my affairs.*

To my Wife 9 April. 1645. by *Binion*.

*This is a true Copie examined by* Miles Corbet.

*Oxford*.

Oxford Thursday 20. March.

Deare Heart :

**U**Pon Saturday last I wrote to thee by *Sabran* (but this I beleeve may come as soone to thee) and I have received thine of the seventh upon Munday last, which gave me great contentment both in present and expectation, (the quicke passage being likewise a welcome circumstance) and yet I cannot but finde a fault of omission in most of thy latter Dispatches, there being nothing in them concerning thy health. For though I confesse, that in this no news is good news, yet I am not so satisfied without a more perfect assurance; & I hope thou wilt by satisfying me confesse the justnesse of this my exception. I am now full fraught with expectation (I pray God send me a good unlading) for I looke daily for some blow of importance to be given about *Taunton* or *Shrewsbury*; and I am confidently assured of a considerable and sudden supply of men from *Ireland*, likewise the refractory Horse (as the *London* Rebels calls them) may be reckoned in, for yet it is not knowne what fomenters they have, or whether they have none, if the latter, there is the more hope of gaining them to me; howsoever I doubt not, but if they stand out (as it is probable) good use may be made of them. Of this I beleeve to give thee a perfecter account next weeke, having sent to try their pulses; *Petit* came yesterday, but he having at *London* thrust his Dispatches into the States Ambassadors Paquets I have not yet received them, and I would not stay to lengthen this in answer of them, nor give thee halfe hopes of good Westerne news, knowing of an opportunity for writing to thee within these three or foure dayes; onely I congratulate with thee for the safe arrivall of thy Tinne-adventure at *Callis*: and so farewell sweet heart.

Thine of the 10. I have newly received, whereby I finde that thou much mistakes mee concerning *Ir.* for I desire nothing more then a Peace there, and never forbad thy commerce



merse there ; onely I gave thee warning of some Irish in  
France, whom I then thought, and now know to be knaves.

To my Wife 20. March 164 $\frac{1}{2}$ . by P. A.

This is a true Copy, examined by Edm. Prideaux.

## XI.

*Droit Wiche.* Wednesday 14. May.

Deare heart :

**M**arching takes away the conveniency of sending my Letters so safe and quicke to thee, as when I was at *Oxford*, however I shall not faile to doe what I can to send often to thee ; there is so little news for the present as I wil leave that subject for others, onely upon Saturday last I received a Dispatch from *Montrose*, which assures me his condition to be so good, that he bids me be confident that his Countrymen shall doe me no great harme this yeere ; and if I could lend him but 500. horse, he would undertake to bring me 20000. men before the end of this Summer. For the generall state of my affaires we all here thinke to be very hopefull ; this Army being of a good strength, well ordered, and increasing ; my Sonnes such that *Fairfax* will not be refused to be fought with, of which I hope thou wilt receive good satisfaction from himselfe. Its true that I cannot brag for store of money, but a sharpe Sword alwaies hinders starving at least ; and I beleeve the Rebels Coffers are not very full (and certainly we shall make as good a shift with empty purses as they ) or they must have some greater defect ; else their Leavies could not be so backward as they are, for I assure thee that I have at this instant many more men in the Field then they. I am not very confident what their Northerne Forces are, but except they are much stronger then I am made beleeve. I may likewise include them.

Now I must make a complaint to thee of my Sonne *Charles*, which troubles me the more, that thou maist suspect I seeke by equivocating to hide the breach of my word, which I hate above all things, especially to thee : It is this he hath sent to desire me, That Sir John Greenfield may be sworne Gentleman of his Bedchamber, but already so publikely ingaged in it, that the refusall would be a great disgrace both

to my Sonne and the young Gentleman, to whom it is not fit to give a just distaste, especially now, considering his Fathers merits, his owne hopefulness, besides the great power that Family has in the West: Yet I have refused the admitting of him untill I shall heare from thee. Wherefore I desire thee first to chide my Sonne for ingaging himselfe without one of our consents; then, not to refuse thy owne consent; and lastly, to beleave that directly or indirectly I never knew of this while yesterday at the delivery of my Sonnes Letter. So farewell, Sweet heart, and God send me good news from thee.

*To my Wife, May 14. 1645.*

*This is a true Copy, examined by Miles Corbett.*

## XII.

*Deare Heart:*

**I** Know thy affection to me so truly grounded, that thou wilt be in as much (if not more) trouble to finde my reputation, as my life in danger: therefore least the false sound of my offering a Treaty to the Rebels upon base and unsafe termes should disturbe thy thoughts, I have thought it necessary (to assure thy minde from such rumours) to tell thee the wayes I have used to come to a Treaty, and upon what grounds. I shall first shew thee my grounds, to the end thou may the better understand and approve of my wayes; Then know (as a certaine truth) that all, even my party, are strangely impatient for peace, which obliged me so much the more (at all occasions) to shew my reall intentions to peace; *And likewise I am put in very good hope (some holds it a certainty) that if I could come to a faire Treaty, the King-leading Rebels could not binder me from a good Peace: First, because their owne party are most weary of the War, and likewise for the great distractions which at this time most assuredly are amongst themselves, as Presbyterians against Independents in Religion, and Generall against Generall in point of command: Upon these grounds a Treaty being most desirable (not without hope of good successe) the most probable means to procure is was to be used, which might stand with honour and safety, amongst the rest (for I will omit all those which are unquestionably counselable) the sound of my returne to London was thought to have so much force of popular Rhetorique in it, that upon it a Treaty would be had, or if resu-*

sed, it would bring much prejudice to them, and advantagious to me; yet least foolish or malicious people should interpret this as to proceed from feare or folly, I have joynd conditions with the Proposition ( without which this sound will signifie nothing ) which thou wilt finde to be most of the chiefe ingredients of an honourable and safe Peace. Then observe, if a Treaty at London with Commissioners for both sides may be had without it, it is not to be used; nor, in case they will treat with no body but my Selve, so that the conditions saves any aspersion of dishonour, and the Treating at London the malignity which our factious spirits here may infuse into this Treaty, upon this subject. This I hope will secure thee from the trouble which otherwise may be caused by false malicious rumours, and though I judg my self secure in thy thoughts, from suspecting me guilty of any basenesse, yet I held this account necessary, to the end thou may make others know, as well as thy selfe, this certaine truth, That no danger of death or misery ( which I thinke much worse ) shall make me do any thing unworthy of thy love. For the state of my present affaires I referre thee to 92. concluding ( as I did in my last to thee ) by conjuring thee, as thou lovest me, that no appearance of Peace ( and now I adde ) nor hopefull condition of mine, make thee neglect to haste succour for him who is eternally thine.

*Copy to my Wife, Decemb. 1644. by Tom. Elliot.  
This is a true Copy, examined by Edm. Prideaux.*

## XIII.

*Oxford, 13. March, Old-Style.*

*Deare Heart :*

**W**HAT I told thee the last weeke concerning a good parting with our Lords and Commons here, was on Munday last handfomly performed, and now if I doe any thing unhandfome or disadvantageous to my selfe or friends, in order to a Treaty, it will be meerly my owne fault, for I confesse when I wrote last, I was in feare to have been pressed to make some meane overtures to renew the Treaty, ( knowing that there were great labouring to that purpose : ) But now I promise thee, *If it be renewed, ( which I believe will not, without some eminent good successe on my side ) it shall be to*

my honour and advantage, I being now as well freed from the place of base and mutinous motions (that is to say, our *Mungrell Parliament* here) as of the chiefe causes, for whom I may justly expect to be chidden by thee, for having suffered thee to be vexed by them, *Wilmot* being already there, *Percy* on his way, and *Sussex* within few daies taking his journey to thee, but that, I know, thou carest not for a little trouble to free me from great inconveniences, yet I must tell thee, that if I knew not the perfect stedinesse of thy love to me, I might reasonably apprehend that their repaire to thee would rather prove a change then an end of their villanies; and I cannot deny, but my confidence in thee, was some cause of this permissive trouble to thee.

I have received thine of the third of *March*, by which thou puts me in hope of assistance of men and Money, and it is no little expression of thy love to me, that (because of my businesse) Festivals are troublesome to thee, *But I see that Assemblies in no Countries are very agreeable to thee*, and it may be done a purpose to make thee weary of their companies, and excuse me to tell thee in earnest, that it is no wonder, that meere Statesmen should desire to be rid of thee, therefore I desire thee to thinke whether it would not advantage thee much to make a personall friendship with the *Queen Regent*, (without shewing any distrust of her Ministers, though not wholly trusting to them) & to shew her, that when her Regency comes out (and possibly before) she may have need of her friends, so that she shall but serve her selfe by helping of thee; and to say no more, but certainly, if this Rebellion had not begun to oppresse me when it did, a late great Queene had ended more glorious then she did. In the last place I desire thee, to give me a weekly account of thy health, for I feare least in that alone thou takest not care enough to expresse thy kindnesse to him who is eternally thine.

The *Northerne* newes is rather better then what we first heard, for what by *Sir Marmaduke Langdales*, and *Montrosses* victories, *Carlile* and the rest of our *Northerne* Garrisons are relieved, and we hope for this year secured, and besides all this, the *Northern Horse* are already returned and joyned with my Nephew *Rupert*.

To my wife, 13. *March*. 164 $\frac{1}{4}$ .

By P. A.

This a true Copy examined by  
Edm. Prideaux.

*Daintrey, Sunday 8. June.*

*Deare Heart:*

**O***xford* being free, I hope this will come sooner to thee then otherwise I could have expected, which makes me believe, that my good newes will not be very stale, which in short is this, Since the taking of *Leicester* my marching downe hither to relieve *Oxford* made the Rebels raise their siege before I could come near them, having had their Quarters once or twice beaten up by that Garrison, and lost foure hundred men at an assault before *Bostoll-House*; at first I thought they would have fought with me, being marched as far as *Brackley*, but are since gone aside to *Brick-hill*, so as I believe they are weaker then they are thought to be; whether by their distractions, (which are certainly very great, *Fairfax* and *Browne* having been at *Cudgels*, and his men and *Cromwell's* likewise at blowes together, where a Captain was slaine, or wasting their men, I will not say: besides *Goring* hath given a great defeate to the Westerne Rebels, but I doe not yet know the particulars; wherefore I may (without being too much sanguine) affirm, that (since this Rebellion) my affaires were never in so faire and hopefull a way, though among our selves we want not our own follies, which is needlesse, and I am sure tedious to tell thee, but such as I am confident shall do no harm nor much trouble me: Yet I must tell thee, that it is thy Letter by *FitzWilliams*, assuring me of thy perfect recovery with thy wonted kindnesse, which makes me capable of taking contentment in these good succeses; For as divers men proposes severall recompences to themselves for their pains and hazard in this Rebellion; so thy company is the onely reward I expect and wish for.

*To my Wife 9. June 1645.*

*This is a true Copy, examined by Miles Corbett.*

*Deare*

Deare Heart :

XV.

Sunday last I received three Letters from thee ; one a Duplicate of the 30. *Decemb.* another of the 6. *Jan.* & the last of the 14. *Jan.* and even now one *Petit* is come with a Duplicate of the last ; wherein, as I infinitely joy in the expressions of thy confident love of me, so I must extreamly wonder, that any who pretend to be a friend to our Cause, (for I believe thou wouldst not mention any information from the other side ) can invent such lies, that thou hast had ill offices done to me by any ; or that thy care for my assistance hath been the least suspected, it being so far from truth, that the just contrary is true. For I protest to God I never heard thee spoken of, but with the greatest expressions of estimation for thy love to me, and particularly for thy diligent care for my assistance : But I am confident that it is a branch of that root of knavery which I am now digging at, and of this I have more then a bare suspicion : And indeed, if I were to finde fault with thee, it should be for not taking so much care of thine own health as of my assistance, at least not giving me so often account of it as I desire ; these three last, making no mention of thy selfe. Now as for the Treaty (which begins this day, ) I desire thee to be confident, that I shall never make a peace by abandoning my friends, nor such a one as will not stand with my honour and safety ; of which I will say no more, because, knowing thy love, I am sure thou must believe me, and make others likewise confident of me.

I send thee herewith my directions to my Commissioners, but how I came to make them my self without any others *Digby* will tell thee, with all the newes, as well concerning Military as Cabalistical matters. At this time I will say no more, but that I shall in all things, (only not answering for words) truly shew my selfe to be eternally thine.

The *Portugall* Agent hath made me two propositions, first, concerning the release of his Masters Brother, for which I shall have 50000. *l.* if I can procure his liberty from the King of *Spaine* ; the other is for a marriage betwixt my Son *Charles* and his Masters eldest daughter : For the first I have freely undertaken to do what I can, and for the other, I will give such an Answer, as shall signifie nothing.

I desire thee not to give too much credit to *Sabrans* Relations,

nor

nor much countenance to the Irish Agents in *Paris*, the particuler reasons thou shalt have by *Pooley*, (whom I intend for my next Messenger.) In the last place I recommend to thee the care of *Fersey* and *Cernsey*, it being impossible for us here to do much, though we were rich, being weake at Sea.

To my wife, 30. Jan. 1645.  
By LEGGE.

This is a true Copy, examined  
by EDM. PRIDBAUX.

Ormond;

XVI.

**T**He impossibility of preserving my Protestant Subjects in *Ireland*, by a continuation of the war, having moved me to give you those powers and directions; Which I have formerly done for the concluding of a Peace there, and the same growing daily much more evident, that alone were reason enough for me, to enlarge your powers, and to make my Commands in the point more positive. But besides these considerations, it being now manifest that the English Rebels have (as far as in them lies) given the Command of *Ireland* to the Scots; that their aime is at a totall subversion of Religion and Regall Power, and that nothing lesse will content them, or purchase peace here. I thinke my self bound in conscience, not to let slip the meanes of settling that Kingdome (if it may be) fully under my obedience; nor to loose that assistance which I may hope from my Irish Subjects, for such scruples as in a lesse pressing condition might reasonably be stuck at by me: For their satisfaction, I do therefore command you to conclude a Peace with the Irish, whatever it cost, so that my Protestant Subjects there may be secured, and my Regall authority preserved; But for all this you are to make me the best bargain you can, and not discover your enlargement of power till you needs must. And though I leave the managing of this great and necessary worke entirely to you, yet I cannot but tell you, that if the suspension of Poinings Act for such Bills as shall be agreed upon between you there, and the present taking away of the Penall Laws against Papists, by a law will doe it: I shall not thinke it a hard bargain; so that freely and vigorously they engage themselves in my assistance against my Rebels of *England* and *Scotland*, for which no conditions can be too hard, not being against Conscience or Honour.

Copie to Ormond, 27. Febr. 1645.

A True Copy, Zouch Tate.

To Ormond. Oxford 16. Febr. 1644.

ORMOND, I should wrong my owne service, and this Gentleman Sir *Timothy Fetherston*, if I did not recommend him and his businesse to you; for the particulars of which I refer you to *Digby*: And now again I cannot but mention to you the necessity of the hastening of the Irish Peace, for which I hope you are already furnished by me, with materials sufficient: But in case (against all expectation and reason) Peace cannot be had upon those termes, you must not by any meanes fall to a new rupture with them, but continue the Cessation (according to a Postscript in a Letter by *Jack Barry* (a copy of which Dispatch I herewith send you.) So I rest.

*Postscript.*

In case upon particular mens fancies, the Irish Peace should not be procured, upon powers I have already given you, I have thought good to give you this further Order (which I hope will prove needlesse) to seek to renew the Cessation for a year, for which you shall promise the Irish (if you can have it no cheaper) to joyn with them against the Scots and Inchequin; for I hope by that time my condition may be such, as the Irish may be glad to accept lesse, or I be able to grant more.

A true copy      *Zouche Tate.*

To Ormond. Oxford 7. Ian. 1644.

ORMOND, upon the great rumours and expectations which are now of Peace, I think it necessary to tell you the true state of it, lest mistaken reports from hence might trouble my affaires there.

The Rebels here have agreed to Treat; and most assuredly, one of the first and chiefe Articles they will insit on, will be, to continue the Irish Warre; which is a point not Popular for me to break on; of which you are to make a double use: First, to hasten (with all possible diligence) the Peace there; the timely conclusion of which will take off that inconvenience which otherwayes I may be subject to, by the refusall of that Article, upon any other reason. Secondly, by dextrous conveying to the Irish, the danger there may be of their totall and perpetuall exclusion from those favours I intend them, in



'case the Rebels here clap up a peace with me, upon reasonable terms,  
 'and only exclude them; which possibly were not counselable for me  
 'to refuse, if the Irish peace should be the only difference betwixt  
 'us, before it were perfected there: These I hope are sufficient  
 'grounds for you to perswade the Irish diligently to dispatch a peace  
 'upon reasonable termes, assuring them that you having once fully  
 'engaged to them my word (in the conclusion of a peace) all the earth  
 'shall not make me break it.

'But not doubting of a peace, I must again remember you to  
 'presse the Irish for their speedy assistance to me here, and their  
 'friends in *Scotland*: My intention being to draw from thence into  
 'Wales (the peace once concluded) as many as I can of my Armed  
 'Protestant subjects, and desire that the Irish would send as great a  
 'body as they can to land about *Cumberland*, which will put those  
 'Northern Counties in a brave condition; wherefore you must take  
 'speedy order to provide all the shipping you may, aswell *Dunkeirk*  
 'as Irish Bottomes; and remember that after March it will be most  
 'difficult to transport men from *Ireland* to *England*, the Rebels being  
 'masters of the Seas: So expecting a diligent and particular account  
 'in answer to this Letter, I rest

*Your most assured constant friend,*

CHARLES R.

A true copy. *Zouche Tate,*

XIX

To Ormond. 15. Decemb. 1644.

O R M O N D, I am sorry to finde by *Colonell Barry* the sad  
 condition of your particular fortune, for which I cannot finde so  
 good and speedy remedy as the peace of *Ireland*, it being likewise to  
 redresse most necessary affaires here; wherefore I command you to  
 dispatch it out of hand, for the doing of which I hope my publique  
 Dispatch will give you sufficient Instruction and Power; yet I have  
 thought it necessary for your more Encouragement in this necessary  
 work, to make this addition with my own hand. As for *Poinings Act*  
 I referre you to my other Letter: and for matter of Religion, though  
 I have not found it fit to take publique notice of the paper which

*Brown*

*Brown* gave you, yet I must command you to give him my *L. Muskery* and *Plunket* particular thanks for it, assuring them that without it, there could have been no peace; and that sticking to it, their Nation in generall and they in particular shall have comfort in what they have done, and to shew that this is more then words, I doe hereby promise them, (and command you to see it done) that the Penall Statutes against Roman Catholiques shall not be put in execution, the Peace being made, and they remaining in their due obedience; and further, that when the Irish gives me that assistance which they have promised, for the suppression of this Rebellion, and I shall be restored to my Rights, then I will consent to the Repeale of them by a Law; but all these against Appeals to Rome, and *Premunire* must stand, all this in Cypher you must impart to none, but those three already named, and that with injunction of strictest secrecie: so againe recommending to your care the speedy dispatch of the peace of Ireland, and my necessary supply from thence, as I wrote to you in my last private letter, I rest.

A true Copy. *Zouche Tate.*

## XX

*The Earle of Glamorgans Instructions to me, to be presented to your Majesty.*

THAT (God willing) by end of *May*, or beginning of *June*; he will land with 6000 *Irish*.

That the Gentlemen of the severall Counties of *Monmouth*, *Glamorgan*, *Brecknock*, and *Carmarthen*, will very speedily for your Majesties service in securing these Parts, raise and arme foure thousand men.

That the Ships which shall bring over the *Irish*, his Lordship designs to block up *Milford Haven*, at which time he doubts not to draw these *Welch* Forces into *Pembrookshire*.

That to advance these his undertakings, he hath thirty thousand pounds ready, ten thousand Muskets, two thousand case of

Pistols, eight hundred barrells of Powder; besides, his own Artillery, and is ascertained of thirty thousand pound more which will bee ready upon his return.

That he hath intelligence from his Ships, that divers *Hollanders* and *Dunkirkers* come in daily to him.

In Order to this service, he commanded mee humbly to put your Majesty in minde of his Commission, and that hee may in fitting time have such command in these Counties as may bee suitable to his employment, and conducing to the service in hand: These being Counties in which (if other designes of Landing faile) he can land in: And that your Majesty will seriously consider the services he hath done you in composing the distractions of the County of *Monmouth*: And that you will bee pleased to countenance Sir *Thomas Lunsford*, and graciously relieve the Countrey in such things as without prejudicing your service may ease them.

*Concerning the County of Monmouth only.*

That by his Lordships meanes (who hath now raised two Regiments himselfe;) Sir *Thomas Lunsford's* Forces will bee one thousand eight hundred foot, and seven hundred horse, which horse is intended to bee quartered in the Forrest of *Deane* in places of secure quartring, as *Langot* attempted to have been taken by Sir *John Winter*, a place of great concernment, both for the reducing the Forrest, and securing *Monmouth-shiere*.

That by his Lordships intervention and endeavours, your Majesty really sees he hath much quallified the sence of the grievances of the County, and moderated their complaints by subduing the intended Petition, and therefore hopes your Majesty will so specially commend their humble sute to Prince *Rupert*, as it may be successfull.

That though the prayer of their Petition is to reduce the contribution to the proportion set by the Parliament at *Oxford*, yet his Lordship hath so wrought, as these Petitioners have

have under their hands obliged themselves to continue the double payment for two Months more, and doubts not but in relation to the exigence of your Majesties service to prevaile for further time.

His humble sute is, that I may carry with me into the Countrey your Majesties Order, that the Forces of *Sir Thomas Lundsford* may not bee removed, but upon urgent occasion, untill his returne: And that only upon your Majesties or *Prince Ruperts* speciall Order, otherwise it will be a great obstruction and discouragement in raising or continuing the number proposed.

That your Majesty will be pleased in their favour, to write your Letter to *Prince Rupert*, and that the Country may have the honour to present it, to the end, they may be eased of Free Quarter, exactions above their contribution, and unnecessary Garrisons, that *Chepstow* and *Monmouth* may be the better strengthened.

That *Sir Thomas Lundsford* may bee qualified with Authority, to protect them according to such order as the Prince shall make,

March 21.

1644.

These presented by your

Loyall Subject

*Edward Bosdon.*

This a true Copy.

*Zouche Tate.*

---

XXI

*Colowell Fitz-William humbly prays and propounds  
as followeth.*

**T**Hat your sacred Majesty will vouchsafe to prevail with his Majesty to condiscend to the just demands of his Irish subjects the Confederate Catholikes in his Majesties Kingdome of *Ireland*, at least in private.

That upon the consideration thereof *Colonell Fitz-William* humbly propounds and undergoeth (with the approbation of

Mr *Hardegan* now employed Agent for the sayd Confederate Catholikes in *France* to bring an Army of ten thousand men and more of his Majesties subjects in his kingdom of *Ireland*, for his Majesties service, into *England*.

That Colonell *Fitz-william* undertakes for the summe of ten thousand pound sterl. to leavy, ship, and arm, the said ten thousand men, and so proportionably for more or lesse; and that the said money may be put into such hands as may be safe for his Majesty, as well as ready for the Colonell when it shal appear the said Army shall be in a readinesse to be transported into *England*.

That upon the landing the said men, there shall be advanced to the Colonell one months pay for all the Army, according to the Muster, for the present support of the Army.

That Colonell *Fitz-william* may bee Commander in-Chiefe thereof, and dispose of all the Officers, and onely be commanded by his Majesty, his Highnesse the Prince of *Wales*, and Prince *Rupert*, and qualified with such Commissions as hath been formerly granted to his Majesties Generalls, that have Com-manded bodies apart from his Majesties own Army, as the Marquisse of *Newcastle*, the Earle of *Kingstone*, and others, hereby the better to enable him in the Leavies as well as in the generall conduct of the businesse; and that in respect the Parliament gives no quarter to his Majesties *Irish* Subjects, therefore that the said Forces shall not by any Order whatsoever be devided.

That the Colonell may be supplied with a body of horse, of at least two thousand, to be ready at the place of landing.

That the Colonell may be provided with Amunition and Artillery, or with money requisite for himselfe to provide necessary proportions for to bring with him.

That the Army shall be paid as other Armies of his Majesties.

Having taken these Propositions into consideration, We have thought fit to testify our approbation and agreement thereunto under our signe Manuall assuring what hath been desired of us therein, shall be forthwith effectually endeavoured, and not doubting to the satisfaction of the Confederate *Catholikes* of his Majesties Kingdom of *Ireland*, and to the said Colo-gell.

nell *Fitz-William*, so that wee may justly expect an agreeable compliance and performance accordingly from all parties in these severall concertments.

This is a true Copy of the Originall sent by her Majesty to the King, *May 16. 1645.*

*A. Lowly*, Secretary to the right Honourable the Lord *Iermine*.

A true Copy. *Zouche Tate.*

## XXII

To my wife, 14. Jan. 1645. by *Choquen.*

Deare Heart,

**P**Only came the 11. Jan. to whose great dispatch, though for some dayes I cannot give a full answer, I cannot but at this opportunity reply to something in thy Letter, not without relating to something of his Discourse.

As I confesse it a mis-fortune (but deny it a fault) thy not hearing oftner from me, so excuse me to deny that it can be of so ill consequence as thou mentions, if their affections were so reall, as they make shew of to thee; for the difficulty of sending is known to all, and the numbers of each Letter will shew my diligence, and certainly there goes no great wit to finde out wayes of sending, wherefore if any be neglected more, then our wits are faulty; but to imagine that it can enter into the thought of any flesh living, that any body here should hide from thee what is desired, that every one should know (excuse me to say it) is such a folly, that I shall not beleve that any can think it though he say it: And for my affection to thee, it will not bee the miscarrying of a Letter or two that will call it in question; but take heed that these discourses be not rather the effect of their wearinesse of thy company, then the true image of their thoughts; and of this is not the proposall of thy journey

to *Ireland*, a pretty instance? For seriously of it selfe, I hold it one of the most extravagant propositions that I have heard, thy giving eare to it, being most assuredly only to expresse thy love to me, and not thy judgement in my affaires: As for the businesse it selfe, ( I meane the peace of *Ireland* ) to shew thee the care I have had of it, and the fruits I hope to receive from it: I have sent thee the last dispatches, I have sent concerning it, earnestly desiring thee to keep them to thy selfe, only thou maist in generall let the *Q. Regent* and Ministers there understand, that I have offered my Irish Subjects so good satisfaction, that a peace will shortly ensue, which I really beleeve. But for Gods sake, let none know the particulars of my dispatches. I cannot but tell thee, that I am much beholding to the Portugall Agent (and little to the French) it being by his meanes that I have sent thee all my Letters, ( besides expresses ) since I came hither, though I expected most from *Sabran*.

‘ I will not trouble thee with repetitions of Newes, *Digbies* dispatch which I have seene being so full, that I can adde nothing; yet I cannot but paraphrase a little upon that which he calls his superstitious observation: It is this, nothing can be more evident, then that *Straffords* innocent blood hath bene one of the great causes of Gods just judgements upon this Nation by a furious civill warre, both sides hitherto being almost equally punished as being in a manner equally guilty; but now this last crying blood, being totally theirs; I beleeve it is no presumption hereafter to hope that his hand of justice must be heavier upon them, and lighter upon us, looking now upon our Cause, having passed by our faults.

This is a true Copy examined  
by *Edmund Prideaux*.

## XXIII. Copy to the D. of R.

**R** *Ichmond*, I thank you for the accompt you sent me by this Bearer, and have nothing of new to direct you in, but only to remember you that my going to *West*. is not to be mentioned but upon probable hopes of procuring a Treaty with Com. there or thereabouts, and that you mention the security I aske with my comming to *West*. And I hope I need not remember you to Cajole well the Independents and Scots; this Bearer will tell you how well our Welterne and Northerne Associations goes on to whom I refer you for other things. I rest.

This a true Copy. *Zouche Tate.*

XXIV. *Oxford* Feb. 1644. Memorials for Secretary *Nicholas* concerning the Treaty at *Vxbridge*.

**F**irst for Religion and Church government I will not goe one jot further then what is offered by you already.

2. And so for the *Militia* more then what ye have allowed by me, but even in that you must observe that I must have free nomination of the full halfe; as if the totall number Scots and all be thirty, I will name fiftene; yet if they (I mean the English Rebels) will be so base as to admit of ten Scots to twenty English, I am contented to name five Scots and ten English, and so proportionably to any number that shall be agreed upon.

3. As for gaining of particular persons besides security, I give you power to promise them rewards for performed services, not sparing to engage for places; so they be not of great trust, or be taken away from honest men in possession, but as much profit as you will: with this last you are only to acquaint *Richmond*, *Southampton*, *Culpeper*, and *Hild*.

This is a true Copy. *Zouche Tate.*

XXV. Directions for my *Vxbridge* Commissioners.

First concerning Religion.

**I**N this the government of the Church (as I suppose) will be the chiefe question wherein two things are to be considered, Conscience and Policy. For the first, I must declare unto you that



I cannot yeeld to the change of the government by Bishops; not only as I fully concurre with the most generall opinion of Christians in all ages, as being the best, but likewise I hold my selfe particularly bound by the Oath I took at my Coronation, not to alter the government of this Church from what I found it. And as for the Churches patrimony, I cannot suffer any diminution or alienation of it, it being without peradventure sacriledge, and likewise contrary to my Coronation Oath but whatsoever shall be offered, for rectifying of abuses if any hath crept in, or yet for the ease of tender consciences (so that it endamage not the foundation) I am content to heare, and will be ready to give a gracious answer thereunto: For the second, as the Kings duty is to protect the Church, so it is the Churches to assist the King, in the maintenance of his just authority; wherefore my Predecessors have been alwayes carefull (and especially since the Reformation) to keep the dependency of the Clergy intirely upon the Crowne; without which it will scarcely fit fast upon the Kings head; therefore you must doe nothing to change or lessen this necessary dependency.

Next concerning the *Militia*.

After conscience, this is certainly the fittest subject for a Kings Quarrell; for without it the Kingly power is but a shaddow; and therefore upon no meanes to be quitted, but to be maintained according to the ancient knowne lawes of the Land: (yet because to attaine to this so much wished peace by all good men) it is in a manner necessary that sufficient and reall security be given for the performance of what shall be agreed upon. I permit you either by leaving strong Townes or other *Military* force into the Rebels possession (untill Articles be performed) to give such assurance for performance of conditions as you shall judge necessary for to conclude a peace: provided alwayes that ye take (at least) as great care by sufficient security, that conditions be performed to me: *And to make sure that the peace once settled, all things shall returne into their ancient Channells.*

Thirdly for *Ireland*.

I confesse, they have very specious popular Arguments to presse this point, the gaining of no article more conducing to their ends then this: And I have as much reason both in honour and policy to take care how to answer this as any: all the world knows

knowes the eminent inevitable necessity which caused me to make the Irish Cessation, and there remaine yet as strong reason for the concluding of that peace; wherefore ye must consent to nothing to hinder me therein, untill a clear way be showne me how my Protestant subjects there may probably (at least) defend themselves; and that I shall have no more need to defend my conscience and Crowne from the injuries of this rebellion.

A true Copy. *Zouch Tate.*

*As Vxbridge on Wednesday the 29. of Iauuarie, 1644. the Protestation under written was unanimously consented unto, and taken by all his Majesties Commissioners appoynted to treat there, touching a well-grounded peace.*

## XXVI.

**I**A. B. being one of the Commissioners assigned by his Majesty for this present Treaty at Vxbridge, doe Protest and promise in the sight of Almighty God, that I will not disclose nor reveale unto any person or persons whatsoever (who is not a Commissioner) any matter or thing that shall be spoken of during the Treaty by any one, or more of his Majesties Commissioners in any private debate amongst our selves, concerning the said Treaty; so as to name or describe directly or indirectly the person or persons that shall speak any such matter or thing, unlesse it be by the consent of all the said Commissioners that shall be then living.

*Memorandum, That it is by all the said Commissioners agreed that this shall not binde where any ten of the Commissioners shall agree to certifie his Majesty the number of Assenters or Dissenters, upon any particular result, in this Treaty, not naming or ascribing the persons.*

This is a true Cobby, examined by

*Zouch Tate.*

XXVII. *The Q. to the K. from Yorke, March 30. 1644. Also April.*

**M**Y deare heart; I need not tell you from whence this bearer comes; onely I will tell you, that the Propositions which he brings you are good, but 260. I beleve that it is not yet time to put them into execution: therefore finde some meanes to send them back, which may not discontent them (and doe not tell who gave you this advise. *St. Hugh Cholmely* is come with a Troop of horse to kisse my hands: the rest of his people he left at *Scarborrough*, with a ship laden with Arms, which the ships of the Parliament had taken and brought thither, so she is ours; the Rebels have quitted *Tadcaster* upon our sending forces to *Whetherby*, but they are returned with twelve hundred men: we send more forces to drive them out, though those we have already at *Whetherby* are sufficient, but we feare lest they have all their forces there about, and lest they have some designe; for they have quitted *Selby* and *Camwood*, the last of which they have burnt: Between this and to morow night we shall know the issue of this businesse; and I will send you an expresse: I am more carefull to advertise you of what we doe, that you and we may finde meanes to have passe-ports, to send: and I wonder that upon the Cessation you have not demanded that you might send in safety: this shewes my love: I understand to day from *London*, that they will have no Cessation, and that they Treat at the beginning of the two first Articles, which is of the Forts, Ships, and Ammunition, and afterwards of the disbanding of the Army: certainly, I wish a peace more then any, and that with greater reason: But I would the disbanding of the perpetuall Parliament, first: and certainly, the rest will be easily after wards: I doe not say this of my owne head alone: for generally both those who are for you and against you in this Countrey, wish an end of it; and I am certaine, that if you doe demand it at the first, in case it be not granted, *Hull* is ours, and all *Yorke-shire*, which is a thing to consider of: and for my particular, if you make a peace and disband your Army, before there is an end to this perpetuall Parliament, I am absolutely resolved to goe into *France*, not being willing to fall againe into the hands of those people, being well assured, that if the power remaine with them, that it will not be well for me in *England*; remember what I have written to you  
in

(29)

in three precedent Letters, and be more carefull of methen you have beene, or at the least dissemble it; to the end that no notice be taken of it. Adieu: the man hastens me, so that I can say no more.

Yorke this 30. of March.

---

XXVIII.

**T**His Letter should have gone by a man of *Master Denedsdate*, who is gone, and all the beginning of this Letter was upon this subject: and therefore by this man it signifies nothing but the end was so pleasing, that I doe not for beare to send it to you: You now know by *Elliot* the issue of the businesse of *Todcaster*, since we had almost lost *Scarborough*, whilst *Cholmly* was here, *Browne Bushell* would have rendred it up to the Parliament: but *Cholmley* having had notice of it, is gone with our forces, and hath re-taken it, and hath desired to have a Lieutenant and forces of ours to put within it; for which we should take his; he hath also taken two Pinaces from *Hobham*, which brought 44. men to put within *Scarborough*, 10. Peeeces of Canon, 4. Barrels of Powder, 4 of Bullet. This is all our newes; our Army marches to morrow to put an end to *Fairfaxes* Excellency. And I will make an end of this Letter, this third of *April*. I have had no newes of you since *Parsons*.

A true Coppy.

P. W.

30. *March*. 3. *April*.

---

XXIX.

The Queen to the King from *Bath*. *April*. 21. 1644.

**M**Y deare heart, *Fred. Cornwallis* will have told you all our voyage as farre as *Adburie*, and the state of my health: since my comming hither, I finde my selfe so ill, as well in the ill rest that I have, as in the encrease of my Rhume.

I hope that this dayes rest will doe mee good: I go to morrow to *Bristol*, to send you back the Carts; many of them are already returned; My Lord *Dillon* told me, not directly from you, though

he says you approve it; that it was fit I should write a Letter to the Commissioners of Ireland to this effect, That they ought to desist from those things for the present, which they had put in their Paper, and to assure them, that when you shall be in another condition then you are now, that you will give them consentment.

I thought it to be a matter of so great engagement, that I dare not doe it without your command; therefore if it please you that I should doe so, send me what you would have me write, that I may not doe more then what you appoynt: And also that it being your command, you may hold to that which I promise: for I should be very much grieved to write any thing which I would not hold to, and when you have promised it me, I will be confident. I beleve also, that to write to my Lord Muskery without therest will be enough; for the Letter which I shall write to him shall be with my owne hand: and if it be to all your Commissioners, it shall be by the Secretary. Farewell my deare heart, I cannot write any more, but that I am absolutely

Yours.

A true Coppy.

Zouch Tate.

XXX. The Q. to the K. from Paris.

January 164 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

Paris, January, I have received one of your Letters, dated from Marleborow of an old date, having received many others more fresh, to which I have made answer: I will say nothing concerning this but only concerning the affair of (Gor.) If it be not done, it is time, being very seasonable at this time, which I did not believe before. I understand that the Commissioners are arrived at London; I have nothing to say, but that you have a care of your honour; and that if you have a peace, it may be such as may hold; and if it fall out otherwise, that you doe not abandon those who have served you for fear they do forsake you in your need. Also I do not see how you can be in safety without a Regiment of Guard; for my self I think I cannot be, seeing the malice which they have against me, and my Religion, of which I hope you will have a care of both; but in my opinion Religion should be the last thing upon which you should treat; For if you doe agree upon strictnesse against the Catholicks, it would discourage them to serve you: and if afterwards

there

there should be no peace, you could never expect succours either from Ireland, or any oiber Catholick Prince, for they would believe you would abandon them after you have served your selfe. I have dispatched an expresse into Scotland, to Mountrosse, to know the condition he is in, and what there is to be done. This week I send to Mr. of Lorraine and into Holl. I lose no time: if I had more of your newes, all would goe better. Adieu my dear heart.

A true Copy. Zouch Tate.

My Wife  $\frac{6}{27}$  Decem. Ian. 164 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

XXXI. The *Q.* to the *K.* Paris, Ian. 27. 164 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

Also March 13.

**P**aris January;  $\frac{19}{27}$  my deare heart, Tom. Eliot two dayes since hath brought me much joy, and sorrow: the first, to know the good estate in which you are: the other, the fear I have that you goe to London. I cannot conceive where the wit was of those who gave you this counsell, unlesse it be to hazzard your person to save theirs: but thanks be to God, to day I received one of yours by the Ambassadour of Portugall dated in January, which comforted me much to see that the Treaty shall be at *Vxbridge*: For the honour of God trust not your selfe in the hands of these people. And if you ever goe to London before the Parliament be ended, or without a good Army, you are lost. I understand that the Propositions for the peace must begin by disbanding the Army; if you consent to this, you shall be lost, they having the whole power of the *Militia*, they have done and will doe whatsoever you will. I received yesterday Letters from the Duke of Lorraine, who sends me word if his service be agreeable to you, he will bring you ten thousand men: Dr. Goffe whom I have sent into Holland shall treat with him in his passage upon this businesse; and I hope very speedily to send good newes of this, as also of the money. Assure your selfe I will be wanting in nothing you shall desire; and that I will hazzard my life, that is, to dye by famine, rather then not to send to you: send me word alwayes by whom you receive my Letters, for I write both by the Ambassadour of Portugall and the resident of France. Above all, have a care not to abandon those who have served you, as well the Bishops as the poor Catholicks. Adieu, You will pardon me if I make use of another to write, not being able to doe it; yet my self in cyphers shew to

my Nephew *Rupert*, that I intreat you to impart all that I write to you, to the end that he may know the reason why I write not so him; I know not how to send great Packets.

My wife, <sup>27</sup>/<sub>27</sub>, Jan. 1664<sup>5</sup> A true Coppy, *Zouche Tate*.

XXXII.

**P**aris this 13 of March, My Dear heart, since my last, I have received one of your Letters marked 16. by which you signify the receipt of my Letters by *Pooly*, which hath a little surprized me, seeming to me that you write as if I had in my Letter something which had displeas'd you: If that hath been, I am very innocent in my intention. I only did believe that it was necessary you should know all: there is one other thing in your Letter which troubles me much, where you would have me keep to my self your dispatches, as if you believe that I should be capable to shew them to any, only to Lord *Ier.* to uncypher them, my head not suffering me to do it my selfe: but if it please you I will doe it, and none in the world shall see them; be kinde to me or you kill me: I have already affliction enough to fear, which without you I could not doe, but your service surmounts all: farewell my deare heart; behold the mark which you desire to have to know when I desire any thing in earnest ✕, and I pray begin to remember what I spake to you concerning *Jack Barkly* for Master of the Wards; I am not ingaged nor will not be for the places of *L. Per.* and others, doe you accordingly.

13 March 1644.

The

## XXXIII.

Newwarke the 27. of June.

MY deare heart, I received just now your letter by my Lord *Savile*, who found me ready to goe away, staying but for one thing, for which you will well pardon 2. dayes stopp, it is to have *Hull* and *Lincolne*, young *Hotham* having bin put in prison by order of Parliament, is escaped: and hath sent to 260. that he would cast himselfe into his armes, and that *Hull* and *Lincolne* should be rendred, he is gone to his Father, and 260. writes for your answer, so that I thinke I shall goe hence Fryday or Saturday, and shall goe lye at *Werton*, and from thence to *Ashby*, where we will resolve what way to take, and I will stay there a day, because that the march of the day before, will have bin somewhat great, and also to know how the Enemy marches: all their forces of *Nottingham*, at present being gone to *Leicester*, and *Darby*, which makes us beleeve, that it is to intercept our passage, as soon as we have resolved, I will send you word: at this present I think it fitt to let you know the state in which we march, and what I leave behind mee for the safety of *Lincolneshire* and *Nottinghamshire*: I leave 2000. foote, and wherewithall to arme 500. more, 20. Companies of Horse, all this to be under *Charles Cavendish*, whom the Gentlemen of the Country have desired me not to carry with me, against his will, for hee desired extremely to goe, The Enemies have left within *Nottingham* 1000. I carry with me 3000. Foote, 30. Companies of Horse and Dragoones, 6. peeces of Cannon, and 2. Morters, *Harry Germyn* commands the forces which goe with mee, as Colonell of my Guard, and *Sr. Alexander Lesley* the foote under him, and *Gerard* the Horse, and *Robin Legg* the Artillery, and her three Majestie Generalissima, and extremely diligent, with a 150 wagans of Baggage to governe, in case of Battell, have a care that no Troupe of Essex his Arm, incommode us, for I hope that for the rest wee shall be strong enough, for at *Nottingham* we have had the experience, one of our Troupes having beaten 6. of theirs, and made them fly. I have received your Proclamation or Declaration, which I wish had not bin made, being extremely disadvantageous for you, for you shew too much fear, and do not what you had resolved upon Farewell my deare heart.

The Queen to the King, 27. June. 1643.



## CHARLES Rex,

IT is not unknowne both to the French King and his Mother, what Unkindnesses and distastes have fallen betweene my wife and mee, which hitherto I have borne with great patience, (as all the world knowes) ever expecting and hoping an amendment, knowing her to be but young, and perceiving it to be the ill craftie counsellors of her servants, for advancing of their owne ends, rather then her owne inclination: for at my first meeting of her at Dover, I could not expect more Testimonies of respect and love, then shee shewed, as to give one instance, her first suite to mee was, that shee being young, and coming to a strange Countrey, both by her yeares and ignorance of the customes of the place, might commit many errors, therefore that I would not be angry with her for her faults of ignorance, before I had with my instructions learned her to eschew them, and desired mee in these cases to use no third person, but to tell her my selfe, when I found shee did any thing amisse, I both granted her request, and thanked her for it, but desired that shee would use mee, as shee had desired mee to use her, which shee willingly promised mee, which promise shee never kept, for a little after this, Madam St. George taking a distaste because I would not let her ride with us in the Coach, when there was VVoemen of better quality to fill her room, claiming it as her due, (which in England we thinke a strange thing) sett my wife in such an humor of distaste against mee, as from that very houre to this, no man can say that ever shee used mee two dayes together, with so much respect as I deserved of her, but by the contrary, has put so many disrespectts on mee, as it were too long to set downe all, some I will relate: As I take it, it was at her first coming to Hampton Court, I sent some of my Councell to her, with those Orders that were kept in the Queen my Mothers house, desiring shee would command the Counte of Tilliers, that the same might be kept in hers, her answer was, shee hoped that I would give her leave to order her house as shee list her selfe, (Now if shee had said that shee would speake with mee, not doubting to give mee satisfaction in it, I could have found no fault with her, whatsoever shee would have said of this to my selfe, for I could only impute it to ignorance, but I could not imagine that shee affronted me so, as to refuse mee in such a thing publickly) after I heard this answer, I tooke a time (when I thought wee had both best leasure to dispute it) to tell her calmly both her fault in the publike denyall, as her mistakeing of the businesse it selfe,

selfe, shee instead of acknowledging her fault and mistaking, gave mee  
 so ill an answer that I omitt, not to be tedious, the relation of that dis-  
 course, having to much of that nature hereafter to relate. Many little  
 neglects I will not take the paines to set downe, as her eschewing to be  
 in my company, when I have any thing to speak to her, I must meanes  
 her servant first, else I am sure to be denied, her neglect of the English  
 Tongue, and of the Nation in generall, I will also omit the affront she  
 did mee, before my going to this last unhappy assembly of Parliament,  
 because there has been talke enough of that already, &c. the author of it  
 is before you in France, to be short, omitting all other passages, com-  
 ming only to that which is most recent in memorie: I having made a  
 commission to make my wifes Joyncture &c. to assigne her those lands  
 she is to live on, and it being brought to such a ripenesse that it wanted  
 but my consent to the particulars they had chosen: shee taking notice  
 that it was now time to name the Officers for her Revenue, one night  
 when I was a bed, put a paper in my hand, telling mee it was a list of  
 those that shee desired to be of her revenue, I tooke it, and said I would  
 read it next morning, but withall told her, that by agreement in France  
 I had the naming of them, she said, there were both English and  
 French in the note, I replied, that those English I thought fitt to serve  
 her, I would confirme, but for the French, it was impossible for them  
 to serve her in that nature, then shee said, all those in the paper had  
 brevettts from her Mother, and her selfe, and that shee could admit no o-  
 ther: Then I said it was neither in her Mothers power, nor Hers, to ad-  
 mit any without my leave, & that if she stood upon that, whomsoever  
 shee recommended, should not come in; then shee badd me plainly  
 take my lands to my selfe, for if she had no power to put in whom she  
 would in those places, shee would have neither Lands nor House of m<sup>o</sup>,  
 but bad me give her what I thought fitt in pension; I bad her then re-  
 member to whom shee spake, and told her, that shee ought not to use  
 mee so, then she fell into a passionate discourse, how shee is miserable,  
 in having no power to place servants, and that businessses succeeded  
 the worke for her recommendation, which when I offered to answer,  
 shee would not so much as heare mee; Then shee went on, saying, she  
 was not of that base quality to be used so ill, then I made her both hear  
 me, and end that discourse. Thus having had so long patience, with  
 the disturbance of that that should be one of my greatest contentments  
 I can no longer suffer those that I know to be the cause and fomenters  
 of these humors, to be about my wife any longer, which I must doe if  
 it were but for one action they made my wife doe, which is, to make

her goe to Tiburn in devorion. to pray, which action can have no greater investive made against it, then the relation. Therefore you shal tell my Brother the French King, as likewise his Mother, that this being an action of so much necessity, I doubt not but he will be satisfied with it, especially since he hath done the like himselfe, not staying while he had so much reason: And being an action that some may interpret to be of harshnesse to his Nation, I thought good to give him an accompt of it, because that in all things I would preserve the good correspondency and Brotherly affection that is between us.

*His Majestyes instructions given mee at Wansteede, the 12<sup>b</sup> of July, 1626. signed 24.*

*A true Copie, Z. m. h. Tate.*

## XXXV.

Oxford Jan: 1645.

**D**eare heart, I receive it as a good *Angure* thus to begin this new yeere, having newly received thine of the 30. Decemb. which I cannot stay to decipher, for not loosing this opportunity, it likewise being a just excuse for this short accompt: This day I have dispatched Digbies Sec: fully relating the State of our affairs, therefore I shall shortly now tell thee, that the Rebels are engaged into an equall treat, without any of those disadvantages which might have beene apprehended when Tom. Elliot went hence, and that the distractions of London were never so greate, or so likely to bring good effect as now lastly that assistance was never more needfull, never so likely as now to doe good to him who is eternally thine.

Copie to my wife, 1. Jan. 1644. by P. A.

This is a true Copie examined by *Miles Corbett.*

## XXXVI.

Oxford, thursday 24. Aprill.

**H**arry lest my wife should not yet be fit for any busines, I write this to you; not to excuse my paines but ease hers, and that shee may know but not be troubled with my kindnes, I referre to your discretion, how far to impart my letter to her or any other busines, that so her health in the first place be cared for, then my affaires: And now I must tell you that undoubtedly if you had not trusted to Digbie's sanguine Complexion (not to be rebated from sending good news) you would not have found fault

With him for sending mistaken intelligence, for if hee should strictly eye himselfe to certaine truths in this kinde you must have nothing from him but my Proclamations or Ordinances from the pretended houses, but tell me can you not distinguish betweene what wee send you upon certaintie and what upon uncertaine reports without making an oath the marke of distinction, and are you obliged to publish all the newes wee send you: seriously I thinke newes may be some times too good to be told in the French Courte: and certainly there is as much dexterity in publishing of newes, as in matters which at first sight, may seeme of greater difficulty: for as I would not have them thinke that all assistance bestowed upon me were in vain soe I would not have them beleve that I needed noe helpe, lest they should underhand assist any Rebell. to keepe the ballance of dissension amongst us equal.

For matter of newes and present State of my affaires I referre you to Digby only this in generall that if it shall please God to assist us this yeare but halfe soe miraculously as hee did the last (my present State compared with what it was this time twelue month) I am very hopeful to see a good harvest before next Winter; nor do I thinke this in any humane probability, possible; except my wife can procure me considerable assistance both of men and money; of which I conceive little reason to dispaire, your last giving mee good hope, concerning Loraine, and though I say not, that, for the other, I have so good an Author as 196. yet I hope you will not much blame my confidence, when 149. in hers the 10. of March, saies, jay une Affaire assure que vous donnere 40000 Pistols que Je vous eussi envoye si J'eussi lu mon navir revenu avec l'estain.

In the last place I will impose that upon you, that is not reasonable to expect from my wife, which is to give me a continuall account, what letters shee receives from mee and what miscarries or comes slowly, to which end take notice, that all my letters to her are numerarily marked on the top as this with 37. and like wise I now begin the same with you: soe farewell.

In your next let me know particularly how my wife is which though it be not as I would have it, yet the perfect knowledge, will hinder mee so imagine her worse then shee is, if well then every word will please mee. I have Commaned Digby to write to you freely concerning VVill Murry, which I hold to be necessary as concerning Muntrosse busines.

To the L. Jermin 24. Aprill, 1645. concerning France.

A true Coppie, *Zouche Tate.*

her goe to Tiburn in devorion. to pray, which action can have no greater invective made against it, then the relation. Therefore you shal tell my Brother the French King, as likewise his Mother, that this being an action of so much necessity, I doubt not but he will be satisfied with it, etpec ally since he hath done the like himselfe, not staying while he had so much reason: And being an action that some may interpret to be of harshnesse to his Nation, I thought good to give him an accompt of it, because that in all things I would preserve the good correspondency and Brotherly affection that is between us.

*His Majestyes instructions given mee at Wansceede, the 12<sup>b</sup> of July, 1626. signed 24.*

*A true Copie, Zouche Tate.*

## XXXV.

Oxford Ian: 1645.

**D**EARE heart, I receive it as a good *Augure* thus to begin this new yeere, having newly received thine of the 30. Decemb. which I cannot stay to decipher, for not loosing this opportunity, it likewise being a just excuse for this short accompt: This day I have dispatched Digbies Sec: fully relating the State of our affairs, therefore I shall exely now tell thee, that the Rebels are engaged into an equall treat, without any of those disadvantages which might have beene apprehended when Tom. Elliot went hence, and that the distractions of London were never so greates, or so likely to bring good effect as now lastly that assistance was never more needfull, never so likely as now to doe good to him who is eternally thine.

Copie to my wife, 1. Jan. 1644. by P. A.

This is a true Copie examined by Miles Corbett.

## XXXVI.

Oxford, thursday 24. Aprill.

**H**ARRY lest my wife should not yet be fit for any busines, I write this to you; not to excuse my paines but ease hers, and that shee may know but not be troubled with my kindnes, I referre to your discretion, how far to impart my letter to her or any other busines, that so her health in the first place be cared for, then my affaires: And now I must tell you that undoubtedly if you had not trusted to Digbie's sanguine Complexion (not to be rebated from sending good news) you would not have found fault  
with

with him for sending mistaken intelligence, for if hee should strictly eye himselfe to certaine truths in this kinde you must have nothing from him but my Proclamations or Ordinances from the pretended houses, but tell me can you not distinguish betweene what wee send you upon certaintie and what upon uncertaine reports without making an oath the marke of distinction, and are you obliged to publish all the newes wee send you: seriously I thinke newes may be some times too good to be told: in the French Courte: and certainly there is as much dexterity in publishing of newes, as in matters which at first sight, may seeme of greater difficulty: for as I would not have them thinke that all assistance bestowed upon me were in vain soe I would not have them beleve that I needed noe helpe, lest they should underhand assist any Rebell. to keepe the ballance of dissension amongst us equall.

For matter of newes and present State of my affaires I referre you to Digby only this in generall that if it shall please God to assist us this yeare but halfe soe miraculously as hee did the last (my present State compare I with what it was this time twelv. month) I am vry hopeful to see a joyful harvest before next Winter; nor do I thinke this in any humane probability, possible; except my wife can procure me considerable assistance both of men and money; of which I conceive little reason to dispaire, your last giving mee good hope, concerning Loraine, and though I say not, that, for the other, I have so good an Author as 196. yet I hope you will not much blame my confidence, when 149. in hers the 10. of March, saies, jay une Affaire assure que vous donnere 40000 Pistols que Je vous eussi envoye si J'eussi lu mon navi r revenu avec l'estain.

In the last place I will impose that upon you, that is not reasonable to expect from my wife, which is to give me a continuall accompt, what letters shee receives from mee and what miscarries or comes slowly, to which end take notice, that all my letters to her are numerarily marked on the top as this with 37. and likewise I now begin the same with you: soe farewell.

In your next let me know particularly how my wife is which though it be not as I would have it, yet the perfect knowledge, will hinder mee so imagine her worse then shee is, if well then every word will please mee. I have Comman led Digby to write to you freely concerning VVill Marty, which I hold to be necessary as concerning Muntrosse busines.

To the L. Jermyn 24. Aprill, 1645. concerning France.

A true Copie, *Zenobe Tase.*

**D**Eare heart, Since my last by Shoquen I have had no means of writing, and a little new matter: that which is now, is the Progress of the treaty, of which these enclosed papers will give thee a full account: but if thou have them sooner from London then mee, thou hast no reason to wonder, considering the length and uncertainty of the way, I am forced to send by, in respect of the other: for the businesse it selfe, I believe thou wilt approve of my choise of Treaters, and for my propositions, they differ nothing in substance (very little in words) from those which were last: Wherefore I need to say nothing of them, and for my instructions they are not yet made, but by the next I hope to send them: Now upon the whole matter I desire thee to show the Q. and Ministers there, the improbability that this present Treaty should produce a peace, considering the great strange difference (if not contrariety) of grounds that are betwixt the Rebels propositions and mine, and that I cannot alter mine, nor will they ever theirs, until they be out of hope to prevaile by force; which a little assistance, by thy means, will soon make them so; for I am confident, if ever I could put them to a defensive (which a reasonable some of money would doe) they would be easily brought to reason. Concerning our interferences here at Oxford I desire thee to suspend thy judgment, (for I believe few but partiall relations will come to thee) until I shall send some whom I may trust by word of mouth; it being too much trouble to us both to set them down in Paper.

Copie to my wife. 22. Jan. 1644.  
This is a true Coppy examined by Miles Corbett.

XXXVIII.

**D**Eare heart, I never till now knew the good of ignorance, for I did not know the danger that thou wert in by the storme, before I had certaine assurance of thy happy escape; wee having had a pleasing false reporte, of thy safe landing at Newcastle which thine of the 19. Jan. so confirmed us in, that wee, at least were not undeceived of that hope, till wee knew certainly how great a danger thou hast past, of which I shall not be out of apprehension, until I may have the happines of thy Company, for indeed I think it not the least of my misfortunes, that for my sake thou hast run so much hazard; in which thou hast expressed so much love to mee that I confesse it is impossible to repay, by any thing I can doe, much lesse by words; but my heart being  
full

full of affection for thee, admiration of thee, and impatient passion of gratitude to thee, I could not but say some thing, leaving the rest to bee read by thee, out of thine owne noble heart. The intercepting of mine to thee, of the 23 *Feb.* has bred great discourse in severall persons, and of severall kinds as my saying I was persecuted for places, is applied to all and only those that I there name to bee Sutors whereas the truth is: I meant thereby the importunity of others, whom at that time, I had not time to name as well as some there mentioned, for I confesse 174. and 133. are not guilty of that fault, some finds fault as too much kindnesse to thee (thou may easily voate from what constellation that comes) but I assure such that I want expression, not will, to doe it tenn times more to thee on all occasions, others presse mee as being brought upon the Stage, but I answer that having profest to havethy advice it were a wrong to thee to doe any thing before I had it. As for our Treaty (leaving the particulars to this inclosed) I am confident thou wilt be content with it, as concerning my part in it, for all the Souldiers are wel pleased with what I have done, but expect no cessation of Arms, for the lower house will have none without a disbanding and I will not disband till all bee agreed, lastly for our Military affaires, I thank God that here and in the West they prosper well as for the North I referre thee to 226. 140. information so dayly expecting and praying for good news from thee. &c.

*Copie to my Wife, 13. Feb. 1643.*

*Oxford 13. Feb. 1643.*

a true Copie

*Zouche Tate.*

XXXIX.

*Instructions to Colonell Cookran to be pursued in his negotiation to the King of Denmarke.*

**Y**OU are to informe the King of Denmarke, that by his Majesties command, as to the nearest Allye of his Crowne, his Vncle, and whom he beleeves will not be unconcerned in his affaires, as well in Interests as affection, you are sent to give a particular account of the State of his Majesties affairs, to renew the ancient League and Amitie that hath been between the two Kingdoames, and Families Royall, and to reduce it to more exact particulars, such as might be usefull to the present



present affaires of England, and all occurrences in the future of those of Denmarke.

That the present affair of your negotiation, is to demand an assistance from his Matie, such a one as the present State of the affaires of England requires, against a dangerous combination of his Maties subjects, who have not only invaded his Matie in his particular rites, but have laid a designe to dissolve the Monarchie and frame of Government, under pretences of Libertie and Religion, becoming a dangerous precedent to all the Monarchies of Christendome to be looked upon with successe in their designe.

That the nature of their proceedings hath been such as hath not admitted any forraigne treaty to be interessed in suppressing their designe, without giving them advantage of scandalling his Maties intentions, and drawing away Univerally the hearts of his people, whom they had insinuated under pretence of reformation of particular abuses of Government, and Ministers of Estate, to concur generally with approbation of their proceedings, and in which (though the dangerous consequence and designe were visible to his Matie) a present compli-  
 was necessary least any publique opposition on his Maties part, that might seeme to defeat the greate expectations which they had raised in the Commons in those plausible particulars might have occasioned a generall revolte, throughout the Kingdomes, great jealousies being dispersed and fomented amongst them of his Maties forraigne treaties and force, to be used to oppose and suppress those their desires and the moovers therein.

Vpon the credit they had herewith built on the peoples opinions, they proceeded under pretence of Reformation of Religion to dissolve the Government of the Church, according to its constitution in England a chiefe column and support to that Monarchy and Crowne.

They lastly invaded his Matie in all the Prerogatives of his Crowne, and under pretence of ill Ministers and Councillours of Estate, whom they pretended to remooove endeavoured to invest in themselves in all times for the future the Domination of all Ministries of Estate, and of his Maties family; withdrew all his revenues into their own hands, and to confirme themselves in an absolute power of disposing his estate, entered upon possessing themselves of the Militia of the Kingdome, his Navy and Magazines, in which his Matie. being forced to appeare in opposition, dangerous tumults were raised against him, so that hee was forced to forsake London, for preservation of his Person, his Queene and Children.

That since for the safety of the Queen he hath been forced to send her into *Holland*, to retire himselfe to the best affected party of his Subjects, from whence by declarations setting forth the sinister proceedings of that faction, discovering their designs of innovating the government, and falsifying the scandals they had imputed to him, he hath had the advantage generally to undeceive his people, to draw to him universally the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom. But the other faction still keeping up some interest and credit with the Commons, in the desperate estate they finde themselves begin to make head against him, have appointed a General, and are leavying Forces to maintaine their party, committing divers acts of hostility, violence and rebellion.

That his Majestie having great encouragements given him by the exceeding numbers of Gentry and Noblemen that resort to him, is already advanced neere them with 6000. Horse, and 10000. Foot.

That the States of *Holland* have condescended to give her Majestie the Queen a convoy of the greatest part of their Fleet now at Sea, for her returne into *England*.

That divers Forts and Counties upon his Majesties personall appearance, have declared for him, so that his affaires at home grow daily into a better estate, as he likewise expects and hopes, that all his neighbour Princes and Allies, will not looke upon so dangerous a precedent to their own Crowns and Monarchies, without contributing to suppress this so pernicious a designe, begun within his Kingdom.

That to give his Majesty the juster ground to reflect upon the dangerous consequences, in relation to his own interest, of their successe. It hath been by them publicly moved in the Commons House long since, to interpose in the accommodation of the *Dutch* and to set out a Fleete, to take away his Customes of the Sound.

That they have since imputed to his M<sup>tie</sup>. as a ground to scandal him with his people, that he did negotiate, the introducing by his Uncle the King of *Denmarke* a forraigne power to settle his affaires, and under that pretext have given large Commission, and particular instructions to the Fleete, to visite, search, and intercept all such *Danish* ships, as they should meete, and to fight with, sinke or destroy, all such as should resist them, not permitting the same, or to take and detain them, having any Armes or Ammunition on board; according to which they have searched, visited, and detained divers, to the great prejudice and interruption of the *Norway* trade driven commonly in this Kingdome, in their owne bottomes: And that they did prepare force against others, whom they permitted not to water, nor any other accommodation being bound for the *West-Indias*, and put in by stresse of weather in the West of *England*.

That in pursuance of their great designe of extirpating the Royall blood, and Monarchie of *England*, they have endeavoured likewise to lay a great blemish upon his royall family, endeavouring to illegitimate all derived from his Sister, at once to cut off the interest and pretensions of the whole Race, which their most detestable and scandalous designe they have pursued, examining witnesses, and conferring circumstances, and times to colour their pretensions in so great a fault: and which as his sacred Majestie of *England* in the true fence of honor of his Mother, doth abhor, and will punish, so he expects his concurrence, in vindicating a Sister of so happy memory, and by whom so neare an union, and continued league of amity, hath been produced between the Families and Kingdoms.

That the particulars in which his Majestie doth desire his assistance, are, in the loane, and raising of men, money, armes, and Ships, all or such of them as may consist best with the convenience of his own affaires: And of such in the first place as may be most requisite and a wanting to his Majesty.

That to set his leavies on foot, and put him in a posture to protect his subjects in all places that adheare to him, and receive their contribution; 100000. li. will be necessary for him, which his Majesty desires by way of loane. And for the restitution of it, besides his Kingly word, and solemne engagement upon this treaty, he is contented of such his Crowne Jewels as are in his disposure, to leave his royal pledge, if it shall be desired.

The particulars of Armes that he desires, are 6000. Musquets, 1500. Horse-arnes, and 20. pieces of field Artillery mounted.

Assistance of men, he desires onely in Horsemen, and to know in what time they may be ready, and how many.

That the Holy Iland, or New-Castle are designed for the landing of the said Horse, and Magazin of the said provisions, for reception likewise, and protection of such his Ships as he shall thinke fit to employ for the countenance and security of those his Subjects that shall trade upon these Coasts; and for ascertaining the correspondence, and intelligence between the two Kingdomes; in which the number is left to be proportioned as may best sort and agree with his owne affaires. And for which the Holy Iland is conceived one of the aptest Harbours in his Majesties Dominions, being capeable of any Ships whatsoever, in a very great proportion, an excellent roade at the entrance, a ready out lett, and a strong fort under his Majesties command.

That in Lieu of this assistance contributed by the King of *Denmarke*, his Majestie will oblige himselfe, and ratifie in expresse articles to restore into the Magazines of *Denmarke*, a like proportion of armes and ammunition, to repay and defray the charges of the money lent, and leavies of Horse, and so soon as his affaires shall be settled, and himselfe in a condition to

doe it upon all occasions to contribute the assistance of his Fleet, in maintaining his right and Title to the Customes of the Sound, against all persons whatsoever; and to ratifie the Treaty that was made last by Sir *Thomas Roe*, to enter into a league offensive and defensive, against intestine rebellions. In pursuance of which Treaty, while the negotiations and articles may be severally perfected, his Majestie doth expect this first supply of moneys, and armes, present affaires, not admitting a delay in the same.

That in case the King of *Denmarke* will lend money upon Jewells, there is in *Holland* a great Collar of Rubies, and another of Rubies and Pearle, that may be sent to him or delivered to his Agent here: Who may have order to pay the money here: or any other Jewells.

That there have beene in Discourses, severall Propositions of Accomodation made by them to the King, to which the King hath at all times made more advances on his part, then in reason could have beene expected from him, and the difficulties have still risen on theirs.

And that whereas his Majesty doth understand, that a Person is addressed to the K. of *Denmarke* from his Parliament, to insinuate misunderstandings abroad with his Majesties Allies, as they have done at home among his People, his Majesty expects that he be neither received, nor permitted to remaine within his Dominions, to become an Intelligencer and Spye upon the Treaty and Negotiations betweene their Majestyes, but that he be dismist and sent away so soone as ever he shall arrive.

*Note this Paper concerning Cockram was not intercepted amongst the Kings Letters, but is otherwise assested.*

#### ANNOTATIONS.

Much use may be now made of these precedent Papers, & many things therein will appear very worthy of our Notice. For,

1. It is plaine, here, first, that the Kings Counsels are wholly managed by the Queen; though she be of the weaker sexe, borne an Alien, bred up in a contrary Religion, yet nothing great or small is transacted without her privity & consent. See *Pap. 38.* If the Prince make suite to bestow a place in his own Bedchamber upon a Gentleman of extraordinary merit. The King cannot grant it, to save his Sons reputation, already ingaged by promise, till He hath sent into *France*, and beg'd the Queens consent. See *pap. 11.*

2. The Queens Counsels are as powerfull as commands. The King professes to preferre her health before the exigence, and importance of his owne publick affaires. See *pap 14, Sec.*

He avows constancy to her grounds and documents, See *pap. 5, &c.*

3. The Queen appears to have been as harsh, and imperious towards the King, *pap. 34.* as she is implacable to our Religion, Nation, and Government. She doth the offices of a Resident in *France*, to procure imbargoes of our Ships, to raise forreigne Forces against us, and in this she is restlesse to the neglect of her owne health, She vowes to die by famine, rather then to faile the King in such like negotiations, See *pap. 31.* She confines not her agency to *France*, but sollicit *Lorraine* for Men, the Prince of *Orange* for Shipping. She sends Armes for *Scotland* to *Montros*, speeds Colonell *Fitz Williams* his Commission for *Ireland*, *pap. 20. 21.* The Counsels also in *England* which she gives the King are of very pernicious consequence, thereby the Parliament must be disbanded, *pap. 27.* Treaties must be suspected, great care must be had in them of Her, and Her Religion, *pap. 30.* Bishops and Catholicks must be specially provided for, *pap. 31.* The King must be forwarned, that He cannot be safe longer, then he defends all that have served Him, *pap. 31.* That peace cannot be safe to Him without a Regiment for his Guard (*ala mode du France. pap. 30.* She interposes so in the businesse of *Ireland*, that the King is not seene therein, nor obliged to any thing immediately, *pap. 29.*

4. The King doth yet in many things surpass the Queene for acts of hostility, and covering them over with deeper and darker secrecy. He employes Collonell *Cockrayn* to sollicite the King of *Denmarke*, making not onely Papists our enemies for religions sake, but all Princes though Protestants for Monarchies sake, rather then faile of ayde from thence, He stirres rumours about his Mothers chastity, He promises to disoblige the Hollander in the busines of the Sound; He pawnes the Jewels of the Crowne, *pap. 39.* He presses the Queen beyond her own fiery propension, urges her to make personall Friendship with the Queen Regent, furnishes her with dextrous policies, and arguments to worke upon the Ministers of State

in *France*. Of his owne accord, without intreaty He proposes to the *Queene* the taking away all penall Statutes against Recufants in *England*. Tis true, He doth all by way of bargain for his owne particular advantage: but the *Papists* conditions are better then ours, in regard that the *Queen* her self is trusted with that merchandise, *pap. 8.* He prostitutes his pardon and grace to the *Irish* Rebels, importuning *Ormonde*, to use importunity to them, that they will accept of indemnity, and free use of Popery, and desires nothing in lieu thereof, but that they will transport sixe thousand men into *England*, and some other supplies into *Scotland*. For this purpose He sends Posts after Posts, and hastens the businesse the rather because being in Treaty with the two Parliaments of *England* and *Scotland*, about prosecution of the *Irish*, He may be prevented therein, and preingaged not to consent, *See pap. 16. 17, 18, 19.* He onely excepts against Appeales to *Rome*, and Premunires. All other things He thinkes cheape enough for the *Irish*. He must not now stand upon scruples (tis his owne word) all things not disagreeable to conscience and Honor are to be admitted, & so to grant free exercise of idolatry, though abjurd formerly, to the most odious, flagitious murderers in the world, is but a scruple not disagreeable either to conscience or honour. To bargain away our Aets of Parliament by such clandestine ingagements, as passe onely by papers, and dare not looke upon the light, especially such Aets as concerne our greatest interrests, even those of Religion, supposes us to be slaves of the basest aloye: and tis strange that the *Irish* and *Papists* should at all rest upon the strength of such assurances, when they see Records and Parliament Rolls are of no vertue at all, either to the *English*, or *Protestants*, *See pap. 16. 17, 18, 19.* He calls us a Parliament publikely, yet acknowledges us not a Parliament secretly, He suppresses still his not acknowledgement, onely He enters it in the Councell Book at *Oxford*, and so though it be smother'd to us, whom it most concernes, yet tis registred for our enemies use, upon all occasions of advantage. This favour

we found from the Councell at *Oxford*, that the Name, though not the Thing, should be imparted to us : but even this was not willingly and freely allowed by the King, had but two of his Advisers sided with him, all the rest should have ballanced nothing at all in this case. This is a signe they sit there to great purpose, for though they are more worthy to be consulted with then Parliaments : yet their votes are but indifferent things, meere formalities, especially if there be any dissent at all amongst them, *See pap. 5.* He in shew seekes Treaties, and wins upon the people by that shew, yet chuseth such Commissioners, and bindes them up with such instructions, that all accommodation is impossible. His aime is to winne upon our Commissioners, and for this purpose gives authority to propose rewards and other allurements, *pap. 24.* gives avisoes to *Caiule* the Scots and Independents, as to the Duke of *Richmond*, *pap. 23.* presses for forraigne Auxiliaries the more eagerly, *pap. 12. 35.* hopes to cast the odium of the breaking of the Treaty upon our side, *pap. 1. 7, 12, 15, 25, 37.* He seems more zealous for Bishops and Papists (cal'd his, and the Queens friends) then the Queene her selfe, and therefore assures her of his resolution therein, without any request of hers, *pap. 7.* He doth not thinke fit to treat with the Rebels, onely by the Interposition of the Queen or of *Ormonde*, but he sends particular thanks to *Browne, Muskery, Plunket*, *pap. 19.* He pretends sometimes to have the hearts of the major and better part of his Protestant subjects firm to him in this cause, yet trusts none but Papists, and therefore is advised by the Queene, *pap. 31.* by no meanes to disband for this reason, because all the Militia is generally in the Parliaments hands. We see what opinion the King hath of *Wilmot, Percy, Suffex.* We see what opinion he hath of the Lords and Commons at *Oxford*, who have descerted their trust here, out of confidence in him : the *13. paper* here tells us plainly what use the King makes of them.

The King will declare nothing in favour of his Parliament, so long as he can finde a party to maintaine him in this opposition

tion; nor performe any thing which he hath declared, so long as he can finde a sufficient party to excuse him from it.

And indeede it is a sad consideration to thinke what unhappy use the King hath ever made of the obedience, and patient loyalty of this Nation; finding alwaies that he might without any opposition or danger at least deny their just liberties, laws, and the very use of Parliaments; or if some urgency, or his own necessities, or advantages had caused him to call a Parliament he might afterwards with as little opposition, deny whatsoever he granted under his owne hand; as the Petition of Right obtained with some difficulty, and broken immediately after without any scruple may sufficiently testifie. The Pacification with *Scotland* was not assented to, until the *English* people shewed some averfenesse to that wicked warre; and were loath any longer to fight for their owne slavery, nor was that Pacification any longer kept; then till a Party strong enough was found to maintaine the breach of it. But without other instances, this Parliament had beene happie, the King glorious, and his people flourishing, if the King had found none to side with him against all these; and it is strange that so long experience had not taught them more wisdome. But they are now justly rewarded, and if they will but view the Kings Letter dated *March 13. 1644.* There it will be apparent to them he calls those, who have deserted their trust in Parliament, and given up their fortunes and consciences to a compliance with his will, by the name of a base, mutinous, and mungrell Parliament, and despises them for retaining some little conscience to Religion, and this Parliament. Lords and Gentlemen, make the right use of this; and if you be not wicked enough to serve that purpose fully, to which you are designed: endeavour to repent, and learne so much goodnesse, as may bring you back to the right side. There will shortly be no *Medium* left you: whatsoever you thought in the begining (as our charity may thinke you were deceived) you will finde at last, that unlesse you thinke and act the same things, which those unhumane *Irish* Rebels, or the worst forraigne enemies to our Religion



and State could wish to see done, you are no fit Instruments for that cause, which you have unhappily chosen, unlessse you returne to the right way, you must goe as farre in the wrong one, as that will leade you. The *Chronicles* tell us that *Henry Duke of Buckingham* was deare to *Richard* the third, whiles he had so much wickednesse as to further the deposing or disinheriting of his two Nephewes: but when he was not bad enough to consent to the murder of those Princes, he was rejected by that King, and afterwards beheaded, if you cannot learne how to goe through with wickednesse: learne a better lesson to returne to goodnesse; or else perhaps the wrong which you have done your Country in betraying her trust, and by consequence shedding so much innocent blood, may be at last revenged upon you, by them, for whom you did it. The King, who despiseth you by the name of Mungrells, as not altogether firme enough to his owne designe, in another late letter to the Earle of *Ormond*, gives thanks to *Muskery*, *Plunket*, and *Browne*, the cheife Actors in that horrid Massacre of *Ireland*. Which may teach the world what kind of men he confides truly in, and who they are that must reape the benefit of his Conquest, if God (for the finnes of our *English* Protestants) should permit it: if *Muskery* had beene at *Oxford*, the King had had one man more of his owne opinion, in not acknowledging the Parliament of *England*, for want of such, he is forced to complaine. And you may plainly see what a dishonourable use is made of your persons there, as men meerely *operis secundi*, a number onely that serve to give countenance and credit to the designe of a dearer Partie, and to persecute your Countrey, not for your owne behoofes. What is said to you, may be said to all, that are leade by you, to all those thousands which have followed the King as your Train; for the same opinions which render you now contemptible to the King: render you acceptable to the major part of Protestants, which sides with you, and did at first make the Kings Power so considerable, as it is. If there be any thing of Protestants, of *English* men, of men remayning in you, resume that, whatsoever it be, either acknowledge your selves such, as the King calls you

under the Rose, when he opens his breast to the only partaker of his thoughts; or declare your selves such Patriots, such true sonnes of the Church as the King pretends you to be, when he spreads his Oratory before the people. If we be Rebels at *London*, because we are not so servile as you are, and you are mutineers at *Oxford*, because you are not so servile as the King would have you. Let us know by what definition either you or we are measured, and how we are distinguished, and let us see that other third remaining party which the King ownes as his loyall faithfull party indeed. It concerns you to look both forward and backward, and having now taken the dimation of the Kings minde by his secret Letters, turne about awhile and looke upon the same in his publike Declarations. See if you can reconcile his former promises to his present designs; for as you have had some representation of the latter in the former part, you shall now be made Spectators and Judges of the former in this latter part. The King (according to *Digbys* superstitious observation) in his Letter of Jan. 14. last, takes it as evident, that *Straffords* innocent blood has brought the judgement of this civill war equally upon both sides, both being equally guilty thereof. The Kings meaning is, That he and his side was as guilty in permitting as the Parliament was in prosecuting. But now for *Canterburys* blood, that being totally put upon the Parliaments score, he doubts not but the hand of Justice will from henceforth totally lay the weight of this guilt upon the Parliaments side. The truth is, *Strafford* and *Canterbury* were the chiefe firebrands of this war, the two ill Councellors that chiefly incensed the King against the Scots, and endeavoured to subject all these three Kingdoms to a new arbitrary Government, & were justly executed for attempting that subversion of Law which the King has almost perfected since. The King and *Digby* both adjudged *Strafford* worthy of death, yet not for Treason, as it was charged, but not being able to save his life, without using force, and finding force very dangerous they left him to the blocke, against conscience, as is now alleadged. *Canterbury* remains in the same case, and now remorse of Conscience (or rather the old project of altering Law) suggests to the King, That if no resistance be used, *Straffords* president will cast

*Canterbury, and Canterburies all the rest of the Conspirators,*  
 and so the people will make good their ancient freedom still.  
 Hereupon discontentes break out, the King withdrawes into  
 Scotland, during his abode there the Rebellion in Ireland,  
 some attempts against Marquesse *Hamilton* and others in  
 Scotland, and some other dangerous machinations in Eng-  
 land put us into strange terrors and apprehensions. The  
 King at his returne, Decemb. 2. 1641. complains of these  
 Jealousies, Frights, and Alarms, with this profession, *I am*  
*so farre from repenting of any Act done this Session for the good of my*  
*people, that if it were to doe againe I would doe it, and will yet grant*  
*what else can be justly desired.* He concludes with a recommen-  
 dation of the businesse of Ireland, and finding the prepara-  
 tions for the same slow, againe on the 14. of Decemb. he is  
 patheticall in quickning them thereunto. All this notwith-  
 standing the Parliament findes the old faction at Court to  
 grow strong, and daily to attaine to more prevalence with  
 the King, which besides other causes of jealousie makes  
 them lay open the indisposition of the whole State in a plain  
 and sharp Remonstrance, Decemb. 15. with the Remedies  
 thereof proposed. The King as to the businesse of Religion  
 answers, *For preserving of the peace and safety of the*  
*Kingdome from the designes of a Popish Party, we have and*  
*will concur with all just desires of our people in a Parlia-*  
*mentary way. For Ireland wee thanke you for your care*  
*and cheerfull ingagement for the speedy suppression of*  
*that Rebellion, the glory of God in the Protestant Pro-*  
*fession, the safety of the Brittish there, our Honour, and*  
*this Nations so much depending thereupon, &c. Your pro-*  
*mise to apply your selves to such courses as may support our*  
*Royall estate with honour and plenty at home, and with power*  
*and reputation abroad, is that which we have ever promised*  
*our selfe, both from your loyalties and affections.* Here are  
 words that sound nothing but grace, and here is a cleare  
 testimony from the Kings owne mouth, concerning the  
 merit of this Nation to this day; But notwithstanding  
 these promises and testimonies, the King discovers daily  
 more and more regret for *Straffords* execution, sticks clo-

fer to the counsels of the same faction, and instead of hearken-  
 ing to his Parliament, he commands a charge of Treason to be framed against six Members, the most eminent  
 and active in both Houses. Also upon the fourth of Jan. the King comes in person with a great Traine armed into  
 the House, and missing the five Members there, tels the rest  
 that he must have them wheresoever he findes them. Here  
 was the fatall commencement of the war, for the next day  
 the House declares, that they cannot sit in safety any longer  
 at *Westminster*, and therefore they adjourne for some daies,  
 and retire into the City. Dec. 31. they had petitioned  
 for a Guard out of the City, under command of the Kings  
 Lord Chamberlaine the Earle of *Essex*, which was denyed,  
 yet with these expressions: *We are ignorant of the grounds  
 of your apprehensions, but protest before Almighty God, had  
 we any knowledge, or beliefe of the least designe in any of violence,  
 either formerly, or at this time against you, we would  
 pursue them to condigne punishment, with the same severity  
 and detestation as we would the greatest attempt upon our  
 Crowne; and we do ingage solemnly the word of a King, that  
 the security of everyone of you from violence, is, and shall be  
 ever as much our care, as the preservation of us and our Children.*  
 These words were sweetly tempered, but wonne  
 no beliefe, nor could over-power contrary actions, where-  
 fore the Major, Aldermen, and Common-Councell of *London*,  
 seeing nothing but symptomes of war in the Court,  
 frame a Petition, praying the King that the Tower of *London*  
 may be put into the hands of persons of trust, that by  
 removall of doubtfull and unknowne persons from about  
*Whitehall* and *Westminster*, a knowne and approved guard  
 may be appointed for the safety of the Parliament, and  
 that the accused Members may not be restrayned or pro-  
 ceeded against, otherwise then according to the Priviledges  
 of Parliament. The King grants nothing, but answers,  
*That his reception of such an unusuall request, is a sufficient*

instance of the singular estimation he hath of the good affections of the City, which he believes in gratitude will never be wanting to his just commands and service. Hitherto the King speaks nothing, but in justification both of the Cities, Parliaments, and Peoples loyalty. The tumults about Whitehall, &c. amounted to no war, are imputed by the King to the Rabble, and by us to the Kings Party; the Parliament is acquitted except the sixe Members, and the prosecution of them also is after declined by the King, yet the King departs from the City, as unsafe, seeing plainly it could not be reverted from the Parliament. Upon the 20. of Jan. the King sends a Message to the Parliament, to state the differences on both sides, promising that when they are digested into a body, fit to be judged of, it shall appear what he will do. In answer hereunto, the Commons House (the Lords refusing to joine) onely petition for the raising up unto them and the State a sure ground of safety and confidence, that the Tower of London and the Militia of the Kingdome may be put into such persons hands as they should recommend. The King replies; *That the Militia by Law is subject to no command but his owne, which he will reserve to himselfe, as a principall and inseparable flower of his Crowne, professes to take care of Peace, and the rights of the subject, equally with his life, or the lives of his dearest Children: He further also conjures them by all acts of duty and favour received, by hopes of future mutuall happinesse, by their love of Religion, the Peace both of this Kingdome, and Ireland not to be transported with feares and jealousies.* The Parliament could not believe themselves secured by these professions or asseverations, & the King would not understand, that the selling the Militia at this time in confiding hands; to prevent civill war, was any other, then the taking the Crowne from his head. *Hinc ille lachryme*; the King nevertheless persists to declare his abhorrence of the Irish Rebellion, frequently inciting the Parliament to send succors. He also strangely abjures any privity to plots or designs against the

the Lawes, &c. and further makes strict Proclamation, *March* 16. for putting Lawes in execution against the Papists. The Parliament seeing cause to suspect that the King and Queene did still favour *Digby* & others flying from the justice of Parliament, and appearing to be Incendiaries by Letters intercepted, knowing also that the Queen was going into *Holland* to pawne the jewels of the Crowne for Armes; and having divers other grounds of further apprehensions, againe Petition concerning the setting of the Militia, and the Kings returne, but are denyed in both. Thoughts of Peace are now laid aside, and *Hull* being a strong Towne, and a Magazine of Armes, as also *Newcastle* being the publike Magazine of fuell, and a rich place, are looked upon with sollicitous eyes; but as the Parliament prevents the King in *Hull*, the King prevents the Parliament in *Newcastle*: Yet the war being so far advanced, is scarcely avowed on either side, nor is it agreed which part was put to the defensive, and therefore on the 2. of *June*, 1642. before any blood shed, another assay is made for Peace, and the Parliaments Cause stated fully in 19. Propositions; are dispatched to the King; the maine things desired were Reformation in Church Government, that power military and civill might be put into confiding hands; That justice of Parliament might passe upon Delinquents, but the Answer returned is, *That if these things were granted, the King should remaine but the out side, but the picture, but the signe of a King.* This, though it was the Trumpet of war and the sound of defiance in effect, yet was not so owned, for still the King saies, *He intends not to fixe any disloyall designe upon both or either House of Parliament, he is rather most confident of the loyalty, good affections, and integrity of that great bodies good intentions: but the malignity of the designe (he saies) hath proceeded from the subtil informations, mischievous practises, and evill Councils of ambitious turbulent spirits, not without a strong influence upon the very actions of both Houses.* This was the utmost charge of Treason, that could be then brought against the Parliament, and the Propositions of the Parliament treated lately at *Uxbridge*, in *Febr.* 1644. being no other in effect, then these of *June*, 1642. this inference may be truly made, that the King hath no cause to looke upon us now, otherwise then as he did then; and if he have varied since from those Vows and Asseverations which he made then, the blame will

not remaine on this side, but on his; so that the very calling to minde what hath been said by the King, will be now sufficient for our purpose.

1. Wherefore, as to the waging of warre at all, the third of *June 1642*. the King in his Declaration to the Freeholders of *Yorkeshire*, renounces any intention of warre, his words are, *To the end this present posture, wherein we meet, should not affright you with the distempers of the times, we wish you to looke into the composition and constitution of our Guard, and you will finde it so far from the face or fear of war, that it serves to secure you as well as us from it, &c.* Also *June 16*. in his Declaration at *York*, he useth these words; *Wee againe, in the presence of Almighty God our Maker and Redeemer, assure the world, we have no more thought of making war against our Parliament, then against our owne Children.* To the same purpose he made all his Lords signe a testimoniall with their own hands, in affirmance of his profession. Tis true, afterwards when he tooke the field with his increased Guard, and became the Assaylant at *Hull*, (having also possesst himselfe of *Newcastle*) he was driven to save himself by distinctions, for he had not disclaymed all war in generall, but all invasive war, and if the siege of *Hull* had some shew of invasion, yet indeed it was but in order to his defence, and this was a subtilty that all the subscribing Lords and others, it is thought, had not foreseene till now.

2. As to the waging war against the Parliament, *June 16*. The King disclaimes all thoughts of war against his Parliament, and in *July*, after the date of the Earle of *Essex* his Commission, he abhors the like, *Desiring no longer the protection and blessing of Almighty God upon himselfe and his posterity, then he and they shall solemnly observe the Lawes in defence of Parliaments.* Also on *Aug. 12*. after He acknowledges that the King and Parliament are like the twins of *Hypocrates*, which must laugh and cry, live and dye together. So this guides us to more distinctions, that the King may defend himselfe against a Parliament, yet not fight against it, or he may assaile a Malignant party in Parliament, yet not touch the Parliament it selfe: These distinctions hold good on that side, not on this: but by what distinction will the King put a short period to this perpetuall Parliament without violence? or how can he deny it the name of a Parliament without hostility? Examine the Letters further about this.

3 As to the waging of War by Papists. The King August 4. when the Earle of Essex his Army was in forming, in his Speech to the Gentry of Yorkshire avers, That he had taken order that the power of the Sword should not come into the hands of Papists. And Aug. 10. He makes strict Proclamation, That all Papists presuming to list themselves under him as Officers or Soldiers, should be punished, and a way by Oath was prescribed for discrimination of them. Also Aug. 29. The King gives Instructions to his Commissioners for Arrays to disarm all Papists. So Octob. 27. after the battell at Edge-hill the King thinks it worth his excuse, That he had some few Popish Commanders in his Army, taken in of great necessity, he concludes thus; *We shall never forget our severall Oaths in our severall Declarations, we are too much a Christian to believe that we can breake those Promises and avoid the justice of Heaven.* Tis true, afterwards a new distinction came to light, for upon a Petition from the Lancashire Papists, the King did avow, That Papists were by Law prohibited Armes in time of Peace, not in time of Warre; and therefore he did not onely authorize but require them to arme themselves, servants, tenants, and use the same Armes, &c. This distinction bore date long after the war begun, but that was want of invention only.

4. As to managing the Warre by Irish Papists, he had never before named them but with a bleeding heart: His words once were, *We hope the lamentable condition of Ireland will invite us to a faire intelligence and unity, that we may with one heart intend the relieving and recovering of that unhappy Kingdome, where these barbarous Rebels practise such inhumane and unheard of Outrages upon our miserable people, that no Christian-eare can heare without honour, nor story parallel.* At an other time thus: *We conjure all our Subjects, by all the bonds of love, duty, or obedience that are precious to good men to joyne with us for recovery of that Kingdome.* In July, at the Siege of Hull, he conjures both Houses as they will answer the contrary to Almighty God, to unite their force for recovery of Ireland. In October, from Ayno, in his Proclamation, he excuses the taking of Clothes and some Draught-horses sent for Ireland, as done of necessity and against his will. In December the King answers some Irish Protestants thus: *Since the beginning of that monstrous Rebellion I have had no greater sorrow then for the bleeding condition of that Kingdome.* Nay, since the Treaty at Uxbridge, the King in publike washes his hands of all countenance given to the Rebels, and turnes the blame upon the Parliament, though in private he had beene (as it were) a suiter to them for Peace, and some assistance from them by private Letters



Letters to Ormond. *Quere* how this may be reconcileable, &c.  
 5 As to the granting of a toleration. The King March 9. 1641, in answer to the Parliaments Declaration, uses these words, *Our faithfull and zealous affection to the true Protestant Profession, and our resolution is to concurre with our Parliament in any possible course for the propagation of it and suppression of Popery.* In April 1642. he calls God to witnesse, with this assurance, *That he will never consent (upon whatso-ever pretence) to a toleration of the Popish Profession, or abolition of Lawes now in force against Recusants.* Also April 25. He has no other end but to defend the true Protestant Profession, &c. *God so deale with us, as we continue in these Professions.* So in his Speech in the head of his Army, Sept. 19. So in his Proclamation of pardon to London, October 29. *All the professions we have made in our severall Declarations for suppression of Popery and maintenance of Religion, the Lawes, &c. shall be as inviolably observed by Us, as we expect a blessing from Almighty God, and obedience from our Subjects.* *Quere* then how this may be consistent with taking away Statutes in England and Ireland made for suppression of Popery, and that by the Armes of Papists.

6 As to the bringing in of forraign Force, The King March 9. 1641. in his Declaration from Newmarket, saith, *Whatsoever you are advertised from Rome, Venice, Paris, of the Popes Nuncio's soliciting, Spain, France, &c. for forraign Aids, We are confident no sober honest man can beleve Us so desperate or sencelesse to entertaine such designs as would not onely bury this our Kingdome in sudden destruction and ruine, but our Name and Posterity in perpetuall scorne and infamy.* Also March 26. 1642. about sollicitation suspected of the King of Denmarke, his words are, *We have neither so ill an opinion of our owne merits, or the affections of our Subjects, as to thinke our selfe in need of forraigne Force.* Also August. 4. the King in his Speech to the Gentry of Yorkshire acknowledges, *He is wholly cast upon the affections of his people, having no hope but in God, his just cause, and the love of his Subjects.* What distinction can now satisfie us, that neither Irish, French, Lorrainers, Dutch, Danes, are forreiners? The concealing of this by sealing up the lips of the Queene and Ormond, and Cockram must supply all distinctions.

F I N I S.