

The Reformation  
in Scotland

The Reformation of Scotland was popular  
and Parliamentary. <sup>during which times</sup> The Crown was <sup>inhabitant</sup> ~~inhabitant~~  
~~time~~ either on the head of a Queen ~~that was~~  
<sup>an infant</sup> or of a King ~~that was an infant~~. During the  
 Minority of James the several Regents carried  
 on matters according to the prevailing humour  
 of the Nation. But <sup>on his majority</sup> ~~at the~~ he  
 found it divided into two parties; the one  
 wishing well to ~~the~~ Queen his Mother then a  
 prisoner in England; they were either <sup>esteemed</sup> ~~accounted~~  
 Papists or ~~believed to be~~ indifferent to all  
 Religions; the other the inveterate enemies of  
 his Mother, zealous for the Reformation, of a  
 fixed dependence on the Crown of England  
 and jealous of France.

James political  
conduct

James seems to have <sup>constantly</sup> ~~been~~ inclined most to the  
 former party, though ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> double in his conduct.  
 He ought on mounting the Throne of England  
 to have obtained the Union of the two Kingdoms  
~~but preferred to~~ <sup>but preferred to</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>pretensions</sup> ~~of~~  
~~this~~ <sup>his</sup> ~~own~~ <sup>part</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>Scotland</sup> that  
 Scotland should be considered as one third of  
 the Isle of Great Britain.

He sets up Episcopacy in Scotland but  
 could not provide an adequate provision for  
 the Bishops, who grew haughty and neglected  
 their functions.  
~~His~~ <sup>His</sup> ~~Execution~~ <sup>Execution</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~James~~ <sup>James</sup> ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup>  
 supposed to be poisoned by the means  
 of the Earl of Somerset.  
~~The~~ <sup>The</sup> ~~Gunpowder~~ <sup>Gunpowder</sup> ~~plot~~ <sup>plot</sup> ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~a~~ <sup>a</sup> ~~conspiracy~~ <sup>conspiracy</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~Papists~~ <sup>Papists</sup> ~~which~~

ought to have <sup>Him in</sup>  
 instead of encouraged ~~James to driving~~  
 the Priests out of the Kingdom, <sup>but</sup>  
~~so intemperate~~ <sup>made</sup> ~~him~~  
~~though outwardly talking and~~  
 writing against Popery, <sup>he</sup> ~~privately~~  
~~in favour~~ ~~of it~~ during the rest of his  
 reign.

His aversion to War and opinion of a  
 divine right in all things <sup>was</sup> ~~was~~ <sup>in</sup> ~~in  
 not bear that even an elective and limited  
 King should be called in question <sup>by his subjects</sup> and  
 consequently would not assist his son in  
 Law the Elector Palatine in obtaining  
 the Crown of Bohemia, nor ever acknowledge  
 him as such.~~

The United Provinces having borrowed  
 great sums of Queen Elizabeth gave her  
 the Brill and Flushing, with some other  
 places of less note in pawn till the money  
 should be repaid. James entered into a secret  
 Treaty with Spain to force the States to  
 Peace, <sup>and</sup> ~~and~~ engaged to deliver  
 these places ~~to the~~ <sup>to the</sup> Spaniards if the States should prove  
 obstinate. but Barnevelt getting  
 wind of this came over to England  
 and repaid the sum that had been  
 lent.

His profuseness <sup>led him to</sup> ~~put him on~~ <sup>obtaining</sup>  
 from Parliament <sup>disputing</sup> ~~a power~~ of selling  
 of the Leases that <sup>had been</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>patrimony</sup> of  
 the Crown, <sup>and</sup> ~~which~~ <sup>had</sup> ~~been~~ <sup>put</sup> ~~at~~ <sup>at</sup>

~~Some~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~most~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~great~~  
great families and many boroughs dependent on the  
families ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~king~~ ~~and~~ ~~many~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~king~~  
Crown.

His strange usage of the great Sir Walter  
Raleigh, and the barbarity and illegality  
with which he concluded that affair;  
<sup>added to</sup> the rise and fall of Somerset, <sup>exposed his</sup>  
reign to contempt and confusion; many  
people thought that King was poisoned,  
and <sup>this owing to</sup> his being weary  
of the Duke of Buckingham, or inclined  
to bring again the Earl of Somerset  
into favour.

King Charles on mounting the Throne was  
looked upon as a favourer of the Puritans,  
his deportment was naturally grave and  
reserved tending to moroseness.

The Queen had great vivacity, and was  
fond of intrigues, though not secret. Her  
little practices as well as ~~the~~ King's  
temper <sup>fully accounted for</sup> all his misfortunes ~~chiefly~~  
~~owing~~ <sup>They</sup> ~~to~~ the concessions he made were  
apparent ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~extracted~~ ~~from~~ ~~him~~, which  
he probably meant only to have complied  
with until in a <sup>better</sup> situation. ~~to~~

His conduct in giving up the Earl of  
Strafford was highly blameable and ~~dey~~  
~~by~~ ~~the~~ ~~Queen~~ ~~was~~ ~~looked~~ ~~upon~~ ~~as~~ ~~an~~ ~~error~~  
~~Some~~ ~~imagined~~ ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~the~~ ~~cause~~ ~~of~~ ~~it~~  
from a fear ~~that~~ ~~he~~ ~~should~~ ~~be~~ ~~accused~~ ~~for~~ ~~it~~.  
fear in the Queen that the Earl was  
inclined to accuse her.

The King's Trial and Execution was unparalleled  
and shews how far fury and enthusiasm can  
drive even to generous and humane a people.

The principal Actors in this detestable transaction soon were hated by the whole Nation and the memory of the unfortunate King began to be revered.

King Charles II. went from the Hague to Scotland, the Scotch Army <sup>was unsuccessful</sup> ~~was defeated~~ at Dunbar <sup>and the King treated very hardly by the Scotch</sup> ~~by Cromwell~~, then Charles having collected all the Troops he could marched into England, and was <sup>at last</sup> defeated at Worcester, ~~and he~~ <sup>but he</sup> escaped

Cromwell on assuming the Government had three great parties against him, the Episcopal, Presbyterian and Republican, and had none to rely on but the Army; he feared a <sup>and plotting</sup> assassination from the Cavaliers, but prevented <sup>the former</sup> ~~it~~ by declaring that he would not begin that detestable practice, but if attempted against him, he would destroy the King's whole family, and the latter by secretly gaining Willis the chief confident of Chancellor Hyde.

It seems most probable that Cromwell was inclined to accept of the Crown, and <sup>was alone prevented from it</sup> ~~that~~ Fleetwood and Desborough <sup>the one</sup> ~~the other~~ married to his Daughter the other to his Sister, resolving to quit him if he consented <sup>to it</sup> ~~and was prevented his accepting it~~.

Cromwell after being much undecided whether he would join the Court of France or that of Spain, chose the former, upon this King Charles settled at Bonnallies.

but embraced the Popish Religion before he left Paris, though so secretly that Hyde only suspected it.

Cromwell equipped a fleet to seize Hispaniola or Cuba, but failing in the descent on the former, Jamaica was taken and the value of it magnified to cover the ill success of the principal design.

He could never shake off the roughness of his education and temper, spoke long and ungracefully, and enthusiasm and dissimulation were so equally mixed in his deportment that it was not easy to decide which prevailed most; he was of opinion that moral Laws were only binding on ordinary occasions, but that on extraordinary they might be superseded.

His moderation in government quieted to a great degree the minds of people, and their vanity was gratified by his spirited method of supporting in all Foreign parts the honour of the Nation.

Cromwell died of a slight illness; his eldest son Richard was declared Protector in consequence of a pretended nomination of his Father; the Commonwealth party called it a usurpation.

though he received congratulatory as well as condoling addresses from most Counties and Towns of the Kingdom; When the Parliament met it soon appeared that he could not get the Protectorship acknowledged; He therefore set up a Council of Officers, and they resolved to set Richard aside, who soon with drew, as he had lost no one was left unattached.

The Parliament that had been broke by Cromwell was brought again together, but the Army soon sent them again away great disorders followed, Lambert leads the Army, Monk was much pressed to declare for the Parliament, but he kept reserved, and drew his Army to the borders to which Lambert was advancing with 7000 horse; Lord Fairfax raised for him and obliged Lambert to retreat to London, whose Army was annihilated by this quick march and himself brought up a prisoner and put into the Tower, from whence he escaped but was soon imprisoned at Newington. Monk marched to London, and soon he and the Parliaments grew jealous of each other, the members that had been drove from Parliament

in 1647. & 1748 returned and summoned  
a new Parliament.

The army was so much blended and  
so great a distrust created between  
Officers and Men, that when the  
great turn was brought about  
neither tumult nor bloodshed ensued.

Admiral Montague was over-  
ruled for the King and brought the  
Plot to the same opinion.

Chancellor Hyde sat round  
Moorey to talk with the Presbyterians  
and wrote to many leading Men.

The new Parliament appeared  
unanimous, Hale afterwards Chief  
Justice moved for a Committee to  
examine the concessions that had  
been offered during the War by the  
late King, that propositions might  
be suggested to be sent over to the  
King; Monk objected to this as the  
means of rekindling the flame that  
seemed now entirely subsided, and  
therefore proposed the immediate  
inviting the King to return; that any  
propositions that were necessary  
might be drawn up and presented  
on his arrival, which was instantly  
agreed to.

With the restoration of the King a  
spirit of civility arose that would do virtue  
and piety, and corrupted the morals of

The King's  
Character

the whole Nation.

The King was then thirty years of age, had a good understanding, knew well the state of foreign and home affairs, he had an ease of temper that charmed all who approached him, till they found his words nor promises could not be depended upon. He had no sense of Religion, was enclined to Arbitrary power, had much knowledge, ~~though not capable~~ <sup>considering his want of</sup> of much application; his apprehension was quick and his memory good, an everlasting talker, had a bad opinion both of Men and Women, pleasure was his ruin.

Clarendon's

The Earl of Clarendon was bred to the Law, by his parliament abilities was much consulted while the King was at Oxford, he followed the King's fortune beyond sea, and was now an absolute favourite and Chief Minister, but too magisterial in his carriage towards the King; an impartial Chancellor in the administration of Justice, ignorant of Foreign affairs yet always interfering in them; he had too much civility in his wit, was thoughtful and indefatigable in business, though much afflicted with the gout.



Ormonds

The Duke  
 Ormond had the next place in the  
 King's favour, had a graceful person,  
 much wit, of an expansive turn, decent  
 even in his vices; his conduct at the  
 Siege of Dublin, shewed his want of  
 military skill, yet his constant  
 attendance on the King and sufferings  
 for Him, raised him to be Lord Steward  
 of the Household, and Lord Lieutenant  
 of Ireland. He was firm to the  
 Protestant Religion; he gave good  
 advice, but when bad was followed  
 did not much complain.

Southampton's

The Earl of Southampton, had great  
 virtues and good abilities, he largely  
 supplied the King during his exile;  
 he was appointed Lord Treasurer, but  
 was so subject to the Stone that he  
 soon ~~became~~ <sup>grew weary of business,</sup> besides he was uneasy  
 at the King's manner of spoiling business,  
 the whole management of this great  
 department fell to his Secretary Sir  
 Philip Warwick an honest though  
 weak Man.

Shaftsbury's

The next Man in Credit was Sir  
 Anthony Ashley Cooper, married to the  
 Lord Treasurer's Niece, who afterwards  
 was made Earl of Shaftsbury, at the  
 age of twenty he came into the House

of Commons and was on the King's side;  
on Prince Maurice breaking articles to  
a Town he had got to receive him, he  
changed to that of the Parliament. He  
had extra ordinary talents for speaking  
in Parliament, and for governing parties.  
He had scarce any Religion, was very  
vain.

Anglesey's

Anglesey advanced to be Earl of Anglesey  
had <sup>learning</sup> ~~knowledge~~, and was particularly  
knowing in Law, was ungracious and  
stupid in Parliament but struck  
at nothing and was ashamed of nothing.

Gollis's

Gollis had great courage and pride  
was for many years esteemed the head  
of the Presbyterian party, a constant  
Enemy to Cromwell, well versed in  
the records of Parliament; he was  
faithful but a rough friend, and a  
severe but fair enemy; <sup>besides</sup> religious and  
unblameable in his course of life.

Manchester's

The Earl of Manchester was made  
Lord Chamberlain, of a soft though  
obliging temper, not deep, but  
universally beloved being both  
virtuous and generous.

Roberts's

Lord Roberts was <sup>Lord</sup> Privy Seal,  
afterwards Lord Lieutenant of Ireland  
and at last Lord President of the  
Council, of a morose and cynical  
temper, vicious but appearing virtuous

more learned than other men of quality  
but intractable, proud and jealous.

These five had great credit with  
the Presbyterian party and had greatly  
opposed the Revolution, but their  
advancements lost the Cavaliers.

On the King's arrival Monk and  
Montague had the Garter, the former  
was made Duke of Albemarle, and  
the other Earl of Sandwich.

Monk was ravenous, and selling  
every employment within his reach  
which soon destroyed his credit; his  
kinsman Grenville was made Earl  
of Bath and groom of the Stole, who  
thought of nothing but getting and  
spending money.

Albemarle raised two other persons,  
*Charges* charges his wife's brother who was honest  
but haughty, he made afterwards some  
figure in Parliament by opposing the  
Court and calling for frugality in the  
management of the public money. the  
*Morice* other was Morice who <sup>was made Secretary</sup> had prevailed  
of State, he was learned but very  
pedantick, and ignorant of foreign affairs.

*Nicolas* Nicolas was the other Secretary, he had  
been employed by King Charles I. during  
the civil War, though faithful he was  
also deficient in foreign affairs; he was  
*Arlington's* soon succeeded by Bennett afterwards Easton

Arlington, who gained so much the confidence of the King, that began to stand in opposition to Clarendon; he was proud, solid, but not quick, and was thought a Papist, which he had once professed, and on his deathbed was reconciled to. His chief friend was Berkeley made Earl of Falmouth who without any visible merit, by managing the King's amours was the most absolute of all the King's favourites and was not left so with the Duke of York

Buckingham's

The Duke of Buckingham was handsome, of poignant wit, no sort of literature, a Chymist and seeker after the Philosopher's Stone, void of religion, virtue or friendship.

Bristol's

The Earl of Bristol was courageous and learned but had no judgement or steadiness when at Oxford strove all he could to prevent any reconciliation, thinking the Army could be depended upon if persuaded the confiscated Estates would be divided amongst them, when abroad he became a Papist, he was esteemed a good speaker though too copious and florid.

Lauderdale

The Earl afterwards Duke of Lauderdale had been a zealous covenanter but in 1647. changed to the King's interest, and was taken at the

4.  
battle of Worcester, and kept in the Tower of London, in Portland Castle and other prisons till released by those who called <sup>him</sup> the King. His figure was disadvantageous, for he was very big, his hair red, his tongue too large for his mouth, and his whole manner ungainly. He not possessed Latin, but Greek and Hebrew, was well versed in Divinity and in most ancient and modern historians; he was proud and obstinate.

The Earl of Crawford was sincere but weak and continued a zealous Presbyterian. The Earl afterwards Duke of Roxburgh was deaterous in public affairs, but unassisted by education.

The Earl of Tweeddale, understood the concerns of Scotland, had knowledge with a mild and obliging manner. A son of the Marquis of Douglas, made Earl of Selkirk, had married the heiress of Hamilton, he was advanced to the Dukedom of Hamilton, he was at first thought soft, and full of nothing but a desire of clearing his Estate then much in debt; he knew the Laws, History, and families of Scotland, he had justice and the good of his Country in view, but a narrowness of temper rendered him incapable of great things.

Hamilton's

411  
Brou  
he was at  
Brou

Stincardin's

Bruce afterwards Earl of Stincardin  
had sense and worth, but slow and  
correct.

The Old Cavaliers were headed by the  
Earls of Middleton and Glencairn, were  
fierce and courageous in their cups, though  
not thought so in the field; the most  
skillfull was Sir Archibald Primrose,  
he removed all difficulties, <sup>by</sup> mild and  
<sup>slow</sup> methods. Very different from Sir John  
Fletcher the King's Advocate, who despised  
wealth, was bold and fierce.

The Marquis of Argyle was <sup>by the King</sup> encouraged  
by the King though without any promise  
to come to London, and on his arrival  
sent to the Tower, <sup>from whence he was removed</sup>  
<sup>to Scotland,</sup>  
imprisoned and executed.

After the King's arrival no one in the  
House of Commons had the courage to  
propose any limitation of the Prerogative  
of defining any doubtful points, if the King  
had in these first transports of joy  
applied to business, he might have obtained  
what power or revenue he had wished;  
but Clarendon on whom he devolved  
the whole management of his affairs  
was resolved not to stretch the prerogative  
beyond what it was before the war,  
and would neither set the Petition of  
right aside, nor endeavour to raise  
again the Courts of Star Chamber or

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the High Commission. He got all  
that had been extorted of King Charles.  
repealed, but did not touch on the  
Acts that related to property, the  
just limitation of the prerogative  
such as the Ship-money, the Tonnage  
and Bourdage and the Habeas Corpus  
Act. As to the Standing Revenue  
only 1,200,000 £ per annum was asked.

*[Faint, illegible handwritten text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.]*



4.  
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The Earl of Crawford was sincere though weak and continued a zealous Presbyterian.

The Earl afterwards Duke of Noth was deaterous in public affairs, but unassisted by education.

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The Earl of Selkirk son of the Marquis of Douglas, married the Heiress of Hamilton, and was advanced to the Dukedom of Hamilton, he was at first thought soft, and intent alone on clearing his estate then much in debt; he knew the Law, History, and families of Scotland had justice and the good of his country in view, but a narrowness of temper rendered him incapable of great things.

Bowie afterwards Earl of Glencairn had sense and worth, but was slow and correct.

The Old Cavaliers headed by the Earls of Middleton and Glencairn, were fierce and courageous in their camps, though not esteemed so in the field; Sir Archibald Primrose was the most able; he removed all difficulties by  
 mild

mild and slow methods; very different from  
Sir John Fletcher the King's Advocate, who  
despised wealth, was bold and fierce.

The King had from Breda promised  
an indemnity for all that had past in  
England, except to those concerned in the  
death of his father. Lauderdale advised  
the pursuing the same conduct in  
Scotland; the King encouraged though  
without any promise the Marquis of Argyll  
to come to London, or on his arrival was  
sent to the Tower, from whence he was  
removed to Scotland and at length attainted  
and executed.

The Reformation of Scotland was popular and parliamentary; the Crown at that time either on the head of an Absent Queen, or an Infant King; during whose minority matters were carried on by the several Regents in the manner most agreeable to the prevailing humour of the Nation. But when King James came of Age his Kingdom was divided into two parties, the one attached to the Queen his Mother a prisoner in England; these were either Papists, or men indifferent to all Religion; the other Her inveterate Enemies, zealous for the Reformation, and fixed in a dependence on the Crown of England, and in a jealousy of France.

James ~~soon~~ inclined to the former, but learnt to disguise or at least deny every thing in his behaviour that gave offence.

What chiefly shewed his deference to French insinuations was that as he could not safely marry a Papist, he would not hearken to any propositions on that Subject though the last of his family and twenty three years old untill the Duke of Guise was killed at Blois.

After his marriage with a Princess of Denmark he was wholly managed by Elizabeth and his Ministers; he granted the Irish all the Laws they desired, and obtained an increase of temporal authority; but soon studied to gain the Papists, and to secure the Succession to the Crown of England.

When he came to the Crown of England he imprudently discovered on many occasions his hatred to the Irish of Scotland; he did not obtain a Union of the two Kingdoms, by pretending Scotland should be considered as a third part of the Isle of Great Britain, and when that failed, omitted securing to him the affections of that People.

He set up Episcopacy in Scotland, though he had no Revenues to support it, the Bishops were forced at first to hold their former Cures with some small addition.

The Bishops grew haughty, neglected their functions were often at Court, and lost the esteem of the people.

Prince

Prince Henry his eldest Son gave great hopes, but so unlike his father, that he was rather feared than loved by him. Colonel Titus told Bishop Burnet that King Charles had assured him the Prince had been poisoned by the means of the Earl of Somerset.

King James for fear soon stoped all prosecutions against Popish Priests, and though he continued writing and talking against Popery, he acted for it. His mean conduct during the misfortunes of his Son in Law the Elector Palatine is too well known to require any mention here.

He was easily persuaded by the Dutch on their repaying the money lent on the Cautionary Towns to evacuate them without the sanction of Parliament.

His profuseness greatly occasioned the diminution of the Regal authority, and the dependence of the Nation on it. The Crown had a great Estate over all England, let out on Leases for years, and a small reserved Rent. Most of the Nobility were Tenants of the Crown, and many Boroughs were depending on the Estates so held. The renewal of these Leases brought in fines to the Crown and to the Great Officers, and the fear of being denied a renewal kept all in a dependence on the Crown. King James obtained of Parliament a power of selling those Estates forever, with the reserve of the Old Quit rent.

His barbarous conduct towards Sir Walter Raleigh; the rise and fall of the Earl of Somerset were so odious that it sunk the reputation of his reign.

James supposed by some to have been poisoned by the Duke of Buckingham.

When King Charles succeeded his Father, he seemed to favour the Puritans; he was much offended at James's familiarities which were the effect of hunting and drinking; on the other hand the gravity of the Spanish Court suited him better; his gravity tended to moroseness, omitting the civilities and affability the Nation loved and had been accustomed to.

He designed to recover the Fishes and Church lands in Scotland

to the Crown, from men that were not like to part with them willingly, and to change the whole Constitution of that Church and Kingdom, yet raised no force to maintain these arduous undertakings, but trusted the whole management to the Civil execution.

The King laid up 700,000. before the troubles began in Scotland, but was soon in great straits without having raised any guards or force in England, but trusted a very illegal administration to a legal execution. Charles had not the docility to extricate himself out of his difficulties; he loved high and rough methods, was averse to prudent and moderate counsels, as flowing from a meanness of spirit, or a desire of preserving the Authors by sacrificing his authority, or from republican principles.

The Queen had great vivacity, loved intrigues of all sorts, but not so secret in them as such times and affairs required; she had no judgement; bad at contrivance, and worse at execution, to Her little practices as well as to the King's own temper the sequel of all his misfortunes were owing.

When the Bill of Attainder had passed against the Earl of Strafford, the King sent for Lord Hollis, whose sister the unhappy Earl had married, to consult how to save Strafford; he proposed that a petition should be sent the King for a short respite to settle his affairs, which the King might lay before the two Houses; Hollis gained so many that he believed if the King had adopted this plan, Strafford would have been saved; but the Queen had been told Hollis had engaged the Earl should accuse her and discover all he knew, so she diverted the King from going to Parliament, and prevailed on him to add to the Message he sent on this affair to the House of Lords by the Prince of Wales, if he must die it were charity to reprieve him till Saturday.

The ill success of the King in the Civil War ended with his being taken and confined in the Castle of Carisbrooke in the Isle of Wight, when Cromwell was gone to Scotland, the Parliament set on foot a treaty with the King; Sir Henry Dene, Pierpoint and

Sherr

others who were for a change of Government delayed matters till the Army could be brought to London; those on the contrary that wished well to the Treaty prayed the King to dispatch the business and to grant the first day what he could consent to the last; but Charles could not come to a resolution; he still fancied that in the struggle between the Parliament and Army, by balancing them, he would bring both sides to a greater dependence on him and force them to better terms; by this fatal slowness when the Treaty was come to some maturity, Cromwell returned with his Army and overturned all.

Ireton was the person that drove on the trial and death of the King, for Cromwell was all the while in some suspense about it; the former stuck at nothing that might have turned England to a Commonwealth; he found Cook and Bradshaw two bold Lawyers proper instruments for managing it. Fairfax changed purposes often every day. The Presbyterians and the body of the City much against it. The Army about London amounted only to 8,000. men, but were enthusiasts and wrought up to a pitch of fury that struck terror into all people. On the other hand the King's party was without spirit, and never foresaw Charles's death, till it was too late.

The King shewed a calm and composed firmness which amazed all people; he died greater than he lived. His Reign both in Peace and War was a continual series of errors. He had too high a notion of the Regal power, and thought that every opposition to it was Rebellion. He had a firm aversion to Popery, but inclined to a middle way between Protestants and Papists, by which he lost the one without gaining the other. His engaging the Duke of Rohan in the War of Rochelle, assisting him but poorly in the course of it, and forsaking him at last give but a bad impression of his attachment to his engagements.

Charles's serious and Christian deportment on his death, obliterated all his former errors, raised a compassionate regard to him, and a lasting hatred on the perpetrators of his wicked transaction.

The

The Scots immediately proclaimed Charles II. invited him from the Hague, but on his arrival kept him in constant constraint, the next year he marched into England and was totally defeated at Worcester from whence his escape was almost miraculous.

During the Usurpation about 7. or 8,000. men were kept in Scotland, which brought money into the Kingdom; Cromwell built three Citadels at Leith, Ayr and Inverness, justice was administered, vice suppressed and punished. There was also a sort of Union of the three Kingdoms in one Parliament, where Scotland had its Representation.

Cromwell often told Doctor Wilkins no Temporal government could have a sure support without a National Church, that adhered to it, and he thought England was capable of no Constitution but Episcopacy, to which it is supposed he would have turned as soon as the design of his Kingship was settled.

When the Protector first assumed the Government he had three great parties of the Nation against him, the Episcopal, the Presbyterian, and the Republican party. He had none to rely on but the Army, who were very intractable from that enthusiastic temper he had with much pains raised in them. Many of the chief Officers he broke, and imprisoned; the rest he soothed. He prevented a poisoning by saying openly, that if any of the Cavaliers attempted it, he would in return assassinate the King. As to plots he awarded them by gaining Sir Richard Willes, the Chief confidant of Chancellor Hyde, to whom he gave a pension of £200. a year, his secretary Thurlo was alone entrusted with this.

The Presbyterians knew the fury of the Commonwealth party, therefore were desirous of being released from them, who began to tend much to Deism; Cromwell soothed them by joining them with some Independents in a Commission to dispose of the Churches that became vacant in the gift of the Crown, the Bishops, or the Cathedrals.

Cromwell divided the Commonwealth party by setting the Fifth Monarchy Men, and the Enthusiasts against those who had little or no Religion and acted only on the Principles of Civil Liberty;

but

but it was not easy to satisfy them when He took the power into his own hands; and pretended with tears that he would rather have taken a Shepherd's staff than the Protectorship, from a dislike to the shew of greatness; but that it was the only method of preventing the Nations falling into extreme disorder, and becoming open to the Common Enemy.

No one knew what answer he would give to the offer made him by the Parliament of the Kingdom; the finding Fleetwood and Desborough waiting for him when he went in the morning to walk in St. James's park, determined him to refuse it. The one had married his Daughter, the other his sister; they declared they would not engage against him, but if he accepted, retire and look on.

In foreign affairs, he spared no cost to procure intelligence; but was at a loss whether to side with France or with Spain; but at length decided in favour of the former, from the knowledge when the parties grew strong against him at home, that if the King or his Brother were assisted by France with an Army of Huguenots to make a descent in England, this might prove dangerous to him. The King and the Duke of York were desired by Mazarin to quit the French Court, with promises of constant supplies, never meant to be performed.

The King turned Papist before he left Paris, but it is not known by whose persuasion.

Cromwell equipped a Fleet with a sufficient force with an intent to seize Hispaniola and Cuba, the descent on Hispaniola proved unsuccessful, but took Jamaica. The War soon broke out in Europe, and Dunkirk was taken.

The assistance the Protector gave to the Catholics, and the interest he took in favour of the Huguenots in consequence of the tumult at Nismes, raised his Character abroad.

Cromwell could never shake off the roughness of his education and temper; he spoke long and ungracefully; it is difficult to decide whether enthusiasm or dissimulation prevailed most in his Character; he thought moral laws only binding on

ordinary



ordinary occasions, but on extraordinary, might be superseded, when not adverse to his purposes, a friend to Justice and Virtue, and even to Learning. He sought for able and honest Men, for all employments, but particularly for the Courts of Law.

He died of a slight sickness leaving two Sons and four Daughters; his Sons were weak but honest Men; Richard the Eldest though declared Protector in pursuance of a pretended nomination made by Cromwell, was incapable of business. When the Parliament met his party could not carry a recognition of his Protectorship. Fleetwood who married Tacton's Widdow, set up a Council of Officers, who resolved to lay Richard aside, in which he acquiesced on condition that his debts should be payed; though this was not performed, he withdrew without a struggle. His Brother had been by the Father made Lieutenant of Ireland; but though of more spirit could not support himself when his Brother quitted.

On Richard's retreat the Commonwealth was again set up; and the Parliament reassembled which Cromwell had broke; but they had fresh disputes with the Army and by them again broke, which threatened great convulsions in the Nation. The Army depended most on Lambert; applications were made to Monk to declare for the Parliament, he was so reserved no one knew his intentions; He drew the greatest part of his Army towards the borders, Lambert advanced towards him with 7,000 Horse. Monk maintained his credit with the Army, that the Irish Brigade consisting of 1,200 Horse and imposing the fear of Lambert's Army came over to him, upon that Lambert retreated towards London, his Army mouldered away, and he was put into the Tower.

Monk on coming into Yorkshire offered to resign the <sup>Command</sup> to Fairfax, who refused it, but pressed him to declare for a free Parliament. On arriving in London he joined the Parliament Lambert had forced; but soon jealousies arose

between

between them. The General at the instigation of the House of Commons broke the gates of the City of London which gave great disgust; but soon though the Nation had fiercely opposed the Royal family, soon turned as one Man to call home the King.

Such unanimity appeared in the new Parliament, that there was no dispute but on one single point; Hale (afterwards Chief Justice) moved for a Committee to examine the propositions and concessions at the Treaty of Newport, that from thence they might form a proposal fit to be sent to the King. Monk told the House that though there was an universal quiet over the Nation; but there were many impatient to renew the flames, that he could not answer for the Peace of the Nation or the Army if the sending for the King was delayed.

The errors of Charles's Reign were greatly owing to the having made no conditions with him.

1660.

At the Restoration a Spirit of extravagant joy spread over the Nation, that overthrew the very professions of virtue and Piety. The King was then thirty years of Age, had a good understanding, acquainted with Home and Foreign Affairs, of an easy temper that charmed all who approached him, till they found no dependence could be placed on his word. His ideas of Government were very Arbitrary, he had an insight in many branches of knowledge though but little application, which failing daily increased from his attachment to the Duchess of Cleveland by whom he had five Children; she had great beauty, but enormously vicious and ravenous, carrying on intrigues with other men, yet pretending to be jealous of him; her behaviour made him often not master of himself, which would have proved very fatal had he not reposed his confidence on the Earl of Clarendon.

Clarendon.

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Clarendon was bred to the law and of repute in his profession at the commencement of the Civil Wars; he followed the King's fortune and at the Restoration was his chief favourite and Minister, but took too much the tone of a Master; as Chancellor he was just but rather rough; ignorant of foreign affairs though ever meddling in them; he was proud, and indefatigable in business.

The Duke of Ormond stood next in favour, much fitted for a Court, very graceful of lively wit, expensive, but decent even in his Vices; he was Lord Steward of the Household, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

The Earl of Southampton was very virtuous and of good parts, a lively apprehension and sound judgement; he was Lord Treasurer but early quitted business on account of frequent attacks of the Stone; from retaining the principles of Liberty, could not go into the violent measures of the Court.

Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper afterwards Earl of Shaftsbury; began to make a figure in the House of Commons on the King's side at the Age of twenty, but seized the excuse of Prince Maurice's breaking Articles to a Town, that he had got to receive him, to side with the Parliament. He had great talents of speaking in a popular assembly, great art in managing parties; if he had any Religion he was a Deist; had a general appearance of Learning but no depth. His strength lay in the knowledge of England and of all its considerable Men. He changed sides so often that he lost his reputation.

The Earl of Anglesey was of a similar Character, held many great employments, had much knowledge particularly of the Law and Constitution; indefatigable, and ungraceful in speaking; of a grave deportment, but struck at, nor was ashamed of nothing, which made him neither loved nor trusted by any Man.

Hollis had great courage and pride; headed the Presbyterians was faithful and steady through life to his party; was well verred

in the records of Parliament, and had a true sense of Religion.

The Earl of Manchester was Chamberlain, of an obliging temper, no great depth but universally beloved being a virtuous and generous man.

Lord Roberts was first Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and last Lord President of the Council, just in his administration but vitious under the appearance of virtue, learned, but intractable, stiff and obstinate, proud and jealous.

These five had the chief hand in effecting the Restoration, by their credit with the Presbyterians, and in consequence placed in great posts which greatly disgusted the Cavaliers.

Monk was made Duke of Albemarle and obtained the Garter, was ravenous as well as his Wife; he got his kinsman Granville made Earl of Bath and Groom of the Stole who thought of nothing but getting and spending money. Albemarle also raised Charges his Wife's brother an honest but haughty Man, and Morrice who was made Secretary of State, who had learning, but much pedantry and affectation.

Nidas the other Secretary had been employed by Charles in the Civil War, was virtuous but could not suit the King's temper. He was soon succeeded by Bennet Earl of Arlington, who became a kind of opponent to Clarendon; he had pride, solidity, and the art of observing the King's temper, his chief friend was Charles Berkeley made Earl of Falmouth, who though void of merit, by managing the King's Amours became chief favourite, and not less so with the Duke of York.

The Duke of Buckingham was handsome, of a lively wit, no literature, principles of Religion, Virtue, or Friendship, he had for many years a great ascendent over the King, and at length ruined his body, mind, fortune, and

reputation

reputation; the King's bad principles and morals were greatly owing to him.

The Earl of Bristol and courage, learning and wit, but no judgement, was set at the head of the Spanish party and an Enemy to Clarendon.

The Earl of Lauderdale afterwards made a Duke, had been a zealous Covenanter, but in 1647. turned to the King's interest was taken at Worcester and remained a Prisoner till the King was called home. His manner rough and boisterous; learned in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; had read much Divinity and almost all the antient and modern historians, and had an excellent memory; abject where necessary but imperious to all others; passionate, at times bordering madness, and headstrong. By principle averse to Popery and arbitrary power, but by a fatal train of passions and interest made way for the former, and almost established the latter.

The Earl of Crawford had been ten years his fellow prisoner, was a sincere but weak Man.

The Earl of Rothes was dexterous, of an insinuating address, of clear conceptions and judgement, but without education, and literature, or having travelled abroad.

The Earl of Tweeddale understood Scotch affairs well, had much knowledge with a mild and obliging temper, and of an exemplary life.

The Earl of Selkirk son of the Marquis of Douglas, had married the Heiress of Hamilton, who by her father's patent was Dutchesse of Hamilton; in such cases the Husband usually obtained the title for life; thus he became Duke of Hamilton, he was rough, sullen, candid and sincere, had a regard to justice and the good of his Country, but the narrowness and selfishness of his temper rendered him incapable of designing or executing great things.

Bruce

Bruce afterwards Earl of Kincairdie on the same side made also a good figure; by marrying Holland he got there introduced to the King, and assisted him in his distresses, though wise he neglected his own private affairs, he had excellent judgement though rather slow.

The old cavaliers were very bold and courageous at this period over their cups, though that had not appeared when in the field.

The King in a letter from Breda to the Parliament of England had promised a full indemnity for all except those concerned in his father's death; the Earl of Clarendon persuaded him to adhere inviolably to it; but with regard to Scotland there was no such engagement; it was therefore agreed that a difference should be made between those who in the struggle had deserted and gone over to the Enemy, and the rest who on the general reduction had been forced to capitulate.

Upon this the Marquis of Argyll on coming to London was confined in the Tower.

The Citadels erected in Scotland by Cromwell and garrisoned by English Soldiers were demolished.

The King wrote a letter to the Presbytery of Edinburgh to be communicated by them to the rest of Scotland confirming the general Assemblies that sat at St. Andrews and Dundee while he was in Scotland, the public resolutions by which he had ordered them to censure all that had protested against them, and the Presbyterian government as it was by law established, this was done to quiet them, and yet was engaging nothing, for the confirming their government as established by law could bind no longer than while that legal Establishment was in force; this equivocating and deceitful conduct was much below the dignity of a King.

The Earl of Middleton was declared the King's Commissioner for holding the Parliament, and General of the Forces that were to be raised; the Earl of Glencairn Chancellor; the Earl of Lauderdale Secretary of State; the Earl of Rothes President of the

Council

Council; the Earl of Crawford continued in the Treasury, <sup>Prime</sup> Clerk Register the rest depended on these, the Earls of Middleton and Lauderdale were the two heads of the parties, the former had a private instruction to sound the Nation for Episcopacy. The public Records that had been brought up by Cromwell were sent back by sea, but lost on the Coast of Berwick.

The Parliament of Scotland was antiently the Kings Court, where all who held Land of him were bound to appear. They were considered as three Estates; the first was the Church represented by the Bishops, and Mitred Abbots and Priors, the second the Baronage, the Nobility and Gentry who held their Baronies of the King; and the third the Burroughs who held of the King by borony, though in a community, the lesser Barons growing weary of this attendance, were excused from it by James 6. of Scotland, and impowered to send proxies to Parliament, thus it continued till James 6. when the Mitred Abbots being taken away; and few of the titular Bishops then continued appearing at them, the Nobility carried matters as they pleased; they oppressed the Burroughs, and had the King much under them. Upon this the lower Barons regained the right they had neglected near two hundred years; they were allowed by Act of Parliament to send two from a County, some of the smaller ones sent but one. All these Estates sat in one House, and voted together. Antiently the Parliament sat only two days, the first and the last. On the first they chose those who were to sit on the Articles, eight for every State, to whom the King added eight Officers of State, these received all the heads of grievances or articles brought to them, which they formed into Bills at pleasure, on the last day these were all read and approved or rejected by the whole body.

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They received all the heads of grievances or articles, brought to them, which they formed into bills at pleasure. On the last day these were all read and approved or rejected by the whole body.

On the meeting of Parliament it was proposed to return to the custom of naming Lords of the Articles was restored. An additional Revenue for life of £40,000. was granted the King by an excise on beer and ale.

By an Act, all Parliaments held since 1633. were recalled, this was not liked by the King, this was very <sup>expediently</sup> ~~disorderly~~ as it shook all possible security for the future, and laid down a most pernicious precedent; indeed the whole conduct of this session was extraordinary and only to be accounted for by the drunkenness of those most active in conducting affairs.

The <sup>Marquis</sup> Duke of Argyll was <sup>attainted</sup> ~~indicted~~ by the King ~~up to the English at Newcastle for opposing the engagement~~ in 1649. and leading the rising in the West in opposition to the Committee of Estates. was restored. ~~It was restored~~ Episcopacy in Scotland.

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College. Scot.

M.S. of King's Charles II. Letters A.<sup>to</sup>1648. June 4<sup>th</sup>

When the Prince, he sends Sir J. Berkeley from St. Germain's to attend the Duke of York in Lord Byron's absence.

July 28<sup>th</sup>

C. P. in the Downes, comes thither from Yarmouth Road, expected within hourly with the Fleet from the Brill, who had gone thither two days before his arrival.

August 14<sup>th</sup>

Q. H. M. desires the Duke of York to be advised by Sir J. Berkeley, who had her and C. P.'s confidence.

October 24<sup>th</sup>

G. Howard had assisted the Duke of York in his escape from England; had been promised by the D. the post of Master of Horse to the Duke of York; but W. Crofts having been sworn into it, G. Howard was made Gentleman of the Bedchamber with a Pension.

1649. April 1.

Charles II. would pursuant to his Father's desire put the Duke of York in the Admiral's place (as soon as the Great Seal was ready May 25) Hague there June 6<sup>th</sup>

June 16<sup>th</sup>

Breda — Sends Lord Byron to acquaint the Queen with the way he intended to take for Ireland, and desired his Brother's Company thither.

May 5<sup>th</sup>

Bunferlin — sends Laley.

1651. May 20<sup>th</sup>

The Queen Mother invites the Duke of York back to France, the Queen of France desiring he might be sent for, and assuring him of 12,000 Crowns of Pension for his subsistence.

1654. November 18<sup>th</sup>

Cologne to the Duke of York — the news I have received from Paris, of the endeavours used to change my Brother Harry's Religion, troubles me so much, that if I have any thing to answer to any of your letters, you must excuse me if I omit it this Post. All that I can say at this time is, I do conjure you as you love the memory of your Father, and if you have any care of yourself, or kindness to me, to hinder all that lies on your power any such practises, without any consideration of any person

whatsoever

whatsoever. I have written very home both to the Queen and my Brother about it, and I expect that you should second what I have said to them, with all the Arguments you can; for neither you nor I were ever so much concerned in all respects, as we are in this. I am able to say no more at this time, but that I am Yours.

November 10<sup>th</sup> Cologne. I have commanded this bearer my Lord of Ormond, to speak with you at large concerning my Brother Harry. therefore, I desire you to give him credit, in all he shall say to you from me, and to do all that he shall advise you. In the mean time, I have nothing more to add to this, but to conjure you to behave yourself as you ought to do in a thing that concerns both you and me so much. I am yours.

1654/5. January 19<sup>th</sup> Cologne — C. de Brienne had notified to Lord Jermyne that French Affairs suffered by the retreat of the King's Ships of War into the French Ports — so King Charles sends the Duke of York directions without which the French Government would have had Orders not to suffer them to enter the Ports) to order the Captains that had the King's or the Duke of York's Commissions, not to return thither, but rather to the North of Holland, where they might do service.

January 26<sup>th</sup> Cologne — bidding the Duke of York be ready to come to me, expecting every hour to hear out of you that there is something a doing.

May 25<sup>th</sup> Cologne — invites the Duke of York to Holland, and to pass by Cologne, if France made Peace with Cromwell —

20 June 26<sup>th</sup>

1656. February 15<sup>th</sup> Cologne — ~~The~~ King Charles had particular Assurances of the good dispositions of Spain to his Service — and desires the Duke of York to be ready to come to him, when he should

call

call for him.  
April 3<sup>rd</sup> Bruges — King Charles treating there in private with the Spanish Ministers, decides the Duke of York not to take any Employment in the Field that year.

24<sup>th</sup> Bruges — desires to know how the Duke of York's stay at Paris comes to be allowed of.

May 3<sup>rd</sup> The Duke of York sends Charles Berkeley to the King to learn his resolutions about the Duke of York and his own

Business  
5<sup>th</sup> Bruges — the King not ready to send his final Resolution.

19<sup>th</sup> Bruges — the King complains of the Duke of York's engaging to serve the Campaign in France; the friends that advised it consulted only the Duke's humour, sans regard for the consequences to the King, who could make no other judgement of this extraordinary civility in offering him what is unfit for you to accept, and who had made such a difficulty to grant it, when it was a reasonable thing in him to desire it. All public reasons made all he consulted, think it very unfit for the Duke of York to serve again as he had done, and private ones rendered it still more unfit, so desired him to put it quite out of his mind.

— that must convince him when known. —  
desires the Duke of York to be ready to come to him —  
D. O. was treating at Bruges.

May 26<sup>th</sup> The Duke of York excuses his serving in France, not seeing ought likely to be done by Spain, or in England — Cromwell had consented to his stay in France, but opposed his serving in Flanders — Maximine had augmented his pension, and ordered the payment of his arrears.

July 21<sup>st</sup> Bruges — King Charles had received the ratification of the Treaty from Spain, as fully as he could wish — did not doubt but effects would follow very quickly — desires the Duke of York to prepare for a journey, being confident

They

they should have somewhat to do soon, especially since the great work of Valenciennes was over - few of Marshal de la Ferté's Men escaped.

August 16<sup>th</sup> Bruges - desires the Duke of York to come to consult with him about particulars - so August 18<sup>th</sup> when Condé taken Sep. 15<sup>th</sup>.

25<sup>th</sup> Bruges - make all the haste he can, sans staying to pay Debts - so Sept. 28<sup>th</sup>

1657. January 6<sup>th</sup> Bruges - The King had wrote yesterday by the Duke of Ormond, sent after him to Zealand, and now conjures the Duke of York not to proceed in the course he was going about; which if he did, would be the ruin of Charles II. of the Duke of York and the whole Family; conjures him by the memory of their Father, and all the Commands he gave the Duke of York, and if he had any kindness or duty for me, to come to me immediately. Sent by Blagge to Cologne.

January 12<sup>th</sup> Paris - the Queen Mother invites the Duke of York to return thither, and that the Queen of France and the Cardinal will well welcome him.

22<sup>nd</sup> Bruges - The King by a letter of the Duke of York brought by M. Termyn, assured of the Duke of York's coming to him.

23<sup>rd</sup> Paris - the Queen Mother advises the Duke of York to stand firm for Sir J. Berkeley.

March 1<sup>st</sup> Paris - surprised Sir J. Berkeley was not returned with him imagines it a loss to his reputation - desires him not to serve against France.

1659. July 19<sup>th</sup> The King's Instructions to the Duke of York, empowering him to pardon all but Regicides - to promise Rewards &c.

August 27<sup>th</sup> The Queen Mother tells the Duke of York that Turenne would go to Amiens to have a private conference with him there, at Abbeville, or Montreuil, as the Duke of York passed.

September 4<sup>th</sup> Objections to Turenne's proposal; Master of no Port; Irish Troops could not be sent from Flanders into France to embark, but Charles Dillon and Thomas Howard ready to come with their Regiments from Mexico &c. Duke of Gloucester's letter.

September 26<sup>th</sup> The King at Rochelle going to Spain, had sent the Duke of Ormond to the Cardinal.

October 31<sup>st</sup> Fontarabie - had received all imaginable demonstration of Don Louis's kindness to him, at his reception; had broke his business to him, and confident of succeeding if it only depended on him.

November 9. Fontarabie - Peace signed.

December 7<sup>th</sup> The King at Colombe in the way to Compeulx.