

THE
WORKS

OF

Sir *William Temple*, Bar^t.

In TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME the SECOND.



L O N D O N :

Printed for *A. Churchill, T. Goodwin, J. Knapton, R. Smith,*
B. Tooke, J. Round, J. Tonson, O. Lloyd, W. Meres,
T. Woodward and F. Clay. MDCCXX.

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THE

LETTERS

WRITTEN BY

Sir *William Temple*, Bar^t.

AND OTHER

MINISTERS of STATE,

Both at HOME and ABROAD.

CONTAINING AN

A C C O U N T

Of the most

IMPORTANT TRANSACTIONS

That pass'd in *Christendom* from 1665 to 1672.

Review'd by Sir W. Temple some time before his Death:

AND

Publiſh'd by JONATHAN SWIFT, Domestick Chaplain to
his Excellency the Earl of *Berkely*, one of the Lords Ju-
stices of *Ireland*.

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TO HIS
MOST SACRED MAJESTY
WILLIAM III.

King of *England, Scotland,*
France and Ireland, &c.

THESE
LETTERS

OF

Sir *WILLIAM TEMPLE*

Having been left to my Care, they are
most humbly presented to Your MA-
JESTY by

Your Majesty's most Dutiful

and Obedient Subject,

JONATHAN SWIFT.

T H E
Publiſher's E P I S T L E
T O T H E
R E A D E R.



THE Collection of the following Letters is owing to the Diligence of Mr. Thomas Downton, who was one of Sir William Temple's Secretaries, during the whole Time wherein they bear Date. And it has ſucceeded very fortunately for the Publick, that there is contained in them an Account of all the chief Transactions and Negotiations, which paſſed in Chriſtendom during the ſeven Years, wherein they are dated; as, The War with Holland, which began in 1665: The Treaty between his Majeſty and the Biſhop of Munſter, with the Iſſue of it: The French Invaſion of Flanders in the Year 1667: The Peace concluded between Spain and Portugal, by the King's Mediation: The Treaty at Breda: The Triple Alliance; and the Peace of Aix-la Chapelle in the firſt Part. And in the ſecond Part, The Negotiations in Holland in conſequence of thoſe Alliances, with the Steps and Degrees, by which they came to decay: The Journey and Death of Madame: The Seizure of Lorrain, and his Excellency's Recalling; with the firſt Unkindneſs between England and Holland, upon the Yatch's transporting his Lady and his Family: And the Beginning of the ſecond Dutch War in 1672.

With theſe are intermix'd ſeveral Letters, familiar and pleaſant.

I found the Book among Sir William Temple's Papers, with many others, wherewith I had the Opportunity of being long converſant, having paſſed ſeveral Years in his Family.

I pretend no other Part, than the Care that Mr. Downton's Book ſhould be correctly tranſcribed, and the Letters placed, in the Order they were writ. I have alſo made ſome literal Amendments, eſpecially in the Latin, French and Spaniſh: Theſe I have taken Care ſhould be tranſlated and printed in another Column, for the Uſe of ſuch Readers as may be unacquainted with the Originals. Whatever Faults there may be in the Tranſlation, I doubt, I muſt answer for the greater part, and muſt leave the reſt to thoſe Friends who were pleas'd to aſſiſt me. I ſpeak only of the French and Latin; for the few Spaniſh Tranſlations, I believe, need no Apology.

It is generally believed, that this Author has advanced our Engliſh Tongue to as great a Perfection as it can well bear; and yet, how great a Maſter he was of it, has, I think, never appeared ſo much, as it will in the following Letters; wherein the Style appears ſo very different, according to the Difference of the Perſons to whom they were addreſs'd; either Men of Buſineſs, or Idle; of Pleaſure, or Serious; of great or of leſs Parts or Abilities, in their ſeveral Stations.

So that one may discover the Characters of most of those Persons he writes to, from the Style of his Letters.

At the End of each Volume is added a Collection, copied by the same Hand, of several Letters to this Ambassador, from the chief Persons employ'd, either at Home or Abroad, in these Transactions, and during six Years Course of his Negotiations. Among which are many from Pensionary John de Witt, and all the Writings of this Kind that I know of, which remain of that Minister so renowned in his Time.

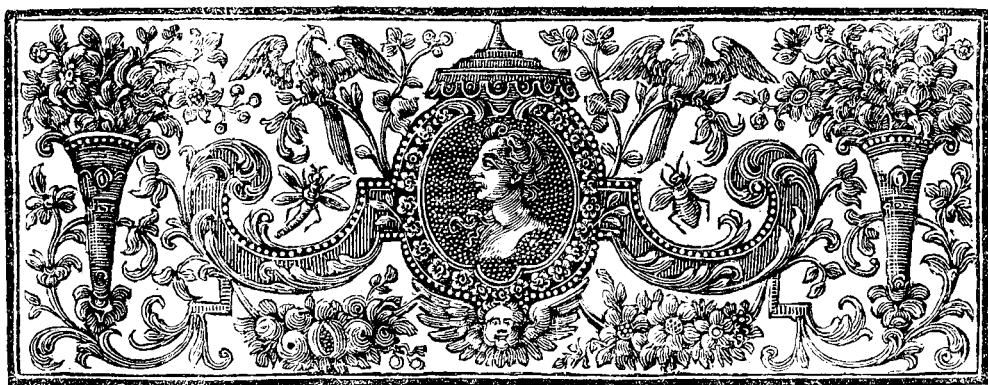
It has been justly complained of, as a Defect among us, that the English Tongue has produced no Letters of any Value; to supply which, it has been the Vein of late Years, to translate several out of other Languages, tho' I think with little Success. Yet among many Advantages which might recommend this sort of Writing, it is certain that nothing is so capable of giving a true Account of Story, as Letters are; which describe Actions, while they are alive and breathing; whereas all other Relations are of Actions past and dead. So as it hath been observed, that the Epistles of Cicero to Atticus, give a better Account of those Times, than is to be found in any other Writer.

In the following Letters, the Reader will every where discover the Force and Spirit of this Author; but that which will most value them to the Publick, both at Home and Abroad, is, First, that the Matters contained in them were the Ground and Foundation whereon all the Wars and Invasions, as well as all the Negotiations and Treaties of Peace in Christendom, have since been raised: And next, that they are written by a Person, who had so great a share in all those Transactions and Negotiations

By residing in his Family, I know the Author has had frequent Instances from several great Persons, both at Home and Abroad, to publish some Memoirs of those Affairs and Transactions, which are the Subject of the following Papers; and particularly of the Treaties of the Triple Alliance, and those of Aix la Chapelle; but his usual Answer was, that whatever Memoirs he had written of those Times and Negotiations were burnt; however, that perhaps after his Death some Papers might come out, wherein there would be some Account of them; by which, as he has often told me, he meant these Letters

I had begun to fit them for the Press during the Author's Life, but never could prevail for Leave to publish them; tho' he was pleased to be at the Pains of reviewing, and to give me his Directions for digesting them into Order. It has since pleased God to take this great and good Person to himself; and he having done me the Honour to leave and recommend to me the Care of his Writings, I thought I could not at present do a greater Service to my Country, or to the Author's Memory, than by making these Papers publick.

By way of Introduction, I need only take notice, that after the Peace of the Pyrenees, and his Majesty's happy Restoration in 1660, there was a general Peace in Christendom (except only the Remainder of a War between Spain and Portugal) until the Year 1665, when that between England and Holland began, which produced a Treaty between his Majesty and the Bishop of Munster. And this commences the following Letters.



T H E
First Dutch War,
 Begun *May 1665.*

To Sir John Temple, Master of the Rolls of Ireland.

S I R,

Brussels, Sept. 6. 1665.



HOUGH I was forced by the King's Command, not only to leave you and my Family at very short Warning, and in a very melancholy Season, but without so much as telling you whither I was sent, yet I would not fail making you this Amends, by giving you an Account of my Journey and Negotiations thus far, so soon as I thought it might be fit for me to do it.

When my Lord *Arlington* sent for me to *Sheen*, it was to let me know that the King had received an Overture from the Bishop of *Munster* to enter into an Alliance with his Majesty against the *Dutch*, from whom he pretended many Injuries; to bring an Army into the Field, and fall upon them by Land, while his Majesty continued the War by Sea: But at the same time to demand certain Sums of Money, that would be necessary to bring him into the Field, and to continue the War: And that if his Majesty would either treat with the Baron of *Wreden*, (who was the Minister he sent over in the greatest Privacy that could be) or send a Minister of his own to treat with him; he doubted not an easy Agreement upon this Matter, but desired it might be with all the Secret imaginable. My Lord *Arlington* told me, the main Articles were already agreed on here, and the Money adjusted, but that it was necessary for the King to send over some Person privately to finish the Treaty at *Munster*, and to see the Payments made at *Antwerp*, where the Bishop seemed to desire them. That I must go (if I undertook it) without Train or Character, and pass for a *Frenchman* or a *Spaniard* in my Journey, and made me the Complement to say, he had been perplexed three or four Days together, to think of a Person that was not only capable of the Affair and of the Secret, but that was to be trusted with such a Sum of Money: But that when he had thought of me, and proposed me to the King and to my Lord Chancellor, they had both approved it, and I must suddenly resolve upon my Answer to the Proposal he made

made me: But whether I accepted it or no, I must keep it secret from my nearest Friends.

I told him upon the Place, I would serve his Majesty the best I could in it, tho' being a new Man, I could not promise much for my self; that there was only one Point I could by no means digest, which was the Business of the Money, having ever been averse from charging my self with any body's but my own. This made at first some Difficulty between us, but at last his Lordship was content to endeavour the engaging Alderman *Backwel* (who furnish'd it) to go over himself with it into *Flanders*, and there, by my Order, to make the Payment to the Bishop's Agent, and said, he believed at such a time of Infection in *London*, the Alderman might easily take an Occasion of such a Journey.

After my Instructions dispatch'd, I came away in haste, and with the Secret you saw; and without more than one Days stop at *Brussels*, went straight with the Baron of *Wreden* to *Coefvelt*, where the Bishop then was. I stay'd there but three Days, was brought to him only by Night, agreed all Points with him, perfected and signed the Treaty, and returned to *Antwerp*, where the Alderman performed his part, in making the first and great Payment to the Bishop's Resident there. All this has been performed on all Sides with so great Secrecy, that the Bishop has not only received his Money, but raised his Troops to about eighteen thousand Men, without the least Umbrage given, that I can yet hear of, to the *Dutch*; and by all the Assurances I receive from him, I conclude, that before this Letter comes to your Hands he will be in the Field; though some unexpected Disappointments about a General Officer he reckon'd upon, has a little discomposed the Measures he had taken, and may (I doubt) not a little maim the Progress of them: But that will be govern'd by Time and Accidents; my Business was to bring him into the Field, and I have had the Fortune to do it sooner than either they expected at Court, or the Bishop had promised upon our signing of the Treaty.

He is a Man of Wit, and, which is more, of Sense, of great Ambition, and properly, *Un Esprit remuant*: But the Vigour of his Body does not second that of his Mind, being, as I guess, about six or seven and fifty Years old, and pursued with the Gout, which he is not like to cure by his manner of Life. He was a Soldier in his Youth, and seems in his Naturals, rather made for the *Sword* than the *Cross*: He has a mortal Hatred to the *Dutch* for their supporting his City of *Munster* against him, and is bridling those Citizens by a very strong Citadel he is building there. He seems bold and resolute, and like to go through with what he has undertaken, or break his Head in the Attempt, and says he will perform all he has engaged, *Fide sincerâ & Germanicâ*, which is a Word he affects. He speaks the only good *Latin* that I have yet met with in *Germany*, and more like a Man of Court and Business than a Scholar: He says, if he fails in his Enterprize, and should lose his Country, he shall esteem his Condition not at all the worse; for in that Case he will go into *Italy*, and has Money enough in the Bank of *Venice* to buy a Cardinal's Cap, which may become him better than his General's Staff, though he has a mind to try this first, and make some Noise in the World before he retires.

This is the best Character I can give of the Bishop, and for my self, I can say nothing but what you know; finding no Change at all by this Sally into a new Scene of Life and Business, as well as Climate; my Health, I thank God, the same; my Kindness so too, to my Friends and to Home, only my Concernment for them in this miserable Time among them, much greater while I am here than when I was with them, which makes me very impatient after every Post that comes in, and yet very apprehensive of every Letter I open. The length of this I doubt is too much for once, and therefore shall end with the Assurances of my being,

S I R,

Your most Obedient Son

and humble Servant,

W. Temple.

To Alderman Backwell.

Mr. Alderman,

Brussels, October 9. 1665.

I AM very much in pain to find at Monsieur *Rhintorf's* Return, that he has made no Progress in his Affairs (which are ours too) during the Stay he has lately made at *Antwerp*. But I am very much surprized to hear that I should have had any part in this Delay, and that you should have told him, you had no Orders from me to pay him that Money. However, to take away all Scruple, if any can still remain, after our last Conference at *Brussels* upon this Subject, I do by these Presents order and appoint you, pursuant to those Powers that have been given me from the King, to pay or cause to be paid to Monsieur *Rhintorf*, or his Order, all such Sums of Money as you shall any ways be able to raise, either by the Sale of such Tin as is already arrived, or shall arrive at *Ostend* upon his Majesty's Account, with all the Diligence and Dispatch that is possible. Or in case you do not find any ready Sale for it, that you will at least pay him all such Sums as you shall be able to raise, by pawning or engaging it to the best Advantage you can; after this I need say no more, than to conjure you by all the Zeal you have for his Majesty's Service, and all the Friendship you have for me, to employ upon this Occasion your utmost Diligence and Credit; for the Conjuncture is grown so extremely pressing at this time, that I can never say enough to recommend this Service to your best Endeavours.

I am, S I R,

Your Servant.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Brussels, Oct. 13. S. N. 1665.

UPON Saturday last, about nine at Night, the Bishop's Agent here brought me a Desire from the * *Marquis* to come privately to him. We stay'd long together, and talk'd much. The Substance was, that he had last Post writ to the *Spanish* Ambassador to inform the King, that he heard the *French* were ready to march in Assistance of the *Hollander* against the Bishop of *Munster*, and had told the *Spanish* Ambassador in *France*, they should take all Delays here in leave of Passage for Denial: That he (the *Marquis*) was resolved upon Confidence of his Majesty's late Letter and Assistance to oppose them till he received Orders from *Spain*, and hopes his Majesty will not fail of protecting and defending him in this Resolution; He speaks with much Earnestness and Passion for concluding the League between *England* and *Spain*; and either a Peace or Truce between *Spain* and *Portugal*; in which he very much presses his Majesty's Interposition at this Time, because nothing else will take away the Dishonour on the *Spanish* side, but the Respect given to so great and powerful a King's Mediation. He assures me, he has given an absolute Denial to the *Hollanders* Demand of buying a great Quantity of Corn in these Countries, which now begins to be one, among their other great Wants: That the *French*, upon Jealousy of the *Swede*, sent very lately an *Envoy* into *Holland*, to join with them in pressing the *Dane* to put himself into a Posture of making a Diversion: That for Security of these Countries, six thousand *Spaniards* and *Italians* were in few Days expected here; these by Land, those by Sea: And that for raising *German* Troops, he had last Week sent five hundred thousand Guilders into *Germany*, from whence, if they needed, he could have twenty four thousand Men, so as he doubted not to defend these Countries, if *France* assaults him. The Bias of all this Discourse was to shew they had no great need of our Assistance, at the same time they press so much to be assured of it; and to represent the mutual Necessity of a Conjunction between

C

England

* Of Castel Rhodrigo, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands.

England and Spain, with all the Expressions of Affection to his Majesty's Person and Service, that a Courtier, or almost a Lover could use. Upon this last Subject I could not let him pass with the Discourse of the late King's Ruin, and his Majesty's Danger at Home for want of Friendship Abroad; nor could I leave that Point, because he had so often harped upon it, till I forced him to confess, at least by Silence, that his Majesty was as safe at Home at this time, as either *French* or *Spanish* King.

For the rest, finding him now much warmer than he used to seem in the Desires of the Bishop of *Munster*'s Success, or at least, Preservation; and finding from Alderman *Backwell* that he had yet been able to raise no more Money upon all our Tin at *Antwerp* for the second Payment, those paltry Merchants combining to ruin him in the Price of it, upon the Belief of his Necessity to sell: I would not omit that Occasion of desiring the *Marquis* to find some Person out that should take it all off our Hands with ready Money, which they might raise at their own Leisure, and, I believed, with much Gains; in which I assured him he would give his Majesty a great Testimony of his Affection to his Service, which was so much concerned in the Bishop of *Munster*'s Fortunes. He told me, he would consult about it next Morning; and upon Sunday Night sent one with a Dispatch of mine to Alderman *Backwell*, to know the whole Quantity, and lowest Price: So that I am now in great Hopes of seeing some good Issue of that Business, which I almost begun to despair of.

An Express from the Bishop of *Munster* came to me on Saturday last, protesting he could no longer subsist unless the Money came; and your Lordship may easily imagine how much Pain I am in upon that Occasion; especially hearing my self so often reproached for having drawn him to so desperate an Adventure, so much against his own Resolutions, which were, not to take the Field till the second Payment were received, and the third assured on this side: It would look like Vanity in me, to tell your Lordship more, of what I hear too much, of this kind; but I will say, that unless you take some speedy and effectual Resolution in this Particular, I shall look like the veriest Rogue in the World, and such, as it will not be much for his Majesty's Honour to employ. But after all I will tell your Lordship freely, that I think all my Trains had not taken Fire without a perfect Accident, which I had the good Fortune to improve so upon the sudden, as to make it the absolute Occasion of the Bishop's taking the Field when he did; which I shall some time or other, I hope, entertain you with, and will serve for a Moral to shew how small Shadows and Accidents sometimes give a Rise to great Actions among Mankind; for either such, or the Beginning of such, this bold March is like to prove. All I know of its Success you will find in these Letters; one from my Lord *Carlingford*, to whom I cannot send your Lordship's last, till I have farther Directions from him for my Address; the other being part of one from a Person in the *Holland* Camp belonging to the *Rhingrave*. Twenty Rumours more we have of his Successes, but I will not yet credit them: This much I will, that nothing can probably endanger him besides want of Money, and that I know him to be a Man too firm to be diverted from his Point, or slacken it without some such Maim; for he wants neither Prudence, Courage, nor Ambition. For the *Hollanders* they were certainly never worse at their Ease than now, being braved and beaten both at Sea and Land; flay'd with Taxes, distracted with Factions, and their last Resource, which is the Protection of *France*, poison'd with extreme Jealousies; yet that must be their Game, or else a perfect truckling Peace with *England*.

I am ever,

Your Lordship's most Faithful,

and most Humble Servant.

To the Duke of Ormond.

My Lord,

Brussels, Nov. 20. S. N. 1665.

I AM to acknowledge the Honour I received last, by one from your Grace of *October* the 25th, which gives me the Occasion to beg your Belief, that the frequent Troubles I give your Grace of this kind proceed from a most hearty and uninterested Duty, without the least Thoughts of making any unconscionable Advantage by such a Commerce, or at all expecting a Return of so great Value, as your Lordship's Letters to a Venture so small as mine. I confess I am extremely pleased with any Testimonies of your Grace's Remembrance and Favour to me, which I must esteem the *best*, and ever acknowledge for the *first* of my good Fortunes: Nor shall I ever be so much pleased with any lucky Hits that may happen to me in publick Employments from any other Respect, as from the Hopes of meeting some Occasion to express the Esteem and Resentment of Kindness shew'd me, when I was idle and unknown. But, I beseech your Grace, never to give your self the least Trouble, or lose time in writing to me upon the Score of common Civility, but to deal with me perfectly like one of your own; and write only when you have Commands to honour me, or Inclinations to oblige me; for the rest, one Word to my Father or Brother, may at any time give me the Knowledge that mine are received, which is all they pretend, and perhaps more than they deserve.

Since the Passage of the *French* Troops, which thought fit to touch no part of these Dominions, we hear little of them: Their Number fell something short of six thousand, their Horse were brave as they passed *Mastricht*; their Foot rascally, their Shoes upon their Shoulders, their Feet galled, and their Gallantry spent in giving the *Dutch* a thousand times to the Devil for their kind Invitation: They paid nothing as they pass'd, or false Money; took the best Treatment the *Dutch* could make them with Scorn and Insolence, and drank his Majesty's and the Prince of *Munster*'s Health openly in the Market-Place at *Mastricht*; a Strain I suppose of their Extravagance, rather than good Meaning. So I leave them, as they do their Colours when they can, and return this way by Couples and Leafes good store. By the last from the Prince of *Munster* of the 12th instant, we had Assurance that his Bridge over the Marsh was perfected, his Army joined, and that Colonel or Baron *d'Ossory* (who is made a Sergeant Major de *Bataglia*) had with a Squadron of Horse killed nine hundred of the *Dutch* in a late Encounter near *Groning*: Besides this, and the *French* Envoys, Monsieur *Lessyn* having been dismiss'd with general Terms, I had nothing but desperate melancholy Complaints of his Disappointments from his Friends, which I will not trouble Your Grace with at this Distance.

I had my first formal Audience last Night from the *Marquis*, and was received with the greatest Expressions of Zeal and Devotion to the King my Master's Person and Service; of the Resentment of the Honour done him by this Resolution of a Resident here, and wonderful Complement to the personal Choice; as I believe your Grace knows, good Words of all sorts cost no Man less than his Excellency: But I am very confident his Inclinations to *us*, his Aversions to *France*, his Desires of Truce with *Portugal*, and strict League with *England*, are all very hearty.

I am ever,

Your Grace's most Obedient,

and most Humble Servant.

To the Baron Wreden.

Au Baron Wreden.

S I R,

Brussels, Dec.
10. 1665.

I Received yours, and am glad of your Arrival at Court, where I never doubted the good Reception so honest a Gentleman would find, who came from so brave a Prince. I am sorry for your bad Wine and Lodging at Oxford; for as to the former I know it is a sort of Plague you are more afraid of than that at London, where in a little time I hope you will have no occasion to complain either of one or t'other: In the mean while take my Word for the matter, 'tis but half a dozen Glasses more, and good or bad comes all to the same thing. As for your Lodging, in troth I believe the Crowd is so great at present in every House, that you will hardly find an Opportunity of making Love to your Landlady: But, Sir, you must have a little Patience, and not think of succeeding in all Amours at the rate you did with *Mademoiselle Isabella*; besides, if you remember, it cost you dear enough then, by the Fright you were in of losing your great Diamond. Love, like other Things, is good for nothing when one makes too much haste in it; and our *English Ladies* don't care that Men should be over violent in beginning this Game, for fear they should be so in concluding it.

Well, I am heartily sorry I can give you no good Recommendations where you are, because I am sure you would be so just and generous, to pay me by a Bill of Exchange on your little Mistress here. But now I talk of a Mistress, you must know *Monsieur le Chevalier* has order'd his Affairs here worse than at *Paris*: For I believe seriously he pass'd through this Place without so much as paying one Visit to his; and that is the Reason why he carried so much Money to *Munster*, and rode Post with greater Vigour than ever he did from hence to *France*.

And is not this now a very fine Letter for two grave Ministers of State?

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But

Monsieur,

A Bruxelles, le 10
Dec. N.S. 1665.

J'AY reçu là votre, & je me rejouis de votre arrivée à la Cour; je n'ay jamais douté qu'un aussi honnête homme que vous, & qui a l'honneur d'être envoyé par un Prince aussi distingué, n'y trouvât toute sorte de bon accueil; Je prens part au mauvais giste d'Oxford, & au méchant Vin que vous y avez bu. A l'égard de ce dernier, je sçay que c'est une sorte de peste que vous craignez plus que celle de Londres; & au reste, j'espère qu'avant qu'il soit peu, vous n'aurez plus sujet de vous y plaindre ni de l'un ni de l'autre. En attendant, croyez moy, il ne faut que six verres de vin de plus, il n'importe qu'il soit bon ou mauvais, & tout reviendra à la même chose. Pour le logement, je m'imagine que la foule est si grande à cette heure dans toutes les maisons, que vous ne trouvez pas les moyens de faire commodément l'amour à la fille du logis; Mais, Monsieur, il faut avoir un peu de patience, & ne croire pas réussir toujours avec autant de bonheur & de rapidité que vous fîtes avec *Mademoiselle Isabella*: Encore, devez vous vous souvenir, qu'il vous en couta alors assez cher par l'extreme peur que vous eûtes, quand vous vous appercûtes du danger que couroit le gros diamant. L'amour aussi bien que toutes les autres choses, ne vaut plus rien dès qu'on le traite trop à la hâte; & nos filles ne veulent point qu'on soit si précipité à commencer cette sorte de jeu, de peur que la fin ne ressemble trop au commencement.

Je suis, ma foy, très marri de ne pouvoir vous adresser sûrement dans la ville ou vous êtes; car de l'humeur dont je vous connois, je sçay que vous seriez assez genereux, & assez equitable, pour me rembourser par un lettre d'échange sur votre petite maitresse Brabançonne. Mais à propos de maitresse, Monsieur le Chevalier a plus mal fait ses affaires icy qu'à Paris; car je croy tout de bon qu'il a passé par icy sans voir seulement la sienne; mais c'est par là aussi qu'il a porté tant d'argent à *Munster*, & qu'il a couru la poste plus courageusement qu'il n'a fait d'icy en *France*.

Voici, ma foy, une belle lettre pour deux sages Ministres; tout de bon il faut

un

But come, we must talk a little of Business, if it be only for the good Grace of the Matter: And yet I am confident, if Sir *Bealing* would entertain you at this rate but once a Month, and unbend himself a little from his serious way, you would reckon him as your only Friend, and think no more of me.

Well; but have you heard what the *Dutch* Resident tells us, that the Prince of *Munster* has taken *Reyde*, a small Sea Port, where his Friends may come and give him a Visit. The News from *Antwerp* say farther, that he has got the Fort of *Bourtang*; but they add, how the Bishop of *Osnabrug* is resolv'd to let the World see, that a *Lutheran* Prelate is as good as a *Catholic*; and to that end, is resolv'd at the Head of some *Lunenbourg* Troops to go knock Mitres with your Master: All in good time. And as for Heads, I do not doubt the Prince of *Munster's* is much the stronger of the two; but for the Mitres I can say nothing. I am told besides, that your Chapter of *Munster* has somewhat embroiled your Master's Affairs; if this be so, there are more *Diabls de Canons* beside your self. But I believe the Matter is not much; for if it were, I know the Prince would quickly make Monsieur d'*Herbe* and Monsieur *Majette*, a couple of Canons, in Exchange for some of those Blockheads: And for *Grand Dean*, I think the Governor of *Pleuren* with the great Belly would make a good Figure enough. *Who knows* but such Revolutions may happen? For, to speak in your own Words, *The World is as round as a*—— For my own part, I had rather be one of your Master's *Priests* than his *Soldiers*; for they say here, that he rises at four a Clock, gives them [his *Soldiers*] his Benediction, and then sends them to the *D-over Bogs* and *Marshes*, where no secular Captain durst ever pass.

Farewel, Sir; and when you intend to warm your self with Sack, pray remember to order your Servants instead of removing your Sword to remove your Purse, and prevent you from doing (according to your Custom) more Good than you design, as they prevent others from doing Mischief. For it is a Custom in *England*, that whatever a Man gives away over Night, he

hears

un peu parler d'affaires, ne fût-ce que pour sauver les apparences: Mais, avouez la verité, si le Chevalier *Bealing* vous entretenoit seulement une fois le mois, comme je viens de faire, & qu'en votre faveur il relachât un peu de ce grand sérieux, n'est il pas vray, qu'il n'y auroit plus que luy qui fût de vos amis, & que je perdrois la place que j'occupe dans votre souvenir.

Savez vous bien que le Resident d'*Hollande* avoue que le Prince de *Munster* a pris *Reyde*, un petit port de mer, ou il peut être visité de ses amis; & que les avis d'*Anvers* nous disent, qu'il est venu à bout du fort de *Bourtang*. Mais on dit aussi que l'Evêque d'*Osnabrug* est fort piqué de la pensée qu'on peut avoir qu'un Evêque *Lutherien* ne vaut pas un Evêque *Catholique*; & qu'il est tout resolu de s'avancer à la tête de quelques troupes de *Lunebourg*, & d'aller heurter sa Mitre contre celle de votre Maître: A la bonne heure; car je ne doute pas que Monsieur le Prince n'ait la tête plus forte & plus dure; à l'égard des Mitres je n'en say rien. On m'a dit aussi, que votre Chapitre de *Munster* va un peu brouiller les affaires de votre Maître; si cela est, voilà may foy des *Diabls de Canons*, aussi bien que vous. Mais je croy qu'il n'en est rien; car si cela étoit, le Prince ne manqueroit pas de faire bientôt deux Chanoines de Messieurs d'*Herbe* & de *Majette*, & de les echanger pour quelqu'un de ces etourdis: le Gouverneur de *Pleuren* ne manqueroit de pretence, si le titre de grand Doyen étoit enté sur son gros ventre. On ne sait point si de pareils changemens ne pourroient pas bien arriver; car (selon votre phrase Allemande) *Roond is de Werld as een*—— Pour moy, j'aimerois mieux être de ses Prêtres que de ses Soldats; car on dit icy qu'il leur donne sa Benediction, & les envoie au diable, je veux dire, a travers de *Marais impraticables*, d'où jamais Capitaine seculier n'auroit osé approcher.

Adieu Monsieur, & souvenez vous bien en vous echauffant des fumées du vin des *Canaries*, qu'on prend souvent la precaution d'oter de devant un homme qui a bu, son épée, de peur qu'il ne fasse le *Mechant*; mais que vos amis en doivent prendre une opposée, qui est de vous oter votre argent, de peur que ne fassiez trop le genereux; car en *Angleterre*, ce qu'on donne le soir, ne se retrouve plus le ma-

D

tin

hears no more of it next Morning.
At all Hours of both I ana,

*tin: Quant à moy, & le soir & le ma-
tin vous me trouverez toujours,*

S I R,

*Your most Affectio-
nate Servant.*

Monfieur,

Votre tres affecti-
onné Serviteur.

*To the Marquis of Castel Ro-
drigo.*

*Au Marquis de Castel Ro-
drigo.*

*Brussels, Dec. 12.
S. N. 1665.*

My Lord,

THE News of your Excellency's Indisposition has very sensibly afflicted me; but God Almighty will, I doubt not, quickly restore your Health, which is of too great Importance to *Christendom*, to sink under common Accidents.

I desire your Pardon for the Liberty I take to let you know, how Monsieur *Rhintorf* complains exceedingly, that he finds yet no Advance in the Affair you were pleased to undertake for his Master's sake, and indeed for that of the King my Master too. I desire your Excellency once more to give your Hand to it; and that if those Merchants will not buy the Tin, you will give order at least to have it engaged for three parts of its Value, so as some present Remedy may be found to the Bishop's Necessities, wherewith (by means of this Delay) he is now press'd to the last Extremities.

I take more part in this Affair, having already writ to the King my Master, that you had wholly finish'd it in Affection to his Service, for which I do not doubt but you will receive his Majesty's Thanks by the first Courier; so that I shall be in the greatest Confusion imaginable if the Business fails, and his Majesty cannot chuse but think me very impertinent.

By my last Dispatch from Court of the 18th instant, I am informed that the *Spanish* Ambassador did that Evening privately deliver his new Credentials to the King, to whom and his Ministers he still continued to be very acceptable; and that upon Arrival of these Credentials they began to enter

*Brussels, Dec. 12.
S. N. 1665.*

Monfieur,

LA Nouvelle de l'indisposition que vôtre Excellence a ressentie depuis quelque jours, m'a sensiblement touché; mais je ne doute point, que Dieu ne retablisse bien-tôt une santé qui est trop nécessaire à la Chrétienté pour succomber sous des accidens vulgaires.

Je vous demande pardon de la liberté que je prens de vous avertir que Monsieur *Rhintorf* se plaint extremement de ce qu'il ne trouve encore rien de fait dans l'affaire qu'il vous a plu de prendre à coeur en faveur de son Maître; ainsi que sur la recommandation du Roy mon Maître: Je supplie V. E. d'y mettre encore une fois la main, & de donner ordre que si on a resolu de ne point accepter cette Marchandise, du moins on la prenne en gage pour les trois quarts de sa valeur; à fin de remedier sur le champ aux necessitez dont Monsieur l'Evêque se trouve pressé, qui peut être sont rendues extremes par ce retardement.

Je me trouve d'autant plus intéressé dans cette affaire, qu'ayant déjà mandé au Roy mon Maître que vous l'aviez tout-a-fait finie dans la vue de rendre service à sa Majesté, ce qui vous sera sans doute marqué avec remerciement de sa part par le premier Courier; je serois l'homme du monde le plus confus, & le plus impertinent aux yeux du Roy mon Maître, si cette affaire venoit à manquer.

Par la dernière lettre que j'ay receue de la Cour dattée du 18. du courant, j'ay été averti que Monsieur l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne avoit le soir de ce jour là présenté au Roy ses nouvelles lettres de creance & que sa personne étoit toujours fort agreable, à lui & à ses Ministres: qu'au reste, sur l'arrivée de ces nouvelles lettres de

in good earnest upon adjusting our common Interests.

By a Letter of the 15th instant from the Prince of *Munster*, I am inform'd of the great and happy Progress of his Arms; but on t'other side, that the *Hollanders* used their last Endeavours to raise against him all the Protestant Princes of the *Empire*, under Pretext that Religion has part in the Quarrel, as well as the Interest of the House of *Austria*: And on both these Accounts, as well as from your own Generosity, your Excellency is engaged not to disappoint him in this little Occasion: Not to alledge the Moral, which tells us, That, *whatever Good we can do without Damage to our selves, we are obliged to do, even to a Stranger.*

Upon an Answer from your Excellency, I am ready to dispatch an Express to *Antwerp*, and shall remain,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's most Humble
and Obedient Servant.

de creance on alloit commencer de fort bon coeur à ajuster nos interets communs.

Par une lettre du Prince de *Munster* du 15. du courant, j'ay été averti de ses grands & heureux progres; mais que d'un autre coté, les *Hollandois* faisoient tous leurs efforts pour soulever contre luy tous les Princcs Protestans de l'*Empire*; sous le pretexte que la Religion & la Maison d'*Autriche* y estoient interessées. C'est par là aussi bien que par v'otre generosité que vous êtes engagé à ne luy pas manquer en cette petite occasion, pour n'alleguer pas la Morale qui nous dit, Quicquid sine detrimento facere potes, vel ignoto faciendum.

Sur la Responce de V. E. je suis tout prêt à depecher un exprez à *Anvers*; & bien resolu d'être toujours,

De V. E.

Le tres humble & tres
obeissant Serviteur.

To Sir William Coventry.

S I R,

Brussels, Dec. 15. S. N. 1665.

I AM to acknowledge both the Honour and Obligation I received by yours of *November* the 9th, the last of which seems so great in that Light you give it, and by those Circumstances I now see attend it, that had it come from any other Hands, I should have wished a thousand times never to have received it: For there are very few I desire much to be obliged to, having always thought that a sort of Debt which ought as duly to be paid as that of Money, with more Interest, and much greater Difficulty of casting up. But knowing that all generous Persons are apt to favour and esteem their own, rather such whom they oblige, than such as serve them: I am extremely glad to have my Name enter into the Knowledge of his *Royal Highness*, by his Bounty and Favour in the Grant of those Passports, rather than any other way I could have taken; and beg of you, that with my humble Thanks, his *Royal Highness* may know I enter into his Service with this Advance of Wages, which it shall be always my Endeavour, as it is my Duty, to deserve. I owe and should say a great deal to your self upon this Occasion, but that with my Thanks for the Thing it self, I am to join my Complaints for the manner of it: I mean that you should trouble your self to reason me out of any Custom or Action you would have me leave off, or say any thing upon such a Subject, besides, that you wish it had been otherwise; which I desire you to believe, shall in far greater Matters be from your Hand Persuasion and Command enough to me. My Presumptions may be great with my Friends, but they are the easiest check'd of any Man's alive; which is all I shall say upon this Occasion as to the future: and for the past, I will only assure you that I should not in the least have offer'd at what I did, had it not been at the earnest Instance of the Prince of *Munster's* Resident here: And I am to make it my Business abroad, to enter as far as I can into the Secrets, and for that end, into the Affections of such

such Ministers as I have to deal with : And as some Men are to be gained directly by their *Heart*, so are others by their *Hands*. But another Fault were easier to be born than a long Excuse ; I will not add to it by our News, since of all I write I am sure you know as much as you please ; only in general, our Bishop loses not Courage nor Strength upon all the great Preparations of Enemies, or Disappointment of Friends. The *Dutch* seem to be plagued by their own God, and to grow unhappy in their own Element, the Sea having done them in the last Storms most extravagant Harms : Some Letters from *Amsterdam* say to the Value of thirty, and others, of sixty Millions : Their Case may grow harder yet, if the Frosts do so from the *Munster* Side. Our Court here is passionate towards the League between the two Crowns ; as I am in the Desires of growing in your Friendship and Favour, and deserving it by any Testimonies I can give of my being,

S I R,

Your most Faithful,

Humble Servant.

To Dame Augustina Cary.

MADAM,

Brussels, Feb. 16. S. N. 1666.

I Know not whether the Shame of having been so long in your Debt, be greater than that of paying it so ill at last ; but I am sure 'tis much harder to be excused, and therefore shall not attempt it, but leave it to Father *Placid's* Oratory ; though having failed in the *substantial* Part of your Business, I have little Reason to hope he will succeed better in the *ceremonial* Part of mine. The Truth is, there is so great a Difference in common Sound between, *It is done*, and, *It will be done*, that I was unwilling to acknowledge the Honour of having received your Ladyship's Commands, before I had compassed that of obeying them ; which the *Marquis* here hath so often assured me would suddenly fall to my Share, that I thought we had both equal Reason, *his Excellency* to do it, and I to believe it. This Right I must yet do him, that I never press'd him in this Concern of your Ladyship's, but he told me, all my Arguments were needless, for the Thing should be done ; and how to force a Man that yields, I never understood ; but yet I much doubt, that till the Result be given upon the Gross of this Affair, which is and has been some time under view, your Part in particular will hardly be thought ripe, for either his Justice, or Favour, which will be rather the Style it must run in, if it be a Desire of Exemption from a general Rule given in the Case. Whatever Person (after the *Father's* Return) shall be appointed to observe the Course of this Affair, and pursue the Lady's Pretensions here, will be sure of all the Assistance I can at any time give him ; though I think it would prove a more publick Service to find some way of dissolving your Society, and by that means dispersing so much Worth about the World, than by preserving you together, confine it to a Corner, and suffer it to shine so much less, and go out so much sooner, than otherwise it would. The ill Effects of your Retreat appear too much in the ill Success of your Business ; for I cannot think any thing could fail that your Ladyship would solicit ; but, I presume, nothing in this lower Scene is worthy either that, or so much as your *Desire* or *Care*, which are Words that enter not *your* Grates, to disturb that perfect Quiet and Indifferency, which I will believe inhabit there, and by your Happiness decide the long Dispute, whether the greater lies in wanting nothing, or possessing much.

I cannot but tell you it was unkindly done to refresh the Memory of your Brother *Da. Cary's* Loss, which was not a more general one to Mankind, than it was particular to me : But if I can succeed in your Ladyship's Service, as well as I had the Honour once to do in his Friendship, I shall think I have lived to good Purpose here, and for hereafter shall leave it to Almighty God, with a

Submis-

Submission as abandon'd, as you can exercise in the low common Concernments of this worthless Life, which I can hardly imagine was intended us for so great a Misery as it is here commonly made, or to betray so large a part of the World to so much greater hereafter, as is commonly believed. However, I am obliged to your Ladyship for your Prayers, which I am sure are well intended me, and shall return you mine. That no ill Thoughts of my *Faith* may possess your Ladyship with an ill one of my *Works* too, which I am sure cannot fail of being very *meritorious*, if ever I reach the Intentions I have, of expressing my self upon all Occasions,

M A D A M,

Your Ladyship's most Humble

and most Obedient Servant.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Brussels, Mar. 1. N.S. 1666.

I Need say nothing to bring your Lordship acquainted with Mr. *Sherwood's* Person or Errand; yet because all Men take themselves to measure best their own Business, I would not disappoint his Desires of this Address; tho' to add any thing to what I write upon all Occasions of the Prince of *Munster's* Condition, Necessities or Complaints, were, as I take it, just so much of nothing to the Purpose. All I will say is, that whatever his Majesty resolves to do, ought to be sudden, and in a Lump, to provide for his taking the Field this Spring, with Heart and Strength, which I believe a Sum within the compass of a hundred of his Majesty's Subjects would enable him to do: Nothing will ever hinder me, to give your Lordship those Testimonies I desire, of the most hearty constant Passion, wherewith I shall ever be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's, &c.

To the Duke of Albemarle.

My Lord,

Brussels, Mar. 1. S.N. 1666.

UPON Mr. *Sherwood's* Passage this way into *England* from the Bishop of *Munster*, I could not refuse him the Occasion of waiting upon your Grace, who so well knows how far his Majesty's Honour and Interests may be concerned in the Success of his Errand.

Though that Prince's Necessities may be grown great, as well as his Complaints and the Arrears of his Payments, yet I am confident five and twenty or thirty thousand Pounds in a lump, and sudden, would bring him strong and vigorous into the Field this Spring, which would prove a cheap Advantage to his Majesty's Arms, and perhaps the greatest in Sight, next to your Grace's commanding this Summer's Fleet; from which we all here certainly reckon upon a Success, suitable to the rest of your Fortunes and Glories, which I hope to see compleated upon the *French* Fleets. Mine will be great, if your Grace pleases to esteem me as you will ever have Reason to do,

My Lord,

Your Grace's most Faithful

Humble Servant.

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To

To my Lord Carlingford.

My Lord,

Brussels, Mar. 6. N. S. 1666.

I Have this Exception to your Service, that my Faults are taken notice of, and not my Diligence: For in your Lordship's of the 21st past, I find not the least Mention of any Letters received from me, tho' I am confident by other Circumstances, some of them must have been come to your Hands. I fear your News at *Vienna* is not so good nor true as your Wine; and by the abundance of Reports with shallow Grounds, I doubt your Court is rather inclined to *bear* News than to *make* it. That *Brandenburg* is our Enemy, at least for four Months, is too certain: That *Sweden* is a Friend to *Munster*, we may guess rather from Causes, than any Effects that I know of: And since neither the *Emperor* nor *Spain* will contribute any thing towards the *Bishop's* Assistance, nor so much as the staying off Enemies, that by *Dutch* and *French* are raising up against him in the Empire it self, I know no Remedy. But yet in spite of all Force and Artifice to disarm him, I expect for my part to see him rather besieged in *Cosvelt* or *Munster*, than make a Peace without our Master's Consent, as is hoped by our Enemies, and perhaps wished by some of our Friends, for fear the Continuance of his Musick should make them dance before they have a mind to it. But I believe all their Coldness and Shrinking will hardly defend them, and may help them rather to lose their Friends, than gain their Enemies: For we have certain News that the *French* have made a *Place d'Armes* between *la Fere* and *Peronne*, where that King is coming down to the *Rendezvous* of fifteen thousand Men: And the *Hollanders* on the other side are so incurably possess'd with an Opinion of some wonderful deep important League between us and *Spain*, that they are upon the very brink of resolving a War too, and concluding a League offensive, as well as defensive, with *France*; at least if the Ascendant of this Year be favourable to *De Witt's* Party as that of the last was, which begins to be a little doubted of late. I will not send your Lordship any *English* Letters, nor our Declaration of War against the *French*, in Confidence it goes along with your Pacquet; by which you will see his Majesty hath been as generous and civil, as the *French* King was rough in his, to call it no worse: But he hath begun the War with so much Heat, that I am apt to believe he will come to be cool before it ends.

I shall ill deserve your Lordship's Leave of writing often, if I do it so long, and so little to the Purpose together. After I have told you my Lord *Ossory* is come over into *England*, and that my Lord *Arlington* is for certain (as they say both in *England* and here) to marry the Lady *Æmilia*, my Lady of *Ossory's* Sister, I will give your Lordship the good Night, almost as late as I imagine you use to go to Bed, and only tell you that I am at all Hours,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most

Humble Servant.

To Sir Philip Warwick.

S I R,

Brussels, Mar. 12. N. S. 1666.

THO' it be more easy and more usual to beg Favours than to acknowledge them, yet I find you are resolved to force me upon the last, without ever giving me Time or Occasion for the other. How much I am obliged to you in my last Dispatch, I am told enough by Mr. *Godolphin*, but more by my own Heart, which will never suffer me to believe, that a Person to whom I have been so long, and am so much a Servant, should be any other than kind to me;

me; for that is my way of judging my absent Friends, and serves, like a Watch in my Pocket, to measure the Time, tho' I see no Sun. The very Name of Time puts me in mind, that yours is not to be spent idly; and that you are more pleased to oblige your Friends, than to receive their Thanks: And therefore I will only say, that mine are very sensible and very hearty, and that no Man is with more Reason, and with more Sincereness than I am,

S I R,

Your affectionate Humble Servant.

To the Bishop of Munster.

Episcopo Monasterii.

Brussels, Mar. 19.

Bruxellis, Mar. 19.

S I R,

N. S. 1666.

Celsissime Domine,

N. S. 1666.

YOUR Highness's Letter of the 9th instant came in due time to my Hands, by which I plainly find with how much Faith and Constancy, as well as Wisdom and Courage, your Highness intends to order your Affairs. My utmost Endeavours shall not be wanting for the advancing of them, as well as for encreasing and cultivating the Confidence his Majesty hath in your Highness, (on which the common League chiefly relies) especially at this time, when so many ill designing Men use all Endeavours to shake or destroy it, wherein it is hard to tell whether their Folly or Malice be greater.

I hear every Day in this City, that your Highness has made Peace with the *Hollanders*, without any regard to us or our League, or so much as consulting his Majesty upon it: And I pretend to believe what I am told, tho' I am inwardly assured to the contrary. As for Whispers and Rumours, it is not my Custom either to amuse others or perplex my self with them. I confess I was somewhat moved with a Letter from the Duke of *Brunswick* to a Man of Understanding in this City, which I lately saw and read; wherein he seems to feed himself and his Friend with Hopes of a speedy Peace in all those Parts of Germany, and assures him from his certain Knowledge that the Prince of *Munster* will accept it, in case it be offer'd to him without the greatest Ignominy and Loss; wherein he says, the neighbour Princes use all Means to engage him.

I am sorry to find the Marquis of *Castel Rodrigo* of the same Opinion; be-

R Ecce & tempestivè admodum mihi redditæ sunt literæ Celsitudinis vestræ, 9^o Martii datæ; è quibus planè perspexi quàm inconcussâ fide, & quàm decorâ constantiâ C.V. res suas semper ornatura sit, dum easdem eximiâ prudentiâ & animo molitur interea & gubernat. Mihi certè nihil erit unquam antiquius isto officio, quod semper præstiti & præstiturus sum tam in illis omni modo promovendis, quam in formandâ, & si opus fuerit erigendâ sacræ suæ Regiæ Majestatis fiduciâ, quâ præcipuè niti videtur communis fœderis vinculum & robur, hoc præsertim tempore cum multi & vafri & ventosi homines illam pedibus eant labefactatum, majore levitate nescio, an malitiâ.

In hac urbe pacem jam ratam iri inter C.V^m. & *Hollandos*, posthabitis omnino rationibus & fœderis & nostris, nedum consultâ voluntate, ego utrisque auribus quotidie accipio; credulitatem simul, toto autem pectore inficias eo. Rumoribus certè & susurris nec mihi alios pascere assuetum, nec meipsum excruciare; commotum me paulò fateor literis Ducis *Brunswicensis* viro sagaci in hac urbe transmissis, quas ipse nuperrimè vidi, legique diligentius, in quibus & sese & amicum multâ spe lactare videtur pacis in universis istis Germaniæ partibus breviter restituendæ; sibi pro comperto constare asserit, Principem *Monasterii* eam libentissimè accepturum, modò sine summâ ignominiâ & damno eam oblatam iri contingat; in quo vicinos ait Principes oleum & operam summo jam studio impendere.

Marchionem de Castel Rodrigo eandem imbibisse planè opinionem & sentio & doleo:

cause I know the Event must be dishonourable to your Highness, and will be imputed to the King my Master perhaps as Imprudence, at least as ill Fortune. Nor do I think the *Spaniards* at this time of day so generous as to promote the League (which we hope to see confirmed by my Lord *Sandwich's* Embassy into *Spain*) if they once imagine, tho' but falsely, that his Majesty, among such potent Enemies, is forsaken by his nearest Confederates.

On the contrary, I am entirely persuaded, as well from your Highness's last Letter, as from your Virtue and good Sense, that you have too great a Regard for your Faith and Honour, to darken the Lustre of so fair a Life, by so foul a Stain. This I do not fail continually to inform both his Majesty and his Ministers: nor do I doubt, but if Fortune shall be wanting to the Justice of your Arms, so far as that your Highness shall be in Danger of being brought to the last Extremities, you will at least have that Regard to so sacred a League, and to the Honour of so great a King, as to give his Majesty timely Notice; declare the invincible Necessities you lay under, and desire Permission to enter upon new Councils.

As for us, I am sure your Highness is sufficiently convinced of his Majesty's Care in performing his Part, and how happily he has overcome the greatest Difficulties and Straits, wherein by occasion of the late Pestilence his Revenues have been involved. About ten Days ago I gave Monsieur *Rhintorf* Letters of Exchange for 77000 Dollars: He is a diligent Person, a Friend to the common League, and of equal Probity and Industry. I have given him also other Letters, wherein a very rich Merchant of *Amsterdam* has undertaken to transmit 30000 Dollars more to me with all convenient speed. I have also Orders from his Majesty to advance Money for your Highness upon a great Quantity of Tin lately recover'd from Shipwreck at *Ostend*: And his Majesty has farther given me in Charge to let your Highness know, that whatever remains should be paid without fail.

leo: quippe ejusmodi eventum & C.V. vitio verti necesse est, & Regi Domino meo, imprudentiæ forsan, aut saltem infelicitati. Nec Hispanos usque adeo jam temporis generosos æstimo, ut provehendo fœderi (quod jam arctius astrictum iri speramus nuperrimâ Comitissæ de Sandwich in Hispaniam Legatione) fortius impellant remos, si Regem Dominum meum inter tantos hostes ab intimo fœderato desertum iri, sibi vel falsò persuaserint.

Ego interea tam ex postremis literis, quàm ex ingenti C. V. indole & genio, moribus etiam & studiis, mihi è contra procul omni alèa persuasum habeo, eam virtuti, fidei & gloriæ nimis fœliciter litasse, quàm ut tot decora tam insignis vitæ tantâ labe infuscari ullo modo patiantur. Hoc sacræ suæ Regiæ Majestati, hoc Ministris regiis inculcare non desino; nec ullus dubito, si tam justis armis Fortuna in tantum defuerit, ut inter tot hostes C. V. in extremis se laboraturam præsentiat; quin hoc saltem tanto fœderi, hoc tanti Regis nomini & auspiciis tribuendum judicet, ut sacram suam Majestatem non inconsultam velit, necessitates insuperabiles exponat, veniamque demum impetret novis & alienis consiliis ineundis.

Quod ad partes nostras attinet, satis confido C. V. abunde exploratum habere quanto studio & opere sacra sua Regia Majestas explendis ad amussim singulis invigilaverit, quantâque demum fœlicitate angustias & difficultates summas eluctata sit, quibus per nuperam contagionem res suas præcipuè pecuniarias involutas sensit. Ego jam infra decem elapsos dies literas Cambii usque ad septuaginta septem Thalerorum millia valituras, Domino de Rhintorf ritè tradidi, viro certo impigro, animique erga res communis fœderis propensissimi, nec minoris ut mihi videtur probitatis quàm industriæ. Eidem alias impertii literas, per quas mercator admodum opulentus Amstelodami in se provinciam recepit, triginta adhuc Thalerorum millia mihi quamprimum transmittendi. Eodem tempore & magnam stanni molem Ostendæ nuper ex naufragio revulsam, augendis C. V. rationibus impendere, inter regia jussa habeo; præcipuumque à sacrâ suâ Regiâ Majestate mandatum, ut C. V. persuasam penitus & securam velim, quod reliqui est sine ullâ ambage solutum iri.

All this Matter was finish'd before Mr. *Sherwood's* Departure for *England*, whom I have however instructed with the best Counsel I could, as well as with Letters of Recommendation to the chief Ministers; tho' I am certain his Majesty's Justice and Truth will be more prevalent in this Matter than the most importunate Sollicitations or Complaints.

In the mean while I shall use my utmost Care and Diligence for the Service of your Highness, and it will be your part not to be wanting either to his Majesty, or your own Honour and Safety, which are all concerned in this Conjunction. I also beg your Highness not to be discouraged by your Enemies, not to distrust your old Friends, nor despair of raising new ones.

Time for the better changes many things.

In the mean time I wish your Highness Health and Victory, and desire you will ever esteem me,

S I R,

Your Highness's most Obedient Humble Servant.

Hæc omnia excussa & absoluta fuisse advertendum est ante appulsum Domini Sherwood, quem tamen in transitu saluberrimis quibus fas erat consiliis, & commendatoriis apud summos Regios Ministros literis munitum volui; etiam si pro comperto habeam, Regis Domini mei iustitiam insignem & fidem inviolatam plus querimoniis omnibus vel precibus maxime importunis in hac re valituras

Ego interea curâ, opere, studio, & diligentia, nec desum nec defuturus sum; Celsitudini autem vestræ curæ erit ne sacræ suæ Regiæ Majestati, ne sibi met ipsi defuerit, ne propriæ denique gloriæ nec salutis, quas in hoc cardine rerum verti satis perspectum habere necesse est. Nec inter insurgentes hostes despondeat oro, nec veteribus amicis ad minimum diffidat, nec desperet de novis excitandis.

*Multa Dies variusque labor mutabilis ævi
Detulit in melius.*

Valeat interea C. V. & vincendo pergat; inter autem addictissimos ejusque rerum studiosissimos de jure semper æstimet,

C. V.

Observantissimum

To Mr. * Godolphin.

S I R,

Brussels, Apr. 1. N. S. 1666.

AMONG my few Debts, I could not have imagined my self likely to have any in *Spain*, till my late Intelligence from *England* and Observation of the Winds persuaded me to it, as my good Conscience does to endeavour at the Satisfaction of them before it be called for. After I have welcomed you into the Climate with the same Chear and Kindness the Sun I know will do, you must receive my Acknowledgment of two Letters I had from you before you left *English* Ground, but withal, some Reproach that you could mingle the Expressions of your Kindness with that idle Business of Accompts, in which you are too just, as those you had to deal with for my † Patent Fees, were I † think too merciful, at least much more so than I expected. Your Letter from *Sheen* was more obliging, in making me believe you met any thing in that Corner you could be entertained or pleased with; but if it were so, I fear you had your Revenge: For my Wife tells me to my Face, in her Letter upon that Occasion, that she shall love you whilst she lives for the Kindness of that Visit. What Effect this might have upon an absent Man in *Spanish* Air, I know not; but from this more temperate Climate I will assure you, that I am content to share with you the Kindness of my best Friends, which is all the Quarrel I will raise at this Distance, upon this Occasion.

The last Courier from *Spain* renew'd our Mourning at this Court for the News of Sir * Sir. R. F. and Sir K. S's Arrival at *Madrid* without Success in the * Sir R. Portugal Truce; which being the Hinge of all Affairs at this time in *Christendom*,
F
* After-wards Sir William Godolphin.
† For Bâtonnet.* Sir Richard Fantbarr.

dom, is (I hope) reserved for your more happy and more dexterous Management. I find it agreed from *France* with other Parts, that nothing will have good Issue in *Portugal* without the Style of *King*; and methinks the *Spaniards* Height should rather aim at giving him *King* without *Kingdom*, than amuse about *Kingdom* without *King*. The best Swords, and Guns, and Treasures, will have ever the Power of reviving those Controversies: In the mean time, pray endeavour to make them sensible, that the Possession of *Flanders* is worth the Reversion of *Portugal*; and that they could never have such a Conjunction to lay by the *Puntiglio* as during their King's Minority, who when grown Major, may avow and disavow what he pleases of his Mother's Regency.

'Tis pleasant in me to be giving you Arguments; but we are so full of it here, as you must excuse all Impertinencies in this Matter. In short, this is a Business must of necessity be done, and therefore for God's sake dispatch it: And there's an end of my wife Counsels.

From the *Marquis* here you must look for no great Assistance in this one Particular; his Birth and Interest make it too ticklish a String for him to touch: In all others assure your self I have taken a Care to press him, and his Excellency the Pains to endeavour all he can possibly, for preparing whatever may honour your Reception, or facilitate your Negotiation, and being a Person that has run through all the Business of that Monarchy, and allied to almost all the Persons of the Council, I will be confident his Offices will not be useless to you, as I hope some of our Countrymen will that preceded them. When you farther desire any from his Excellency here, upon the Notice, I doubt not to furnish you.

I find by him, the last Promotion of Counsellors was not made either by the Duke of *Medina's* or *Castriglio's* Faction or Authority, but chiefly by the Queen's Confessor, and on purpose to strengthen a Party dependent wholly upon her Majesty.

The Duke of *Albuquerque* you will find a Man of more Warmth than Depth, and no great Leader in Council or Business: *Montalto* is a Man of more Head, has more of the Queen's Ear, and runs the Fortune of growing one Day into the greatest Ministry: He is at present embroiled with the Duke of *Medina*, but if my Lord *Sandwich* would reconcile those two Strings, and tune them together, he would find it easy to concert his own Musick there.

D'Ayala is *Herb John*, *Aitona* considered; and upon his March, which he may succeed well in, if he contents himself to make it by slow and even Steps. *Pignoranda* would make a third Party, is learned, and called wise, but wants Birth and Vigour to support more Greatness than he has. The Confessor is *honneste Homme*, has lived till now retired from Business, but made a great Leap into it on the sudden. *Castriglio* and *Caracena* are so far known, as I need say nothing of what you are to hope or fear from them in your Negotiation. Pray present my humble Service to my Lord Ambassador, and give him this little Light, if you think 'tis worth it. The French Men's Looks towards us are fair, but I doubt their Meaning; at the same time they offer at Accommodation, they write into *Holland*, pressing all that is possible, the State's Agreement with *Munster*, that their Forces may be all free to fall upon *England*, and encourage the speedy setting out of their Fleet, with Assurance of their own being ready to join. They muster'd fifteen thousand Men but ten Days hence near this Frontier in great Bravery, where King, Queen, and all the Court appeared. The French King resolves to march about the first of May in the Head of them towards *Sedan*, upon pretence to force the Duke of *Lorraine* to disarm, or at least, to know the Cause of this present Arming. In the mean time the *Hugonots* of *Poitou* have put in three Requests to the King, demanding Liberty of their Churches, according to the Edicts of *Nantes*, and mingling some Strains very bold, with others very humble.

The Prince of *Munster* hath Envoys from six of his neighbour Princes now with him, treating about the Peace and Security of the *Westphalian* Circle, and an Accommodation with *Holland*; all which gives Jealousy of his Honour and Constancy.

The Elector of *Brandenburg* hath put in a Memorial to the *States*, recommending passionately the Interest of the Prince of *Orange*, which hath given some Jealousy both to *Dutch* and *French*.

The Elector of *Collen* hath sent an Envoy to the *Hague*, who is there arrived to demand the Restitution of *Rhinberg*.

The Prince of *Orange's* Sister's Marriage is concluded with the Duke of *Simmeren*; for the Consummation of it the Princess Dowager and Prince of *Orange* intend suddenly for *Cleve*. Captain *Bennet* and Sir *John Sayers*, with several others, are arrived at *Ostend* in the King's Yacht for Mademoiselle *Bevarwaert's* Transportation. The Captain of the Vessel approaching the Town, and pretending to take a Ship belonging to that Port, and entering there for a *Hollander*, pursued and fired at her, till a Gunner from the Castle, not knowing what Vessel ours was, gave her one Gun, but so unluckily, that it struck thro' the Cabbin, killed the Gunner, and shot off the Captain's Leg. I have sent Letters from the Marquis to the Governor at *Ostend*, to make all Excuses and Reparations. I have just now dispatch'd an Express to the *Hague*, to desire Mademoiselle *Baverwaert's* Commands where and when I shall attend her Passage, which my Lord *Arlington* hath advised to make by *Antwerp*, and to leave all her Money there in my Hands, which with a hundred and fifty thousand Dollars I shall meet there about the same time for *Munster*, will make me so rich, that I think I had best take the good time, and run away to you into *Spain*; but I shall never reckon upon your Protection, longer than I have some Honesty mingled with my Kindness for you; and while I have the least of one, you may reckon upon the most of t'other that can be from,

S I R,

Your most affectionate Friend,

and most Faithful Servant.

To the Bishop of Munster.

Episcopo Monasterii.

Brussels, Apr. 27.

Bruxellis, Apr. 27.

S I R,

N. S. 1666.

Celsissime Domine,

S. N. 1666.

THE Care your Highness was pleased to express for the Safety of my Journey, makes me believe you will be pleased to hear how soon and happily I arrived at *Brussels*, after many Difficulties.

By a Letter yesterday, I recommended to his Majesty the Affairs of your Highness, as I promised to do, and hope my Care will not be in vain: But since I left *Munster*, I am informed that Monsieur *Colbert* the French Minister would arrive in a little time to buy the Troops that your Highness designs to dismiss, and to put them into the French Service. Now I cannot but inform your Highness, how unjust, how false, and how ungrateful it will appear, for those Troops that were raised and armed by the King my Master's Money, to enter into the Service of a foreign Prince, now at open Enmity

SUMMA ista sollicitudo & benevolentia quas C. V. in securitate itineris meo præstandâ demonstravit, me persuasum habent, non ingratum fore si eam certiore velim quàm brevi & foeliciter inter multa incommoda & difficultates, Bruxellas appulerim.

Ego jam per hesternas literas operam & studium meum impendi istis officiis C. V. erga sacram suam Regiam Majestatem exsolvendis, quæ pollicitus sum, nec vana fore confido. Accepi autem ex quo Monasterio discessi, Dominum Colbert Ministrum Gallicum brevi appulsurum ad mercandas copias quas dimissura est C. V. easque in stipendia Regis Galliæ attrahendas. Non possum C. V. celare quàm iniquum, infidum, & ingratum videbitur, copias pecuniæ Regis Domini mei constatas & instructas, in partes & stipendia transire Regis alieni, jamque palam nobis inimici, & contra nos armati; nec isto modo dici potest, ut novum

mity with us, by which means they become Rebels rather than Enemies. And indeed I find all the Ministers of *Munster* are extremely averse from this Counsel.

For since his Excellency the Marquis of *Castel Rodrigo* designs to draw into the *Spanish* Service, all who are Subjects of his Catholick Majesty, with two or three Regiments besides, and for that end designs to send Monsieur *D——* to *Munster*: I think it more for the Honour and Advantage of the King my Master, that these Forces be placed in the Service of a Prince who has been long our Friend and Confederate; and therefore I desire your Highness to give a Hand to this Negotiation, which I promise shall be neither unknown nor unwelcome to the King my Master. I am,

S I R,

Your Highness's, &c.

novum bellum, sed genus quoddam rebellionis instituant; à quo consilio ego omnes, quos conveni Monasterii officiales expertus sum admodum alienos.

Cum autem Excellentia sua Dominus Marchio de Castel Rodrigo in votis habeat subditos omnes Catholice Majestatis in sua stipendia retrahere, duasque insuper vel tres alteras legiones; Et in hunc finem statuerit Dominum D—— Monasterium usque ablegare; ego multo magis Et honori Et utilitati Regis Domini mei conducturum æstimo, si copie istæ in auspicia Et stipendia Regis nobis jam temporis confæderati Et amicissimi transeant. Ideoque supplico C. V. ut huic negotiationi facilitandæ (quicquid in se erit) utraque manus præbeat, idque officium Regi Domino meo nec ignotum nec ingratum fore spondeo.

C. V. &c.

To Sir John Temple.

S I R,

Brussels, May 10. N. S. 1666.

AFTER so long and so hard a Journey, I thought you would be glad to know I was well again in my former Station, and what was the Occasion of my leaving it so suddenly and so privately, that I could not acquaint any of my Friends with it before I went, which now I am at liberty to entertain you with.

This Winter has passed with much Noise, made by the Bishop of *Munster* in his Enterprize against *Holland* with some Attempts, but little Success. The Fault he has laid in some degree upon the Marquis here, for refusing to suffer the Duke of *Bornoville* to go and command his Troops, which he durst not consent to, for fear of giving too much Offence to the *French* and *Dutch*, at a Time when the *Spaniards* here are in ill Condition for a Quarrel: But the Bishop's chief Complaints have been, want of those Sums of Money stipulated by his Majesty to be furnished him both before and after his taking the Field. Our Excuses upon the Loss of the Ships with *Tin* before *Ostend*, though they may serve to keep us in Countenance, yet they will not pay Forces in the Field, which he has often threaten'd these three Months past must break up, without speedy Supplies. In the mean time his neighbouring Princes of the *Empire*, especially the Electors of *Ments* and *Brandenburg*, with the Duke of *Nieuburg*, seeing a Flame broke out, which must draw foreign Armies into the *Empire*, both *French* and *Dutch*, have used first all Offices they could, to prevail with the Bishop to make his Peace with *Holland*; engaged the *Emperor* himself in the same Endeavours, and finding him steady to his Treaty with the King, at last the Duke of *Brandenburg* drew his Forces into the Field, resolved to compel him by joining with the *Dutch*, if he could not persuade him to make the Peace; and the Duke of *Nieuburg* prepared to second him in this Design. The *French* were not wanting in their Offices to the same Ends; so that a private Agreement was made about the beginning of this Month, for the *French*, *Dutch* and *Munster* Envoys to meet at *Cleve*, and there treat the Peace under the Mediation of the Elector of *Brandenburg*.

As

As soon as the King received this Alarm, he sent an Express immediately to command me away the instant I received it, with a Commission to the Bishop of *Munster*, and with Instructions to do all I could possibly to hinder the Peace, and with Bills of Exchange to revive his Payments, which had been long intermitted, and Promise of more to be remitted every Post, which I was to order into his Agent's Hands here in my Absence.

I went accordingly, acquainting none with my going but the Marquis here; who gave me twenty of his own Guards, with Command to follow absolutely all Orders I should give them. I was to pass through a great deal of the *Spanish* Country, much infested with *Dutch* Parties, more of the Duke of *Nieuburg's*, and more yet of the *Brandenburgers*, who I know were all Enemies to the Affair I went upon, and therefore thought it best to pass for a *Spanish* Envoy sent from the Marquis *Castel Rodrigo* to the *Emperor*, and charmed my small Guard, and the *Cornet* that commanded them, to keep true to this Note. And some of my Servants, as well as most of the Guards speaking *Spanish*, I spoke nothing else, unless in private, or when I was forced out of it by some Incident.

In this Guise I came to *Dusseldorp* where the Duke of *Nieuburg* happen'd to be; (contrary to what I had been informed) as soon as I was in my Inn, one of his Officers came to know who I was, and whither I was going, and would not be satisfied by the common Answer from my Servants and Guards, but would receive it from me: When he came up, tho' with much Civility, yet he press'd me so far, that I found there was no feigning with him, and so bid him tell the Duke, that within an Hour I would come and give him an Account both of my self and my Journey. I remember'd the great Kindness that had ever interceded between his Majesty and this Prince; and tho' I went upon an Errand that I knew was disagreeable to him, yet I thought he would be less likely to cross me if I acquainted him frankly with it, than if I disguised scurvily, as I was likely to do, being the thing of the World I could do the most uneasily.

I had a Letter of Credence which I brought out of *England* at my first coming over for this Prince; but passing another Way to *Munster* I had not used it, and so resolved to do it now. I did so, gave it him, told him my Errand; how much his Majesty reckon'd upon his Friendship, and desired his good Offices to the Bishop of *Munster* in the Design I went upon, of keeping him firm to his Treaties with the King my Master.

This Duke is in my Opinion the finest Gentleman of any *German* I have seen, and deserves much better Fortune than he is in; being small, very much broken, and charged with a very numerous Issue; he seems about fifty Years old, tall, lean, very good Mien; but more like an *Italian* than a *German*: All he says is civil, well bred, *bonnete*, plain, easy, and has an Air of Truth and Honour. He made great Professions of Kindness and Respect to the King, was sorry he could not serve him in this Affair; his Engagements were already taken with the *Emperor* and his neighbour Princes for making the *Munster* Peace, and by that means keeping War out of the *Empire*. He doubted I could not serve his Majesty upon this Errand neither; for he first believed I could not get safe to *Munster*, the Ways being all full of *Dutch* and *Brandenburg* Parties, who had Notice of the King's Intention to send away to the Bishop upon this Occasion; and if I should arrive, he believed however I should find the Peace signed before I came.

My Answer was short, for I was very weary; that go I would, however I succeeded; that for the Danger of the Journey I knew no providing against it, but a very good Guide who might lead me through Ways the most unfrequented: That I would desire his Highness to give me one of his own Guards to conduct me, because none would expect a Person going upon my Design, would have one in his Livery for a Guide; and I desired he would let me pass; as I had done hitherto in my Journey, for a *Spanish* Envoy. The Duke, after some Difficulties at first (which we turned into Pleasantries) complied with me in all: I took my Leave, and went away early next Morning.

I never travell'd a more savage Country, over cruel Hills, through many great and thick Woods, stony and rapid Streams, never hardly in any high Way, and very few Villages till I came near *Dortmund* a City of the *Empire*, and within a Day's Journey, or something more, of *Munster*. The Night I came to *Dortmund* was so advanced when I arrived, that the Gates were shut, and with all our Eloquence, which was as moving as we could, we were not able to prevail to have them open'd; they advis'd us to go to a Village about a League distant, where they said we might have Lodging. When we came there, we found it all taken up with a Troop of *Brandenburg* Horse, so as the poor *Spanish* Envoy was fain to eat what he could get in a Barn, and to sleep upon a Heap of Straw, and lay my Head upon my Page instead of a Pillow: The best of it was, that he understanding *Dutch*, heard one of the *Brandenburg* Soldiers coming into the Barn examine some of my Guards about me and my Journey, which when he was satisfied of, he asked if he had heard nothing upon the Way of an *English* Envoy that was expected; the Fellow said, he was upon the Way, and might be at *Dortmund* within a Day or two, with which he was satisfied, and I slept as well as I could.

The next Morning I went into *Dortmund*, and hearing there that for five or six Leagues round, all was full of *Brandenburg* Troops, I dispatch'd away a *German* Gentleman I had in my Train with a Letter to the Bishop of *Munster*, to let him know the Place and Condition I was in, and desire he would send me Guards immediately, and strong enough to convey me. The Night following my Messenger return'd, and brought me Word, that by eight a Clock the Morning after, a Commander of the Bishops would come in sight of the Town at the Head of twelve hundred Horse, and desired I would come and join them so soon as they appeared. I did so, and after an easy March till four a Clock, I came to a Castle of the Bishop's, where I was received by Lieutenant-General *Gorgas* a *Scotchman* in that Service, who omitted nothing of Honour or Entertainment that could be given me. There was nothing here remarkable, but the most episcopal way of Drinking that could be invented. As soon as we came in the great Hall, where stood many Flaggons ready charged, the General called for Wine to drink the King's Health; they brought him a formal Bell of Silver gilt, that might hold about two Quarts or more; he took it empty, pulled out the Clapper, and gave it me who he intended to drink to, then had the Bell filled, drunk it off to his Majesty's Health, then asked me for the Clapper, put it in, turn'd down the Bell, and rung it out, to show he had play'd fair, and left nothing in it; took out the Clapper, desired me to give it to whom I pleas'd, then gave his Bell to be filled again, and brought it to me; I that never used to drink, and seldom would try, had commonly some Gentlemen with me that served for that Purpose when 'twas necessary; and so I had the Entertainment of seeing this Health go current thro' about a dozen Hands, with no more Share in it than just what I pleas'd.

The next Day after Noon, about a League from *Munster*, the Bishop met me at the Head of four thousand Horse, and in Appearance brave Troops. Before his Coach, that drove very fast, came a Guard of a hundred *Hey Dukes* that he had brought from the last Campaign in *Hungary*; they were in short Coats and Caps all of a brown Colour, every Man carrying a *Sabre* by his Side, a short Pole-Ax before him, and a skrew'd Gun hanging at his Back by a Leather Belt that went cross his Shoulder. In this Posture they run almost full speed, and in excellent Order, and were said to shoot two hundred Yards with their skrew'd Gun, and a Bullet of the Bigness of a large Pease, into the Breadth of a Dollar or Crown Piece. When the Coach came within forty Yards of me it stopp'd, I saw the Bishop and his General the Prince *d'Homberg* come out; upon which I alighted, so as to meet him between my Horses and his Coach; after Complements, he would have me go into his Coach, and sit alone at the back end, reserving the t'other to himself and his General. I excus'd it, saying, I came without Character; but he replied, that his Agent had writ him Word I brought a Commission, which styl'd me *Orator* *off-trum*, (as was true) and that he knew what was due to that Style from the King. I never was nice in taking any Honour that was offer'd to the King's Character,

Character, and so easily took this: But from it, and a Reception so extraordinary, began immediately to make an ill Presage of my Business, and to think of the *Spanish* Proverb,

*Quien te base mas Corte que no suele hazer
Ote ha d'enganner ote ha menester.*

And with these Thoughts, and in this Posture, I enter'd *Munster*, and was conducted by the Bishop to a Lodging prepared for me in one of the *Canon's* Houses.

The Bishop would have left me immediately after he brought me to my Chamber; but I told him I could not let him go without asking an Hour of Audience that very Evening. He would have excused it upon Respect and Weariness, and much Complement; but I persisted in it, unless he would chuse to sit down where we were, and enter upon Affairs without Ceremony. He was at last contented; and I said all I could towards my End of keeping him to the Faith of his Treaty with the King, to the Pursuit of the War till both consented to the Peace, and to the Expectations of the Money that was due; he answer'd me; with the Necessities that had forced him to treat, from the failing of his Payments, the Violences of his neighbour Princes, and the last Instances of the *Emperor*; but that he would upon my coming dispatch one immediately to *Cleve*, to command his Ministers to make a stop in their Treaty till they received farther Orders, which I should be Master of.

I went to Supper after he left me, but was told enough privately to spoil it before I sat down, which was, that the Treaty was signed at *Cleve*; though I took no Notice of it, because I knew if it were so, being angry would hurt no body but my Master or my self.

Next Day the Bishop made me a mighty Feast among all his chief Officers, where we sat for four Hours, and in Bravery I drank fair like all the rest; and observed that my *Spanish* Cornet and I that never used it, yet came off in better Order than any of the Company. I was very sick after I came to my Lodging; but he got a Horseback on purpose to shew himself about the Town, while the rest of the Company were out of sight all the Afternoon. The Day after was agreed to give me an Account of the Affair of *Cleve*; upon the return of the Bishop's Express after my Arrival, and at an Audience in the Evening, with great Pretence of Trouble and Grief, he confess'd the Treaty was signed, and so past Remedy, and that it had been so before his Express arrived, tho' much against his Expectation, as he profess'd, I am sure 'twas not against mine; for I left *Brussels* in the Belief that I should certainly find all concluded, which made my Journey much harder than it could have been with any Hopes of succeeding.

I told him, when I found all ended, and no Hopes of retrieving it, that I would be gone within a Day or two, and would take my Leave of him that Night, being not well, and needing some Rest before I began my Journey. He said and did all that could be to persuade my Stay till I had represented his Reasons to the King, and received an Answer: And I found his Design was to keep me as long as he could, while his Agent at *Brussels* received Bills of Exchange from *England* that were order'd him in my Absence; so that I knew not how much every Day's Stay would cost the King, and that no other Service was to be done his Majesty in this Affair, besides saving as much of his Money as I could. The Bishop, finding me immoveable, advis'd me however in pretended Kindness to go by *Collen*, which tho' four or five Days about, would be the only Way that was left for me with any Safety, the *Dutch* and *Brandenburgers* having posted themselves on purpose to attend my Return upon all the other Roads; and he offer'd me Colonel *Offory*, an *Irish* Gentleman in his Service, to conduct me: I seem'd to accept all, and to be oblig'd by his Care, but wish'd my self well out of it, and took my Leave, tho' he pretend'd to see me again next Day.

I went home, and instead of going to Bed, as I gave out, I laid my Journey so as to be on Horseback next Morning between three and four of Clock upon

Good-

Good-Friday, which I thought might help to make my Journey less suspected: I fee'd the Officer that open'd the Gates for me, to keep them shut two Hours longer than usual that Morning, (which I hear was performed) and so committed myself to the Conduct of the Duke of *Nieuburg's* Guide, to lead me the shortest Way he could into some Place belonging to his Master. I rode hard, and without any stop, to a Village eight Leagues from *Munster*, and just upon the Borders of the *Brandenburg* Country: There I baited, and pretended to go to Bed and stay all Night; but in an Hour's time, having got fresh Horses ready for four Men that I pretended to send before me, I put on a Cassaque of one of the Marquis's Guards, and with my Page, the Duke of *Nieuburg's* Guard, and Colonel *Majette* a *Flemish* Officer in the *Munster* Service, I took Horse at the back Door of my Inn, while the rest of my Company thought me a Bed, and resolved to ride as far as I could the rest of that Day, leaving my Steward to follow me the next, with the rest of my Train and Guards.

I rode till eight at Night through the wildest Country, and most unfrequented Ways that ever I saw, but being then quite spent, and ready to fall from my Horse, I was forced to stop and lay me down upon the Ground till my Guard went to a Peasant's House in sight, to find if there were any Lodging for me; he brought me Word there was none, nor any Provisions in the House, nor could find any thing but a little Bottle of *Juniper* Water, which is the common Cordial in that Country: I drank a good deal, and with it found my Spirits so revived, that I resolved to venture upon the three Leagues that remained of my Journey, so as to get into the Territories of *Nieuburg*, having passed all the Way since I left my Train through those of *Brandenburg*, whose Engagements with the *Dutch* left me no Safety while I was there. About Midnight I came to my Lodging, which was so miserable that I lay upon Straw, got on Horseback by break of Day, and to *Dusseldorp* by Noon; where being able to ride no farther, I went to Bed for an Hour, sent to make my Excuses to the Duke of *Nieuburg* upon my Haste and Weariness, and to borrow his Coach to carry me to *Ruremond*, which was a long Day's Journey. This Prince sent me his Coach and his Complements, with all the Civility in the World. I went away that Afternoon, got to *Ruremond* the next, and from thence hither, not without great Danger of the *Dutch* Parties, even in the *Spanish* Country: And so have ended the hardest Journey that ever I made in my Life, or ever shall; for such another I do not think I could ever bear, with a Body no stronger than mine.

At my Return I have had the Fortune to stop several Bills of Exchange that would otherwise have fallen into the Hands of the Bishop's Agent here, and to forbid the Payment of the rest he received in my Absence, which tho' accepted by the Merchants at *Antwerp*, yet were not satisfied, the Time having not expired at which they were payable. And this Service to the King is all the Satisfaction I have by this Adventure, which has ended the whole Affair of *Munster* that has of late made so much Noise, and raised so much Expectation in the World. I am,

S I R,

Yours, &c.

To the Duke of Ormond.

My Lord,

Brussels, May 14. N. S. 1665.

THO' my late *Munster* Journey has given your Grace some Ease by my Intermissions, and me many Troubles, yet I met none of which I was more sensible, than what I received at my Return by the News of your Grace's Indisposition. But I comforted myself first, that your Health is too considerable to fall, tho' it may suffer under common Accidents; and since, with the Certainty given me of its Recovery, in which I give your Grace what I receive by it my self, as much Joy, I am sure, as if I felt never so great an

an Addition to my own, since Mankind is esteemed so great a self Lover, that these are the highest Expressions will be allowed us.

I have desired my Lord *Arlington* to give your Grace, in my own Letters to his Lordship, the Account of my whole Transaction, which I take no great Pleasure in repeating, and should very difficultly at once give Relations so particular, as what I made whilst the Objects, their Dispositions and Motions, were in my Eye. The length of them may make them too much Trouble to your Grace, of which my Father or Brother I know would be glad to ease you, and give the Minute of a Draught at large.

I so concerted with the Bishop whilst I was there, and with the Marquis here at my Return, that we expect here between five or six thousand of his best Troops, upon his Excellency's paying fifty thousand Pattacons, and obliging himself to restore them upon Repayment of the like Sum whenever the Bishop shall have need of them; which is a better Disposal of Forces raised by his Majesty's Money, than if they had been drawn over into the *French* Service, according to their Prospect, and Monsieur *Colbert's* Endeavour, who was sent to *Munster* on purpose to *marchand* them. Whether the Duke of *Nieuburg*, who seems wholly *French*, will make any Difficulty in giving them Passage through his Country, I know not; nor whether the Light be true which was lately given me of a War like to succeed in those Parts between that Duke and the Marquis of *Brandenburg*, which would in this Conjunction mingle the Cards after the strangest manner imaginable.

Tho' we hear much of our Fleet's being at Sea, yet we talk more here of the *Dutch* Slowness, who have not yet Men for above fifty Ships, and those so dishearten'd and cold in the Service, that I fear nothing but their eluding our great Preparations by keeping close in their Harbours, till for want of Victuals we may be forced to return to ours.

My Lord *Carlingford* is now at *Prague*, uncertain upon his late Letters from Court, whether he advances this way, or returns to the *Emperor*, whether he hath dispatch'd his Son, and where we have some Ground of Complaint, seeing the *Emperor's* Name among all the other Princes in the Guarranty of the *Munster* Peace. The Endeavour of that Court had been much better employ'd in compassing the Peace with *Portugal*, which hangs yet in great Uncertainties, not to say Difficulties: Neither of which there is the least of in my being with most hearty and unfeigned Passion,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Lisle.

My Lord,

Brussels, Aug. — S. N. 1666.

I Received lately the Honour of one from your Lordship, and by it the Satisfaction of finding your Health and good Humour continue, as well as my share in your Favour and Memory which I am much concerned in. I assure your Lordship, in the midst of a Town and Employment entertaining enough, and a Life not uneasy, my Imaginations run very often over the Pleasures of the Air, and the Earth, and the Water, but much more of the Conversation at *Sheen*; and make me believe, that if my Life wears not out too soon, I may end it in a corner there, tho' your Lordship will leave it I know in time for some of those greater and nobler Houses that attend you. I am obliged by the very pleasing Relations you give from those softer Scenes, in return of which, such as I can make you from those of Business, or War, or Tumult, must, I know, yield rougher Entertainment; and therefore I have sent them in a Paper, which shall pass rather for a Gazette than a Letter; and shall content myself only to tell your Lordship, that 'tis hardly to be imagined the Change which about three Weeks past have made in the Face of *Holland's* Affairs,

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which are now esteemed here to be upon the Point of breaking into much such a Confusion as we saw in *England* about 1659: Nor can any thing almost be added in these Parts to the Reputation of his Majesty's Arms and Affairs; so far, that it grows a Credit to be an *English* Man; and not only here, but in *Amsterdam* it self. I am told my Lord *Stafford*, who went lately thither about a Process, has more Hats and Legs than the *Burgomaster* of the Town. I will not increase your Lordship's Trouble by any enlarging upon this Subject, having offered you a much longer in the inclosed. I wish I could give you some of another kind, by sending you a little *Spanish* Mistress from hence, whose Eyes might spoil your Walks, and burn up all the green Meadows at *Sheen*, and find other Ways of destroying that Repose your Lordship pretends alone to enjoy, in spite of the common Fate of Mankind. But however your Friends suffer by it, I wish it may last as long as it pleases you; I am sure the Professions will do so of my being,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most Faithful

Humble Servant.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Brussels, Aug. — S. N. 1666.

I AM not to be forgiven, that endeavour by one Trouble to make room for another, and solicit your Lordship this way, that my Wife may have leave to solicit you in a Matter wherein I can never resolve to do it my self. Your Lordship's Friendship has left me little to desire or complain of, unless it be when I find my own Fortune so disproportion'd to my Mind, in the Resolutions I have of doing his Majesty all the Honour, as well as all the Service I can: But how ill they agree in this Point (tho' I was ever rich while I was private, even beyond my Desires) is a Story I would rather any body should tell you than I: However, I should not bring my Wife into this Scene, but that I know she will ask nothing but my own, is a Person not apt to be troublesome or importunate, and in all Kinds the best part of,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

Patri Gottenburg.

Domine,

Bruxellis, Dec. 16. S. N. 1666.

RECTE & per manus dulcissimæ tuæ sororis accepi Chirothecas elegantissimè confutas, & non minus politè contextas Literas; per quas nec me elapsam memoriâ vestrâ, nec planè exutum Benevolentiam, & sentio & gaudeo. Utroque nomine me pulcherrimæ istæ Indoli per totam vestram Familiam diffusæ, potius quam ulli meo merito obligatum æstimo: Habeo itaque & ago gratias quamplurimas, ut verò acceptiori quodam modo eas referre studeam sororem optimam exoravi, quæ me (ut spero) Officio & Debito perfunctum brevi redditura est. Valeat interim Reverentia vestra, studiis propositis auspiciatissimè incumbat, & ex Votis procedat, meque semper teneat,

Amicissimum, &c.

To Mr. Thynn.

S I R,

Brussels, Feb. 19. S. N. 1667.

ABOUT two Days since I received the Favour of yours of the 16th past, and am sorry to be put upon the Defence in an Encounter so much to my Advantage: This had not arrived, if I could as easily have found the way of conveying my Letters, as the Dispositions of writing: For those I have always had about me since I knew your Station and Character, which I thought would help to bear me out in that Attempt. The little Acquaintance you are contented to own, I durst not reckon upon, because it was so much more than I deserved, and so much less than I desired; but am very glad that may be allowed of among the Obligations we have to enter upon this Commerce, tho' we need no other than our Master's Service, which may on both Sides be improved by the Communication of what passes in our different Scenes. I shall not engage in answering the Complements of your Letter, tho' I should have much more Justice on my side; but I am very ill furnish'd with that sort of Ware, and the Truth is, there is required so much Skill in the right Tempering, as well as the Distribution of them, that I have always thought a Man runs much hazard of losing more than he gains by them, which has made me ever averse, as well as incapable of the Trade. It will be to more Purpose to let you know the Confidence we have here of our Treaty with *Spain* being signed in all Points to our Satisfaction; but whether *Portugal* has or will accept their Part in it, which is a Truce of forty five Years, I cannot yet resolve you; only this I am assured, that it is feared in the *French* Court, as well as hoped in ours.

The current News at *Antwerp*, as well as here, is of the *Dutch* Merchant Fleet from *Nantes* and *Rochel*, consisting of above a hundred Sail under the Convoy of six Men of War, being fallen into a Squadron of about twenty of our Frigats, and few are said to have escaped: Tho' this be doubted of none here, and the current Letters from *Zealand* as well as *Ostend* make it probable, yet I suspend my Confidence till the Arrival of my *English* Letters, which are my *Gospel* in these Cases. This Coldness I know makes me lose many Pleasures, but on the other side helps me to escape many Disappointments, which light Belief in the midst of so many light Reports is subject to. The Counsels or Dispositions of a subordinate Government as this is, are not worth troubling you with, but those in the Court here are in short what we wish them.

Those of the Scene you are in deserve much more the Enquiry; and I should be very glad to know them from so good a Hand. My Desires of serving you, can I am sure never be known from a better than my own, which can value it self to you by nothing else, but by telling I am,

S I R,

Your most obedient Humble Servant.

To the Earl of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor.

My Lord,

Brussels, Mar. 4. S. N. 1667.

UPON the Arrival of the last Post from *Spain*, which brought us the unwelcome News of our Treaty meeting an unhappy Obstruction when it was at the very Point of being perfected, Count *Marsyn* came to me, and after a Preface of the great Obligations he had to his Majesty, and the Part he took in all our Interests, as well as those of *Spain*; he fell into large Discourses of the unhappy Influences any Interruption in the present Treaty would have upon the Affairs of both Crowns. He insisted much upon the Hardship we put upon the *Spaniards*, in not consenting to leave the Assistance of their Enemies,

which

which was all the Advantage they expected from this Treaty, instead of many they gave; that the great Effect of it on both Sides would thereby be lost, which was a return into mutual Confidence, and at least the Beginnings of a sincere Friendship. That *Spain* having consented to what Terms his Majesty thought reasonable, and *Portugal* not only refusing them, but entering at the same into new Dependencies upon *France*; he could not see what could oblige his Majesty to more than offering *Portugal* an equal Peace, and becoming the Warrant of it. That at his Majesty's Mediation, *Spain* had given them a Style as usual and as honourable as what they desired; and if they could resolve to give them that of *King* instead of *Crown*, they had then no need or use of his Majesty's Mediation.

That whether we thought it our Interest to have a Peace or War in *Christianity*, we must begin by adjusting the Business of *Portugal*; for if we desired the first, nothing could so much awe the *French* into quiet Dispositions as that Peace, and ours with *Holland*, to which that would likewise be an Ingredient. If the latter, and we had a mind rather to be Seconds in a War of *Spain* with *France*, than Principals in any, (which he thought was our true Interest) nothing could make way for it, or enable *Spain* either to begin or sustain a War with *France*, but a Peace with *Portugal*.

That he was confident, his Majesty's consenting to abandon them in case they refused to be included in our Treaty, would force them immediately to accept it; that if not, and his Majesty should hereafter find it his Interest to support them upon any great Successes of *Spain* on that Side, it would be easy to do it by Connivance, by voluntary Troops of his own Subjects, or by a third Hand, provided it went no farther than to keep *Spain* in the Temper of yielding to the Peace upon the Terms his Majesty shall have judged reasonable: But for the present, without his Majesty's Condescension to *Spain* in this Point, he did not see how we could hope to effect our Treaty, or to receive any Fruits of it, where new Occasions of Diffidence and Dislike would every Day arise.

These were the chief of Count *Marsyn's* Discourses, which he ended in desiring me that I would represent them to his Majesty's chief Ministers, and particularly to your Lordship from him, as the best present Testimony he could give of his Zeal to his Majesty's Service and Affairs, and which he would have done himself, but for fear it might look like intruding into Matters and Counsels he was not called to.

Besides this single Point upon which this Stop of our Treaty is wholly grounded, I could not but represent to your Lordship some other Circumstances which I imagine may have fallen in and help'd to occasion it. I hear *France* has declared positively to the *Spaniard*, that they will immediately begin the War upon the *Spaniard's* signing the Treaty with us, and concluding the Truce or Peace with *Portugal* upon our Mediation. To this end, and to shew the *Spaniards* they are in earnest, they busy themselves in making new Levies, and drawing down many Troops upon these Frontiers, as well as all sorts of Provisions, either for Sieges or a Camp. Upon this, I know not whether the *Spanish* Councils may be so faint as not to dare give the *French* any Pretence of a Quarrel, but preserve their Quiet rather by shrinking, than making a bold Peace: Or whether being composed of Men that hardly ever look'd out of *Spain*, or consider any thing but that Continent, they may not upon foresight of War, either continuing with *Portugal* or beginning in *Flanders*, rather chuse the first, where being Invaders, they may give themselves what Breath they please, employ their own Natives in the Charges of Honour and Gain, and keep all the Money spent in the War still within their Country; whereas whatever comes into *Flanders* never returns, and is swallow'd up by so many foreign Troops, as the Levies for that Service must needs draw together. There may yet another and more prudent Consideration arise with these, which may for the present delay the Conclusion of our Treaty; and that is, a Desire to sign it rather before the Winter than in the Spring, and by that means both gain this Summer to finish the Fortification of their Frontiers here, and the next Winter to put their Army in a better Posture than they now are, or, I doubt, will suddenly be for the beginning of a Campaign; and if this Council

should

should be taken by Concert with us, that no Breach of Confidence may grow between us by these Delays, but the *French* only flattered by vain Hopes of breaking our Treaty, and thereby induced to let the *Spaniard* grow a Year older in their Peace with them, and slacken the War of *Portugal* into as low Expence, and as little Action or Hazard as they can: I know nothing can be said against it, and should be apt to believe it, were the Counsels there, in the Breast of any one Person by last resort; whereas the divided Interests and Passions of the Counsellors cannot well suffer them to fall into such a Resolution with hope of Consent, and Secret among them all.

This Reflection puts me upon another I hear from private Hands, which may possibly have made some Change in the Course of our Treaty; which is, that the whole Management of Affairs in the Council of *Spain* seems at present to be devolved into the Hands of Count *Castriglio*; the Confessor leaving it to him, and reserving to himself those things only which depend immediately upon the Will of the Queen, and proposing to himself, during his Ministry, (which cannot be long in regard of *Castriglio's* great Age) to make way for his own, by growing older and practised in Affairs, as well as the Knowledge, Obligations and Dependences of Persons. Now our Treaty having never passed through *Castriglio's* Hands, but conducted by Sir *Richard Fanshawe* wholly thro' the Duke of *Medina's*, (his declared Enemy) and since by my Lord *Sandwich* chiefly through *Pignoranda's*, who is a third Party; 'tis not improbable that a new Hand may give it new Form, either to add something of his own, or to shew his Authority, or perhaps to pursue his former usual Dispositions, which have been bent upon the War with *Portugal*, considering no part of the Monarchy but *Spain* and the *Indies*, and I doubt, in particular, not very partial to our Alliance or Affairs.

Upon these Intimations your Lordship will infinitely better judge than I, to what to attribute the present ill Posture of our Affairs in *Spain*, and how to retrieve it. I am ever,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most Obedient

and most Humble Servant.

To Don Estavan de Gamarra,
the Spanish Ambassador at
the Hague.

A Don Estavan de Gamarra.

Brussels, Mar. 29.

My Lord,

S. N. 1667.

I DO not know how to acquit my self of the Obligation my Lord *Stafford* has engaged me in to your Excellency, in begging your Favour to procure a Passport from the States for my Wife. Your Excellency I am sure will excuse the Care of a Mother, in providing all that lay in her Power for the Safety of her Children, and who to ease her self in it has (methinks) considered so little to whom she was troublesome. If I had been consulted upon this Occasion, I should not have suffered one I am so nearly concerned in, to owe her Safety to those who yet profess themselves Enemies

Brussels, 29 di Mar.

S. N. 1667.

Sennor,

YO no se que modo me he de rescartar del obligo en que el Sennor Conde de *Stafford* me ha empennado a V. E. pidiendo su favor, en procurar un a Passaporte de los Estados de *Hollanda* para mi mujer V. E. ha de perdonar el recato de una sennora que tenia gana de proveer todo lo que era possible a la seguridad de sus niños, y para descansar en este cuidado no se le dava nada (mi parece) a qui en cargava trabajo ni importunidad. Si yo huviera sido de la junta en esta ocasion, no huviera permitido que una persona que me tocava tan, cerca pidiese su seguridad de los que hazen hasta aora profession de enemigos al

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Rey

mies to the King my Master; and much less to them that treat the Wife of one of his Ministers like a Merchant, in demanding an Accompt of her Goods; and therefore am very glad the Passport did not come till she was a Shipboard in one of his Majesty's Yatches, trusting, next to God Almighty, in the Protection of his Royal Name. And though I have not yet heard how her Journey has succeeded, I esteem my self as much obliged to your Excellency (whatever happens) for your favourable Intentions upon this Occasion to a Man neither known nor deserving to be so, as if you had delivered me and my Family from the greatest Dangers.

God Almighty preserve your Excellency many Years, and give me the Occasions of serving you.

I am,

Your, &c.

De V.E.

Muy humilde Servider.

Rey mi Sennor; y mucho menos de los que havian de tratar a la mujer de un Ministro como a Mercadera, mandando la cuenta de su bagaje; y por esto me huelgo mucho de que no ha venido el pasaporte antes que se hay a embarcado la Sennora en un Yacht del Rey my Sennor, confiando se (con Dios) en el amparo solo de su Real Nombre: Aunque no se hasta aora en que ha parado su viage. Toda via por lo que ay de las intenciones tan favorables de V.E. en esta ocasion a un hombre ny conocido ny que merece serlo, me tengo por obligado ad mismo punto, como se me huviera rescatado a mi y mi familia, de los mayores Peligros que se pueden topar en la mar o la tierra.

Dios guarde a V.E. muchos annos, y a mi me de las ocasiones de hazer las obras como la profession de lo que soy.

To my Lady Giffard, written in the Name of Gabriel Poffello.

Sennora Mia,

Amberes, 30 de Marco S.N. 1667.

HE recibido con mucho gusto y no menorre conocimiento la guarnicion de spada que V.S. me ha hecha la merced de enbiarme, la qual me ha stado, mucho mas encarecida con lo que me ha dicho despues el Sennor Residente de la parte de V.S. que no era menester enternecer me en lagrimas ny oraciones (como estoy accostumbrado) con el sentimiento de tal obligo y que V.S. se estimara muy bien pagada con una carta Espagnola; porque a mi es tan facile de mal escrivir como a V.S. de bien hazer. Y es verdad que se tiendra por pagado con una carta? Voto a tal que no le faltara carta aunque la pidiera en Gallego. Pero digo me di veras, es santa V.S. O es hechizera? porque esto se abuen seguro que ha hecho milagro y con una guarnicion di plata mi ha herido hasta el coracon y aum mas fuerte que nolo pudiera hazer el mas bravo Cavallero con una oja de Toledo. Pero me dira V.S. que estamos en un siglo que no es cosa nueva el hazer milagros con la plata y que con esta sola se cumplen aora hazanas mayores que no con el valor y el acero en los siglos passados. Por vida mia que tient razon V.S. y por este milagro no lo han de cortarla la capa. Pero no se como ha de escapar quando la dire que despues que he tocado esta guarnicion encantada, me van amenudo cayendo las canas, y en lugar de un viejo de setenta annos, me hallo moco de quinze, me siento calentar la sangre en las venas, y bolverse en triunfo el desterrado amor para afirse d'este miserable coracon hazer le pedacos en un punto. Desdichado de mi que he de tocar otra vez estas pisados tan trabajosas de la ciega mocedad como me basta una vida a padecer dos martyrios. Es possible que yo me sienta otra vez abrafor de las llamas amorozas, y que de ceniza tan fria salga de nuevo tan violento fuego. Que yo me voya otra vez resfriandomi con sopiros, y anegandome en las lagrimas y padeciendo las penas y los asanes que no me dexaran la vida si no fuera para sentir cada dia el dolor de la muerte. Ab Sennora de mi alma, quanto mal me ha hecho conbazar me tanto bien, quanto mi ha de costar de veras, la burla que me han hecho de ser enamorado di V.S. en mi viyez passada. Pero quan facilmente se remedia el mas trabajoso amor con uno poco d'esperanca. Yo me voy pensando que una Sennora tan complida no puede desviarse de la razon, y que me haviendo tan favorecido quando estava viejo, no puede faltar d'alguna

d'alguna piedad para mi descanso, estandome aora moco y lindo y enamorado. Pero si me lisonjea mi deseo y me enganna mi esperanza lo que ay di bueno en esta ocasion, es que me haviendo su favor rendido en un instante de viejo moco, de la misma manera me parece que su crueldad me ha luego de buelver de moco viejo, y entonces me havre a burlar me tanto de su hermosura quanto se puede burlase aore V.S. de mi passion.

Bive V.S. mille annos, y se vea enamorada como yo a setenta, que con esto no se ha de olvidar entonces de,

Su mas humilde cryado y Galan.

Gabriel Poffello.

To Colonel Algernoon Sidney.

S I R,

Brussels, Apr. 29. S. N. 1667.

I Received two Days since one from you of the 12th past, with two inclosed, which I shall not fail to convey by the *English* Pacquet that parts this Evening, and with the same Assurance that usually attends my Letters; so that I think you may reckon upon their Safety in those Hands to which they are addressed. Your present Abode was no Secret to me, before I knew it from your own Hand: That Information having been given me about two or three Months since by some *English* Gentlemen, who passed from *Italy* through *Germany* and these Parts into *England*, where I cannot think they made a greater Secret of it upon Occasion, than they had done here.

I am sorry your Dispositions or your Fortunes have drawn you so far out of the Reach of your Friends services, and almost Correspondence; in which I doubt the Difficulties may shortly increase, at least this way: For we are here at present in little Hopes to see next Month end, without the Advance of a *French* Army into these Provinces.

I had Letters very lately from *Petworth*, and my Wife some as fresh from *Penshurst*, which left Health in both those Places; and will thereby, I suppose, furnish you with News not unwelcome from,

S I R,

Your most Humble Servant.

To Monsieur Gourville.

S I R,

*Brussels, May 2.
S. N. 1667.*

YOU ask me whether we have a mind in earnest for a Peace, and I ask you, whether you have a mind in earnest for a War: For as yet we are no better informed of the Designs and Marches of the *French* Troops, than we were at your Departure from *Brussels*. I begin to think that King and his Ministers are mortal like other People, and that their Affairs are managed with as little Concert as those of their Neighbours. For I believe, as to what concerns this Country, the critical Minute is past, and that the

French

A Monsieur Gourville.

Monsieur,

*De Bruxelles, Apr. 2.
S. N. 1667.*

VOUS me demandez si nous voulons tout-de-bon la paix; Et moi, je vous demande si vous voulez tout-de-bon la guerre; car jusqu'icy nous n'en savons pas plus sur vos desseins Et la marche des Troupes *Françoises*, que nous en savions à votre depart de *Bruxelles*. Je commence à croire que ce Roy Et ses Ministres sont mortels comme le reste des hommes, Et que leurs affaires sont manières avec aussi peu de concert que celles de leurs voisins; car je croy, que pour ce qui est de ce pais icy, l'heure de berger est passée pour eux, Et qu'ils y trouveront une

une

French will find here a braver Defence than they pretend to believe. However it is certain, if they had begun by *marching* rather than *menacing* about three Weeks ago, the Business on this side had been past Remedy. In short, I as little comprehend the *French* Proceedings at present, as those of the *Spaniards* a while ago, nor where they can find their Account in this Enterprize which begins to awaken and alarm all *Christendom*.

For our selves, my real Opinion is, that our Intentions for the Peace are very sincere, and cannot fail, if the other Parties bring along with them the same Dispositions; and if I were as much concerned therein, as you perhaps may be, I would regulate my Affairs accordingly for the future.

I thank you for your Account of what passes in your Parts; but I am very little satisfied with the Queen of *Spain's* Letter, whereof a Copy has been delivered at the same time to the States by Monsieur d'Estrades. I think the Form is faulty, as well as the Substance; and that if your *Soldiers* be at present no better than your *Secretaries*, Affairs will hardly succeed as they imagine.

By the last Ordinary from *Spain*, it appears that they dream no more of War there than they do of Fire, at least they conceal from our Ambassador any Advices they may have received of it from hence: But our Treaty of Commerce was yet once again upon the Point of being signed. The *Spaniards* make no Preparations against *Portugal* this Campaign, and therefore seem to think of being on that side upon the Defensive, or else of an Accommodation; tho' they are well enough informed of the Particulars of an Accord concluded between *France* and *Portugal*.

Nothing perplexes me more than to find a way of writing often to *Breda*, and you will not send me your Address. I resign up this to my Fortune, but since yours is always better than mine, it may happen upon that Account that you may never receive it. As happy as you are, I advise you to look to your Affairs at *Breda*; for in a few Days I resolve to go and plunder your House at *Brussels*, and get satisfaction

me resistance plus opiniatre, & plus rebutante qu'ils ne s'imaginent: Mais il est constant, que si au lieu de menacer, ils eussent commencé à marcher il y a trois semaines, l'affaire étoit sans ressource de ce côté icy. Enfin je les comprends aussi peu dans leur conduite d'à présent, que je comprenois autrefois les *Espagnols* dans la leur; & je ne prévois pas comment ils pourront trouver leur conte dans la poursuite d'une entreprise, qui va réveiller & même choquer toute la Chrétienté.

A notre égard, mon sentiment, que je croy véritable, & que je vous communique sans déguisement, est, que nos intentions pour la paix sont fort sincères, & qu'elle ne scauroit manquer de se faire, si les autres parties y apportent les mêmes dispositions; j'ajoute, que si j'y étois intéressé autant que j'entrevois que vous pouvez l'être, je regleroïis mes affaires conformément aux conjonctures.

Je vous rends grâces de ce que vous me mandez ce qui se passe en vos quartiers; mais je suis fort peu satisfait de la lettre écrite à la Reyne d'Espagne, dont la copie a été donnée en même tems aux Etats par Monsieur d'Estrades. Il me semble qu'il y a du défaut dans la manière aussi bien que dans le fond de la chose même; & que si pour cette fois vos Capitaines n'en savent plus que vos Secretaires, les affaires n'iront pas le train qu'on a pensé.

Par ce dernier ordinaire d'Espagne, ils ne paroissent non plus songer à la guerre qu'au feu; ou bien il taisent à notre Ambassadeur les avis qu'ils peuvent avoir reçus de deçà; mais notre traité de commerce étoit encore une fois sur le point d'être signé. Ils ne font point de préparatifs contre le *Portugal* pour cette campagne; & par là ils semblent songer seulement ou à se tenir de ce côté là sur la défensive, ou bien à entendre à un accommodement; quoiqu'ils sachent bien le détail de l'accord conclu entre la *France* & le *Portugal*.

Il n'y a rien qui m'embarasse plus que de trouver les moyens d'écrire souvent à *Breda*; & vous ne m'envoyez point aussi votre adresse. J'abandonne celle-cy à mon étoile; mais comme la votre l'emporte toujours sur la mienne, il pourra bien arriver qu'elle manquera sa route. Quelque heureux que vous soyez, je vous conseille pourtant de bien faire vos affaires à *Breda*, car dans peu de jours j'iray piller votre Maison à *Brusselles*,

faction for my great Orange-Tree upon your little ones. I do not pretend it shall be open War; however the *Hollanders* will tell you that we *English* are D—— and all at Reprisals. I am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

selles, & vanger mon grand Oranger sur vos petits. Ce ne sera pas guerre déclarée; mais les Hollandois vous diront que nous faisons le diable à quatre en matiere de represailles.

Je suis, &c.

To my Lord St. Albans.

My Lord,

Brussels, May 13. S.N. 1667.

SINCE my Acknowledgments of the Honour I received some time since from your Lordship, I have had nothing to give me Countenance in offering any new Trouble; and indeed the Party is so unequal in regard of our Stations at this time of *Paris* and *Brussels*, as well as all other Circumstances, that no Commerce can pass without very great Presumption on my Side, and as great Condescension on your Lordship's: For we are so amazed with the Numbers and Bravery of the *French* Preparations to invade this Country, that we can hardly lift up our Eyes against the rising of this Sun, that is said, intends to burn up all before it: Yet not to flatter you, tho' Mens Eyes are weak at first Sight, when they have gazed a while I believe they will find their *Hands*; and try to defend themselves against *Gold*, as well as against *Iron*; and perhaps the Stomach they have conceived at being treated with so little Ceremony as to be invaded without any Declaration of War, to have the Duchy of *Brabant* not esteemed worth the demanding, nor any Colours given to the Justice of the Invasion, will make the Defence sharper than is expected, as it has done the voluntary Contributions larger than was imagined.

This makes all *Friars* already despair of praying away the War, and begin to look like other worldly Men; and the very *Nuns* fear they may be forced to work too, before the Business ends: In short, all prepare for a warm Summer, only the *Spanish Duennas* cannot think so ill of a King that married an *Infanta*, and will never leave wondering that *Un Rey qui tiene que comer en su Casa, y de regalarle tambien*, should resolve to give himself and them so much Trouble for nothing. Our poor *Nuns* at *Louvain* have more Faith, and not less Fears, and therefore the reverend Mother hath sent to desire me to recommend them to your Lordship's Favour, and to beg of you to get them a Protection from thence, in case the Scholars and *Learned* there should not find Arguments to defend their Town against the *French*, who, I can assure your Lordship, will not lose much by the Bargain, as far as I see of that Nunnery; *Nuns* and all; for it seems by their Faces, as well as their Buildings, to be an ancient Foundation, and gone much to Decay.

Now they have put me upon desiring Passports, my Wife will needs have me recommend her to your Lordship for another for her self, and Servants; and Baggage, to go over into *England*; and if she shall find it convenient, to pass as far as *Calais*, and embark there, because she is no Lover of the Sea. Upon the first of these Requests your Lordship has occasion to merit very much; but by the second, to deal freely, I know not what you will gain, besides the Obligations of a Person who is already all that can be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most Humble

and most Obedient Servant.

To my Lord Ambassador Coventry.

My Lord,

Brussels, May 21. N.S. 1667.

I Know not by what Conveyance, nor by what Delays, the Honour your Excellency intended me so long since from aboard the Frigate, came yesterday to my Hands, and made my Acknowledgments later than they ought to have been. I am sorry you agreed so ill with the Sea, since that is the *Dutch* Mens Element, with whom we hope you will agree so well; but if you had the Faculty of uttering your Heart in the Seamens Sense, as well as you had of uttering your Thoughts; I am to rejoice with you upon the good Health you must needs have brought ashore, and to believe that the Temper and Constitution of your Body, is as sound and as good as that of your Mind. Since my last to my Lord *Holles*, our Ordinary from *Spain* arrived; by which Mr. *Godolphin* assures me, that I may expect the News of our Treaty at *Madrid* being signed by the next, nothing remaining at the Date of his Letter besides only the Examination of the Phrase in *Latin*, which was referred to the *Inquisidor General*, and Count *Pignoranda*; after whose Sentence upon it, nothing was in Sight that could stop the immediate Signing and Sealing.

Mr. *Godolphin* assures me, all Parts of the Treaty of Commerce are so much to our Desire and Advantage, that he hopes to see many a rich Man in *England* by it; for the other Part, which concerns the Adjustment with *Portugal*, tho' the Terms are likewise agreed between us and *Spain*, yet the present Effect of it seems likely to be avoided by the late Accord between *France* and *Portugal*, of which I send the Account inclosed by the Copy of Sir *Robert Southwell's* Letter to my Lord *Sandwich* upon that Occasion. I inclose likewise the Copies of the *French* King's last Letters to the *States-General*, and at the same time to the Queen Regent of *Spain*, declaring his Intentions to invade these Countries; which last methinks is drawn with so ill Colours and so ill Grace, that if his Captains do no better than his Secretaries upon this Occasion, the Success of his Enterprize may prove no better than the Justice of it here appears. If these Papers may have arrived already some other way, your Excellency will however pardon my Diligence, since you receive no other Trouble than that of throwing them away. The Levies here and Musters go on with all the Care and Speed this Government is capable of. This Evening I am assured, the twelve hundred *Italians* so long expected, are arrived at *Ostend*. Last Night parted *Don Bernard de Salinas*, dispatch'd from the Marquis here, to beg some Assistance from his Majesty; the present Hopes are only of leave to recruit the old Regiment here to the Number of two thousand, or else to raise two new ones, under such Officers as his Majesty shall name. The Cloud threatening these Parts from *France* is not yet broken, and the Marches of their Troops to three several Rendezvous make it yet uncertain where it will fall. *Cambray*, *Valenciennes*, *Namur*, *Mons*, and *St. Omers*, are in very good Condition, and the last hath three thousand Men in Garrison, besides the *Bourgeoisie*. The Prince of *Ligni* has now four thousand Horse effective at the head Quarters near *Nivelle*, where there will be five thousand Foot to join with them, and attend their Enemy's Motion, and cover *Brussels* upon occasion. It is most certain, that if the *French* had begun to march when they began to talk, about three Weeks since, this Country had been lost without Dispute, or Remedy; the Defence will be now perhaps sharper than expected. *La Bassée* and *Armentiers* are already slighted, and *Charles-Roy* is all mined within, the Mines filled with Powder; Guns and Magazines drawn off, and ready to fly upon the first Approach of the *French*, which is here esteemed both a generous and prudent Resolution of the Marquis, since he could not finish it in time, nor preserve his Child without the Mother's Danger.

I know nothing else to increase this Trouble, besides the Assurances of my being,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's most Humble
and most Obedient Servant.

To

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Brussels, May 27. N.S. 1667.

TWO Days since came hither the News of *Armentiers* being seized by a Party of the *French* Horse, about five hundred strong; half of the Fortifications were already slighted, and not above an hundred and fifty Soldiers left in the Town. What their next Design will be, seems not yet resolved; their Troops marching on all Parts, give the Occasion I suppose to the several Governours of *Mons*, *Cambray*, and *Valenciennes*, to signify by Expresses hither, the Jealousy each of them has of the Storm being ready to fall upon their Parts.

At *Cambray* and *Lisle* several *French* have been taken surveying the Works, and disguised; but all those Places are at present in so good Condition, that the Choice may perhaps make some Difficulties in the *French* Counsels, which I believe have been much disconcerted by the blowing up of *Charle-Roy*; a Resolution they expected not from the Marquis, and without which these Parts of the Country had run inevitable Dangers, and the most successful Invasion had been made in those Provinces where the *French* Pretensions lay.

The Discourses here observe, that the first Pace of the War being made in *Flanders*, loses all the good Grace which the *French* endeavour'd to give their Invasion; that the Town they have taken can import no more than the Advance of their Frontiers; that they seem unresolved whether to keep it or no; how to use the Governour and Soldiers whom they took in their Beds, whether as Prisoners, or Friends, and more uncertain what to do next; that their Slowness in entering the Country, and Loss of twenty Day's time, tho' they were then as ready as now, has certainly saved these Provinces; for it is constant without any Dispute, that if they had fallen on in the beginning of this Month, *Charle-Roy*, *Nivelle*, *Louvaine*, *Brussels* and *Mechlyn*, would have cost them neither Time nor Danger. From these Circumstances the Reasoners here conclude a Weakness and Incertitude in the *French* Counsels, and begin to hope they may have taken their Measures as ill among their Neighbours, as they have among themselves; and say confidently, that unless they are agreed with *England*, their Affairs are in a worse Posture than they have been these twenty Years. They begin to hope that all our late Practices with the *French* are aimed no farther than to embark them in this Affair, and have our Revenge for the Game they play'd in engaging us in the *Dutch* War: They say, that if by Offers and Shews of abandoning *Spain*, we have drawn the *French* into this War, which hath already cost them all their Confidence with *Holland*, all farther Hopes of amusing *Spain*, and the Credit of their good Faith and Meaning with the rest of *Christendom*: That if after our Peace made with *Holland* and *France*, we resolve to offer our Mediation between *France* and *Spain*, and upon the refusal or failing of it, join with the *Hollander* in the Protection of these Countries, enter vigorously into the War, share with the *Spaniard* whatever shall be gained from the *French*, and let *Holland* find their Account by destroying all the *French* Designs of Trade and Plantations Abroad; the Reasoners here conclude, that if this has been our Design for these two Months past; and be pursued with the same Success it has begun: It is one of the greatest Councils that has ever been conceived by any Prince, and which will make the greatest Change in our own Affairs, and in those of all *Christendom* besides, and appear the best adjusted Revenge upon the *French* that ever was taken upon an Enemy.

From *Breda* we have got little more than the Entry of our Ambassador, which makes us believe some Mystery in the Delays of Peace there; as well as those of War on the other Side.

From *Sweden* I have the last Post a particular Assurance of that Crown's good Intentions towards the House of *Austria*, of their dispatching one Monsieur *Tongel* Envoy into *Spain*, who is to pass this way, and will be address'd to me to introduce him to the Marquis, by whose Representations the Court of

Sweden

Sweden desires to have their Minister's Reception in *Spain* favour'd, and his Negotiation advanced.

I am, as will ever become me to be, with equal Passion and Truth,

My Lord,
Yours, &c.

To my Lord Holles.

My Lord,

Brussels, May 29. N. S. 1667.

I Know not with what Speed or Success three of mine may have arrived at *Breda*, but am apt to doubt the Certainty of this Commerce, by observing that your Excellency's of the 22^d came not to my Hands till Yesterday, and after the Receipt of it I was so unlucky, as not to find the *Baron de L'Isola* till later at Night than would suffer this Dispatch: I now send it to Mr. *Shaw* of *Antwerp*, with Orders to convey it by Express from thence, in case he meets no other sudden Occasion; and whatever Favour or Commands your Excellency may hereafter design me, will come sooner and safer, I suppose, by an Address to the same Hand at *Antwerp*.

I acquainted the *Baron de L'Isola* with the *Dutch* Allegations concerning some Advances made by him as from his Majesty, upon the Point of *Poleroon*. He says, however they may seem to interpret it, they could not understand it by any thing that passed from him in that private Communication, which was all he enter'd into upon his short Stay in *Holland*. That upon his first Discourse of his Majesty's Intention to make the Treaty of 1662 the Foundation of this at present: The Person he discoursed with raised two Difficulties; the first, that of *Poleroon*; and the other, the Continuance of the Pretensions left on either Side; which as they had given Occasion, or at least Pretext, for the present Quarrel, so, if they were left still undecided, they might hereafter have the same Effect; whereas their Desire was by this Peace to cut off the Root of all future Differences. For the first Point, he (the Baron) asked, whether if all other Articles should be agreed, the *States* would be so obstinate upon the Point of *Poleroon*, as to endanger the Peace for that alone: It was answered, the *French* had already essay'd to do some Offices in this Particular, and had brought it to this very Demand; whether the *States* would continue the War rather than yield the Point of *Poleroon*; and that the *States* had answered formally, they would.

For the second, concerning the mutual Pretensions left in the Treaty of 1662. He (the Baron) seem'd to approve the cutting them all off, but propos'd, that in Consideration of it, the *States* should give his Majesty a Sum of Money in some sort proportionable to what his Pretences might amount; and that if the *States* would make any Advance considerable in Point of the Sum, he (the Baron) would employ all his own and his Friends Endeavours, to induce his Majesty to a Condescension in this Point of *Poleroon*, as well as that of clearing all Pretensions on either Side.

To this was answered, that for *Poleroon* nothing more could be said, nor any Consideration make the *States* yield it, without the Alternative of restoring all on each Side, which would create Length and Difficulty in the Treaty. That, for a Sum of Money in Satisfaction of his Majesty's Pretensions, they could not consent to any such Proposal, without a particular Liquidation of what the Pretensions on each side amounted to; since they believed in gross their own upon us, to be higher than ours upon them: And yet at the same time it was insist'd, that no such Examen or Liquidation should be enter'd upon, since doing it before the Conclusion would expose the Treaty to the Danger of Delays, and consequently of Accidents; and leaving it to Commissioners after the Conclusion, would leave Field for new Disputes.

This

This was the Sum of the Baron's Negotiation, in which he made all the Advances as from himself; but when he found he was not likely to bring it to any Issue, by reason of those two Difficulties, that is, *Poleroon*, and the Sum in Consideration of our clearing all pretensions; he then told them, as by his Majesty's Order, that the Point of *Poleroon*, touching our *East-India* Company, rather than his Majesty, the King would send over some Persons deputed from the said Company, with his Ambassadors; and if the *States* would do the same, it was likely the Persons deputed from each Company might find an Expedient in the Business.

This the Baron gives me for the short and true Relation of all his Discourses in *Holland*, which having been made with one Person alone, and very private, I find he expected not they would have been so publick, as to be alledged upon any new Negotiations.

Our News from the Frontiers since my last, is this: About the time of the *French* King's coming down to *Arras*, the Orders were given for flighting *Armentiers*, *la Bassée*, and *Charle-Roy*, which being publick, and begun to be executed at *Armentiers*; a *Brigetin* Priest of that Town went to *Arras*, and upon Complaints of their being left without Defence in the Times of Danger that were approaching, made Application to the Governour of *Arras* for a Protection for their Town: Within a Day or two after, when the Works were about half flighted, instead of the Protection, came seven or eight hundred *French* Horse, and finding a Guard of about forty Men at the Entrance of the Place, made a Discharge upon them, killed one, and wounded two: Upon which, those few Soldiers that were in the Town-House, shot and killed three or four of the *French*, who began to pillage some of the Burgher's Houses; but this Disorder was soon appeased by their Officers, after which they summoned the Peasants in, and began to repair the Fortifications, kept the Governour in Restraint, and carried the Matter as if this had been the Declaration of War. This News coming to the Governour of *Lisle*, he seized upon some *French* Men he found in his Town by way of Reprisal for those taken at *Armentiers*; and the Marquis gave Order to the Prince of *Ligny* who commands the Horse here, to charge any Party he should find making Courses into the Frontiers, and to endeavour to bring away some Prisoners, both as Reprisals for those of *Armentiers*, and to know something of the *French* Pretensions.

After they had kept *Armentiers* about five Days, they released the Governour, told the People they came not to begin any War, but only at their Invitation to protect the Town; drew off at first one Party of their Men, and last *Friday* Morning all the rest: The Governour of *Lisle* set his *French* Men at Liberty, and the Prince of *Ligny*, some that he had taken in a Skirmish of small Parties upon the Borders of *Hainault*, wherein the Marquis tells me about fifty of the *French* were killed, and near twenty taken. This I am more particular in relating, because it seems the first Pace of the War, tho' since in a manner disavowed by the *French*, and indeed it is generally censured as the Effect of a weak and uncertain Council, to begin without any formed Design or Declaration, by seizing so rashly a Place of no Moment, and in the Province of *Flanders*, where none of their Pretences lie. These three last Days the Motion of their Troops has been through *Philippeville*, and the Frontiers of *Hainault*. The *French* King was expected last Night at *Quesnoy*, and to Day at *Philippeville*. They have begun a Bridge upon the *Sambre*, near a Village called *Marfin au Pont*, a League up the River from the Place where *Charle-Roy* stood; the Ground being on the one side *Pais de Liege*, and on the other, the *Spaniards* Country; so we expect here they will enter that Country to Morrow, but which way they intend their first Impression is uncertain, the Bridge they make serving a Design either upon *Namur*, *Mons*, or *Brussels*. The *Spanish* Forces on this side lie between this Place and *Marimount*, and consist of about four thousand Horse and as many Foot, have no formed Design but to attend the Enemy's Motion, and to retire for the Defence of this Place, in case of the Enemy's marching this way.

The general Belief here of the most intelligent is, that *France* has had the Skill or good Luck, *de nous endormir*, both us and *Holland* in this great Con-
juncture, and by assuring us of Peace upon good Terms with the *Dutch*, and
at the same time the *Dutch* of never according with us, nor breaking with
Spain to their (the *Hollanders*) Prejudice, will amuse us both in a slow Treaty
till they have made so great an Impression in these Countries, as will give nei-
ther of us the Liberty to take those Measures upon this Affair, to which ei-
ther of our Interests might lead us; and perhaps find Means to divert the
Treaty at last, from coming to any Issue. They say, that delaying our Treaty
for the Point of *Poleroon*, is losing a Dinner for Mustard; and that every Day
it is deferred, endangers an irrecoverable Conjunction, that Heaven hath given
us of making our selves considerable to whom, which way, and to what De-
gree we please. God send these Reasoners to be deceived, and that we may
not be so, at least no more by the same Hands. I am,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

So Sir Philip Warwick.

S I R,

Brussels, June 21. N. S. 1667.

I AM very sorry that I must rejoice with you, and condole with all your
Friends at the same Time, and upon the same Occasion; for tho' the Re-
treat I hear you have made from Business must needs be a Trouble and a Loss to
us all, yet I know it is an Ease and a Happiness to your self, or else a wise
Man as you are, ought not to have chosen it. I will not tell you how great
a Contentment I had in knowing my Business lay so much in your way, be-
cause I never intend to pursue more than what his Majesty pleases to make my
Due, and I have ever reckoned both upon your Justice and your Kindness:
But I must bear this Disappointment, since you are the Author of it, which is
the best Consolation I can think of. In the mean time I hope you do not in-
tend to retire from the Commerce of your Friends, as well as that of Business;
for tho' you should lock your self up within your Walls of *Frog-Pool*, I shall
ever pretend to have a Share in you, there itself, and never omit any Occasions
of assuring you that no Change you can make in your Course of Life, can ever
make any in the Resolutions I have taken of being always,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Brussels, July 19. N. S. 1667.

THE Diligence of the Posts, or Favour of the Weather, have given me
two of your Lordship's, to acknowledge since my last of the 1st and 5th
current, with the good News of the *Dutch* being beaten off at *Harwich*; for
since we are in a Disease, every Fit we pass well over is so much of Good,
and gives Hopes of Recovery: I doubt this is not the last, for I hear *De Witt*
is resolved that their Fleet shall not give over Action till the very Ratifications
of the Treaty are exchanged: In which he certainly pursues his Interest, that
the War may end with so much the more Honour Abroad, and Heart at Home;
for commonly the same Dispositions between the Parties with which one War
ends, another begins. And tho' this may end in Peace, yet I doubt it will be
with so much Unkindness between the Nations, that it will be Wisdom on
both

both Sides to think of another, as well as to avoid it. All Discourse here is of the Peace as a thing undoubted, and every Pacquet I receive from *England* confirms me in the Belief that a War Abroad is not our present Business, till all at Home be in better Order; no more than hard Exercise which strengthens healthy Bodies, can be proper for those that have a Fever lurking in the Veins, or a Consumption in the Flesh; for which, Rest, and Order, and Diet, are necessary, and perhaps some Medicine too, provided it come from a careful and a skilful Hand. This is all that I shall say upon that Subject, which I presume has before this received some Resolution by my Lord Ambassador *Coven*try's Arrival; for I confess my Stomach is come down, and I should be glad to hear the Peace ended, and our Coasts clear, since it will not be better; but all this while, *Multa gemens Ignominiam Plagasque superbi Hostis*, and I am sure would not desire to live, unless with Hopes of seeing our selves one Day in another Posture, which God Almighty has made us capable of, whenever we please our selves.

I am sorry to find the Commerce between *England* and *Spain* so far cut off, as it should seem by your Lordship's Complaints, of having received none of a Date later than *May* the first, for mine holds yet pretty constant, tho' I suppose visited by the *French* in their Passage. On *Sunday* last I received one from Mr. *Godolphin* of the first current, where he told me, the Treaties were sent signed by several ways into *England*, and therefore concluded some of them arrived. He seems to doubt still the *Portuguese* accepting their Share in it; which is the likelier, because the Marquis tells me, he hears by this Ordinary, that better Terms may be offered them, tho' 'tis pleasant the *Spaniard* should not have yet resolved to give them the Title, when for ought I know without it, all their own may be in Danger. His Excellency assures me they are resolved in *Spain* upon declaring a general War both by Sea and Land, and that way make the *French* unmask their Designs; that they have sent Order already to seize upon all that belongs to the *French* in their *Indies*, who have a great Share in the *Spanish* Fleet that is daily expected home; that they have remitted by this Ordinary to his Excellency a hundred and thirty thousand Crowns, which is the third Remise of about that Sum, arrived since the War began; and that they have negotiated with the *Fregoni*, or some such Name, being the ablest Merchants at *Amsterdam*, for nine hundred thousand more; so that the Process seems well enter'd, and I wish them a good Issue.

We have here no Certainty of the Progress of the *French* Arms, nor can we say that *Courtray* is taken, tho' the Report has continued more or less these four Days; but the Marquis would not own any Advice of it on *Saturday* Night; tho' he spoke very despairingly of the Town, but confidently of the Cittadel's holding out at least fifteen Days, if those within it did their Duty. His Excellency makes a very different Story of the Baron of *Limbeck*'s Defeat, which was reported here; and assures me, that having carried some Relief into *Courtray*, he retreated with only two hundred Horse, and meeting a Party of six hundred of the *French*, charged through them, killed the Captain of their Vanguard with several others, and came off with the Loss only of fifteen Men.

Yesterday Morning the Marquis went to *Gant*, with Intentions of returning in three or four Days; and hath left the Town so emptied by his Journey, as well as the Camp, that besides the Governour, I know not of a Gentleman of my Acquaintance in it.

The Baron *de l'Isola* went this Morning towards *Antwerp*, and from thence passes towards *Ostend* to go over with the Convoy, which I could not persuade him to lose, tho' I endeavoured it upon a Hint in your Lordship's Letter, and more upon his telling me that you had dissuaded him from coming till the Ratifications of the Treaty were passed; but he says, he is confident that will be before he can arrive; that he hath sent over all his Papers and Bills of Exchange before Hand, and if he loses this convoy, knows not when to hope for a secure Passage. And if his Majesty thinks fit, will rather make a Stay at *Gravesend*, or any other Place near the Water side, till all Jealousy of his coming be blown over.

I give

I give your Lordship humble Thanks for the Letter I received to make use of part of the Money in Mr. *Shaw's* Hands, for Supply of what was grown due to me; and am, I am sure, at all Times, more troubled to ask it, than pleased to receive it. I was much more sensibly obliged by the Part you was pleased to give me of the good Fortune arrived to your Family, by its Increase, and my Lady's Safety; and will assure your Lordship you do me but Justice to believe I am concerned in all that happens to you, and more particularly upon this Occasion, of which I have made very constant Enquiries, tho' without your Lordship's Trouble. I give you *El para bien* with all the Joy that can be, and the Presages of many more such Adventures; and know my Lady began with her own Sex for no other Reason, but because the War was ended. My own particular Satisfaction in it is, that my Family may continue their Services to your Lordship's, and that way make up what I shall fall short in the Expressions of that Passion and Truth, wherewith I am,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Lisle.

My Lord,

Brussels, Aug. — 1667.

I Received lately the Honour of one from your Lordship, which after all Complaints of Slowness and Dulness had enough to bear it out, tho' it had been much better address'd, but needed nothing where it was, besides being yours. In my present Station I want no Letters of Business or News, which makes those that bring me Marks of my Friends Remembrance, or touches at their present Thoughts and Entertainments, taste much better than any thing can do that is common Fare.

I agree very much with your Lordship, in being little satisfied by the Wits Excuse, of employing none upon Relations as they do in *France*; and doubt much it is the same Temper and course of Thoughts among us, that makes us neither act Things worth relating, nor relate Things worth the reading. Whilst making some of the Company laugh and others ridiculous, is the Game in Vogue, I fear we shall hardly succeed at any other, and am sorry our Courtiers should content themselves with such Victories as those. I would have been glad to have seen Mr. *Cowley* before he died, celebrated Captain *Douglas* his Death, who stood and burnt in one of our Ships at *Chatham* when his Soldiers left him, because it should never be said, a *Douglas* quitted his Post without Order; whether it be wise in Men to do such Actions or no, I am sure it is so in *States*, to honour them; and if they can, to turn the Vein of Wits, to raise up the Esteem of some Qualities above their real Value, rather than bring every thing to Burlesque, which if it be allowed at all, should be so only to wise Men in their Closets, and not to Wits, in their common Mirth and Company. But I leave them to be reformed by great Men's Examples and Humours, and know very well 'tis Folly for a private Man to touch them, which does but bring them like Wasps about ones Ears. However, I cannot but bewail the Transitoriness of their Fame, as well as other Mens, when I hear Mr. *Waller* is turned to Burlesque among them, while he is alive, which never happen'd to old Poets till many Ages after their Death; and tho' I never knew him enough to adore him, as many have done, and easily believe he may be, as your Lordship says, enough out of Fashion, yet I am apt to think some of the old cut-work Bands were of as fine Thread, and as well wrought, as any of our new Points; and at least, that all the Wit he and his Company spent in heightning Love and Friendship was better employ'd, than what is laid out so prodigally by the modern Wits, in the Mockery of all sorts of Religion and Government.

I know

I know not how your Lordship's Letter has engaged me in this kind of Discourses; but I know very well you will advise me after it to keep my Residency here as long as I can, foretelling me what Success I am like to have among our Courtiers if I come over. The best on't is, my Heart is set so much upon my little Corner at *Sheen*, that while I keep that, no other Disappointments will be very sensible to me; and because my Wife tells me she is so bold as to enter into Talk of enlarging our Dominions there, I am contriving here this Summer, how a Succession of Cherries may be compass'd from *May* till *Michaelmas*, and how the Riches of *Sheen* Vines may be improved, by half a dozen Sorts which are not yet known there, and which I think much beyond any that are. I should be very glad to come and plant them my self this next Season, but know not yet how those Thoughts will hit. Tho' I design to stay but a Month in *England*, yet they are here very unwilling I should stir, as all People in Adversity are jealous of being forsaken; and his Majesty is not willing to give them any Discouragement, whether he gives them any Assistance or no. But if they end the Campaign with any good Fortune, they will be better humoured in that, as well as all other Points: And it seems not a very unlikely thing, the *French* having done nothing in six Months past but harass their Army, and being before *Lisle* engaged in a Siege, which may very well break the Course of their Success. They have not yet made the least Advance upon any of their Out-works, but been beaten off with much Loss in all their Assaults: And if that King's Design be to bring his Nobility as low as he has done his People, he is in a good way, and may very well leave most of the brave among them in their Trenches there.

I had not need write often at this Length, nor make your Lordship any new Professions of my being,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To my Brother Sir John Temple.

Dear Brother,

Brussels, Octob. 10. N.S. 1667.

HAVING written so many and long Letters to my Father, I resolved this should be to you, tho' upon a Subject wherein he has been very desirous to be informed, which was more than I could pretend to from any Notices of my own, having been young and very new in Business, when I was first employ'd upon the *Munster* Treaty. All I knew of the Grounds or Occasions of our late War with *Holland*, was, that in all common Conversation, I found both the *Court* and the *Parliament* in general, very sharp upon it; complaining of the *Dutch* Insolencies, of the great Disadvantages they had brought upon our Trade in general, and the particular Injuries of their *East-India* Company towards ours: And it was not easy to think any should better understand the Honour of the Crown than our *Court*; or the Interests of the Nation, than the *House of Commons*. One thing I confess gave me some Reflections, which was, to observe that three of my Father's greatest Friends, and Persons that I most esteemed upon many Accounts, were violently against the Counsels of this War; which were my Lords of *Northumberland*, of *Leicester*, and Sir *Robert Long*; tho' two of them were of the Privy Council, and the third in a great Office, and ever bred up in Court. For my own part, when I enter'd into that Affair, all I knew was, that we were actually in a War, and that the best we could do was to get out of it either by Success and Victories, or by a fair and reasonable Peace, which I believed our Treaty with *Munster* would make way for: And I found some of our Ministers had no other End by it, having given over the Thoughts of any great Advantages we should find by pursuing the War. How that succeeded, and how it ended, you all know there, as well as I do here.

Upon Conclusion of the Peace at *Breda*, my Sister took a very strong Fancy to a Journey into *Holland*, to see a Country she had heard so much of; and I was willing to give her that Satisfaction, after the melancholy Scene we have had here ever since the *French* Invasion of this Country. We went *Incognito*, with only her Woman, a Valet de Chambre, and a Page out of Livery, who all spoke *Dutch*. I leave it to her to give you an Account of what Entertainments she met with there, which she was much pleased with, especially those of the *Indian* Houses: For me, who had seen enough of it in my younger Travels, I found nothing new but the *Stadt-House* at *Amsterdam*, which tho' a great Fabrick, yet answered not the Expectation I had, from so much Time, and so vast Expence, as had been employed to raise it: Which put me in mind of what the *Cavaliero Bernini* said of the *Louvre*, when he was sent for to take a View of it, that it was *Una granpiccola Cosa*. The chief Pleasure I had in my Journey was, to observe the strange Freedom that all Men took in Boats and Inns, and all other common Places, of talking openly whatever they thought upon all the publick Affairs, both of their own State and their Neighbours: And this I had the Advantage of finding more by being *Incognito*, and think it the greatest piece of the Liberty that Country so much values; the Government being otherwise as severe, and the Taxes as hard, as among any of their Neighbours.

At our return from *Amsterdam* we lay two Nights at the *Hague*, where I made a Visit to Monsieur de *Witt*: I told him who I was, but that having pass'd unknown through the Country, to all but himself, I desired I might do so still. I told him, my only Business was, to see the Things most considerable in the Country, and thought I should lose my Credit, if I left it without seeing him. He took my Complement very well, and returned it, by saying, he had received a Character of me to my Advantage, both from *Munster* and *Brussels*, and was very glad to be acquainted with me at a Time when both our Nations were grown Friends; and had equal Reason to look about us, upon what had lately happened in *Flanders*; he seemed much to regret the late unhappy Quarrel between us, which had made way for this new War among our Neighbours. He laid the Fault of ours wholly upon Sir *George Downing*, who having been Envoy from *Cromwel* at a Time when the *States* were forced to observe good Measures with him; Sir *George* had made use of that Disposition, to get a great deal of Money from the *East-India* Company, who were willing to bribe his good Offices, in some Disputes that remained between the two Companies: That having been continued in the same Employment by the King, he thought to drive the same Trade; but finding the Company more stanch, he had taken upon him to pursue a Dispute about the old Pretensions, upon the Loss of the *Bonadventure*, as an Affair of State between the Nations, whereas it was left by our Treaties to be pursued only as a Process between the Parties. That in their Treaty with *Cromwel*, all Pretensions on both Sides were cut off, but with this Clause; *Liceat autem* (to such as were concerned in that Affair of the *Bonadventure*) *Litem inceptam prosequi*. That this Treaty having been made the Model of that, concluded with his Majesty soon after his Restoration, that Clause continued still in the new Treaty; and the Process which had been begun long before *Cromwel's* Treaty, before the Magistrates of *Amsterdam*, had still gone on after their Treaty with the King, according to the true Intention of that Clause. That Mr. *Cary*, who was employ'd to pursue it in the Name of *Courtin's* Executors, had brought it very near a Composition, demanding forty thousand Pounds for all Pretensions, and the *Dutch* offering thirty. That he, (Monsieur de *Witt*) to end this Affair, had appointed a Meeting with Mr. *Cary*, who had since confess'd to his Friends, that he was resolv'd to end it at that Meeting, and rather to take the *Dutch* Offer, than let the Suit run on; but that very Morning Sir *George Downing* sent for him, told him it was a Matter of State between the two Nations, and not only a Concern of private Men; and therefore absolutely forbid him to go on with any Treaty about it, otherwise than by his Communication and Consent: That he would put in a Memorial to the *States* upon it, and instead of forty thousand Pounds which he demanded, would undertake to get him fourscore, and

and that he was sure the *Dutch* would give a great deal more, rather than venture a Quarrel with his Majesty.

This Course he pursued, made extravagant Demands, and with great Influence; made the same Representations to our Court, and possess'd some of the Ministers that he would get great Sums of Money, both for his Majesty and them, if they would suffer him to treat this Affair after his own Manner; for he was sure the *Dutch* would go very far in that kind, if they saw there was no other way to avoid a War with *England*.

That Monsieur *de Witt* for his part thought they were a free State no longer, if they should yield a Point that they not only knew we had no Ground for, but were sure we knew it as well as they; and that whatever the *States* should give upon this Occasion, might be demanded at any time by our Court upon any other, since none could have less Pretence.

This was all the Account he thought fit at least to give me of this War; but other politick Reasoners among the *Dutch* pretended to give several others. Some said, the Duke's military Genius made him desirous to enter upon some Action abroad, and be at the Head of a great Fleet against a *State* he never had been a Friend to: That the Duke of *Albemarle* had long had a Peek to their Country, upon some Usage he resented during his being an Officer there: That he had a very mean Opinion of their Fleets, as well as their other Forces, since the Successes of the *English* in the first War during the *Usurper's* Time: That some of the Ministers were possess'd with an Opinion of getting Money, by only threatening a War, without Intention of seeing it brought to Effect; and had let it run on so far, till it was too late to go back. Some others attribute Sir *Thomas Clifford's* Violence in the House of Commons, and Practices with our *East-India* Company, to a deeper Design; and would have the Matter of *Religion* concerned in the Quarrel, as their Pamphlets still endeavoured during the War: And these will not believe, that when all *Christendom* was at Peace, such a War could be begun merely upon a *Chicane*, about the Loss of a Ship or two so many Years since. There are others that lay the War upon the Conduct of *France*, by which they say, we were engaged in it: That the present King was resolv'd to pursue the old Scheme laid by Cardinal *Richlieu*, of extending the Bounds of *France* to the *Rhine*, for which Ends the Conquest of *Lorraine* and *Flanders* was to be first atchieved. That the Purchase of *Dunkirk* from us was so violently pursued for this End, without which they could not well begin a War upon *Flanders*. That after this they had endeavoured to engage the present Ministry in *Holland*, to renew the Measures once taken in Cardinal *Richlieu's* Time, for dividing *Flanders* between *France* and *Holland*: But not succeeding in it, they had turned all their Intrigues to engage us in a War, which might make Room for their Invasion of *Flanders*, whilst the two Neighbours most concerned in its Defence, should be deep in a Quarrel between themselves: That they made both Parties believe they would assist them if there were Occasion, and would certainly have done it: That as they took part with *Holland* upon our first Successes at Sea, and the Bishop of *Munster's* Treaty; so if the Successes had been great on the *Dutch* side, they would have assisted us in order to prolong the War.

These are Discourses current in *Holland* upon this Subject; and I had rather give you those of others upon it, than any of my own. The Duke of *Ormond* will be able to judge whether any of these *Dutch* Reasonings are true, or which are most probable. For my part I can only say, that however the War began, I am very glad 'tis ended; but sorry it has made way for another, which if it lasts any time, is like to involve us, and perhaps all the rest of the Neighbours, either in a new War, or in new Dangers. For if the *French* shall carry *Flanders*, as they very well may in another Campaign, by the Weakness and Disorders in the Government here; the *Dutch* are sensible that they must fall to be a maritime Province to *France*, upon the best Terms they can. The *Empire* will expect to see them soon at the *Rhine*, and thereby Masters of four *Electors*; and what a Condition *England* will be left in by such an Accession of maritime Forces, as well as Provinces, to such a Power as *France* is already, is but too easy, and too melancholy a Reflection. The *Dutch* are much exasperated

rated at this Invasion of *Flanders*, both as dangerous and as scornful to them in particular; for they say that *France*, till the very Time of their March, gave constant Assurances to the *States*, both by the *French* Ambassador here, and by their Ambassador at *Paris*, that they would not invade *Flanders* without first taking their Measures upon it, with the *States* themselves. I find our Court are as much provoked on t'other side, not only upon this new Danger, but also upon the *French* having declared War against *us* in Favour of *Holland*, without the least Pretence of Injury, or other Occasion; so that if we both understood or trusted one another, 'tis likely we should be both of a Mind in this Matter; but after such a sharp War as hath been for two Years between us, and such a snarling Peace as that at *Breda*, I do not well see how this can happen before it be too late, and so must leave these Contemplations to such as are in the Ministry, both in *England* and *Holland*, as well as *Spain* and the *Empire*, to take such Measures as are wise and necessary in such a Conjunction; which is perhaps the most important that has been a great while in *Christendom*, and may have Consequences that none alive will see the End of. 'Tis time I am sure that you should see an End of this long Letter, and come to the Assurances of my being ever,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To Sir George Savil.

S I R,

Brussels, Dec. 9. N. S. 1667.

BECAUSE my Wife assures me I am not wholly lost in your Favour and Memory, I will not run any farther Venture of forfeiting my Title for want of laying Claim to it, but make use of the smallest Occasion rather than none, in a Matter wherein I am so much and so justly concerned.

This Place never was in worse Posture to furnish either a War or a Gazette than at this Time, for the Troops are all mouldring in their Winter Quarters; and as the greatest Calms ordinarily succeed the greatest Storms, so since the Heat of News and Occurrences here during the late Campaign, I have hardly known a Place where less of both were stirring; Action and Invention seeming to have ended together. There is indeed a new Difference between the two Crowns arisen this Winter; which is, that *France* talks of Peace, but prepares for War; and *Spain* talks of War, but prepares hitherto as if they were sure of Peace: They say at present they are off that with *Portugal*, which is the only Thing yet in Sight that can make the other necessary to them.

Because my Wife tells me you were content with the last Papers I sent of the *Roman* News, I take occasion to continue it by the inclosed, tho' there be seldom any thing in it worth considering at this Distance, unless it be the Style, and the Quiet of that Scene, which, like the upper Region, has no share in the Storms of that below. And besides, as Men have more Curiosity to enquire how a great Man *sleeps*, than what a mean Man *does* all Day long, so the very Rest and Idleness of that *Roman* Court, seems among the Discouriers more worth knowing, than the busy Motions of many small ones in this Northern Continent, who yet at this time pretend to be considered, and to make a Noise.

This is all I can say to excuse my Enclosure of such Papers, unless it be that, to tell a plain Truth, I was very glad of the Occasion to assure you, that I am ever with very much Passion, as well as with much Reason,

S I R,

Your most Faithful

Humble Servant.

The

The Triple Alliance was made in Jan. 1668.

To Sir John Temple.

S I R,

London, Jan. 2. N. S. 1668.

YOU will wonder to see a Letter from this Place, my last having been from *Brussels*, without any Thoughts of such a Journey: And because my Stay here is like to be very short, and my Time extremely filled, I take the first Hour I can find, to give you some Account of this Adventure.

Soon after my last an Express came to me from his Majesty, commanding me to come immediately into *England*, with all the Speed I could possibly make, but to take the *Hague* in my way, and there upon the Credit of a Visit I made Monsieur *de Witt* last September, and which passed very well between us, to make him another, and let him know, his Majesty had commanded me to do so on purpose, to inform my self of the Opinions he had concerning the *French* late Invasion in *Flanders*, their great Success there, and the Appearances of so much greater this ensuing Spring; the Thoughts he had of what was the true Interest of his Majesty, the *States*, and the rest of *Christendom* upon this Occasion: That his Majesty by knowing his Mind should believe he knew a great deal of that of the *States*, and thought he might thereby be enabled to take such Measures, as might be necessary for him in this Conjunction.

I obey'd this Summons, spoke with Monsieur *de Witt*, enter'd into great Confidences with him, made Report of all to his Majesty at my Arrival here; gave Monsieur *de Witt* the Character I think he deserves, of a very able and faithful Minister to his State, and I thought a sincere Dealer, very different from what Sir *George Downing* had given of him at Court, who would have him pass for such another as himself, but only a craftier Man in the Trade than he.

Upon all this, his Majesty came last Night to a Resolution of the greatest Importance which has yet passed I think here, in any foreign Affair, and begun the new Year, I hope, with a good Presage, and in which the new Ministry, particularly my Lord Keeper and my Lord *Arlington*, have had a very great Part: Mine will be to return immediately upon it into *Holland*, where if it please God I arrive and succeed, I expect a great deal of Satisfaction by my Errand, and much the greater by knowing that you will have a great deal in it too, as in an Affair I remember to be so agreeable with what have been always your Opinions.

The Season of the Year is bad, and the Weather ill, and yet my Sister has been so kind as to come with me hither from *Brussels*, and to resolve to return with me at this short Warning to the *Hague*, which will be a great Ease to me as well as Satisfaction; and by freeing me from all domestick Cares, leave me the more Liberty for those of my Business, which I foresee will be enough to take up a better Head than mine. My Wife and Children continue here, till I see where my wandering Planet is like to fix; but my Brother *Harry* resolves to be of the Party, and take this Occasion of seeing *Holland*, and what is like to pass in the World upon this great Conjunction. I am called away, and have Time only to add the constant Professions of that Duty, wherewith I am, and shall be ever,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Hague, Jan. 24. N.S. 1668.

UPON last *Friday* at Night I gave your Lordship the Account of what Advance I had then made in my Negotiation, and of the Point where it was then arrested, with Desires of his Majesty's Pleasure; whereupon having spent that whole Day in Debates, I had little time left for that Letter, but intended to make some Amends for the Haste of it, within two Days by a Dispatch with the Yacht, and tho' delayed a little longer, will not I hope be more unwelcome by bringing your Lordship a fuller and final Account, which may be allowed to surprize you a little there, since it is look'd upon as a Miracle here, not only by those that hear it, but even by the Commissioners themselves, who have had the whole Transaction of it, which I shall now acquaint your Lordship with.

Upon my two first Conferences with Monsieur *de Witt*, which were the *Tuesday* and *Wednesday*, I found him much satisfied with his Majesty's Resolution concerning our Neighbours; but of the Opinion, that the Condition of forcing *Spain* was necessary to our common End, and to clear the Means towards it from all Accidents that might arise. For the defensive League he was of his former Opinion, that it should be negotiated between us; but upon the Project offered his Majesty at *Schevelin*, by which all Matter of Commerce might be so adjusted, as to leave no Seeds of any new Quarrels between the Nations.

After two very long Conferences upon these Points, we ended with some Difference, upon the Necessity of concluding both Parts of my Projects at the same Time; but for the rest, with great Confidence and Satisfaction, in one anothers sincere and frank way of treating, since the first Overtures between us.

The first time I saw him, he told me I came upon a Day he should always esteem very happy, both in respect of his Majesty's Resolutions which I brought, and of those the *States* had taken, about the Disposal of the chief Commands in their Army, by making Prince *Maurice* and Monsieur *Wurtz* Camp Masters General, and the Prince of *Tarante* and *Rhingrave* Generals of the Horse, each to command in Absence of the other. He told me all the Detail of that Disposition, but the rest I remember not well. I laid hold on this Occasion (as indeed I thought was necessary) to say what his Majesty gave me Order concerning the Prince of *Orange*, which he took very well, and said, was very obliging to the *States*; that for his own part he never failed to see the Prince once or twice a Week, and grew to have a particular Affection for him, and would tell me plainly, that the *States* designed the Captain-Generalship of all the Forces for him, so soon as by his Age he grew capable of it.

The next Day was my Audience, which passed with all the Respect that could be given his Majesty's Character; and the next Morning began my Conference with the eight Commissioners of secret Affairs: I exposed my Powers, and saw theirs, in pursuit whereof I offered them the Project of the defensive League, as that which was to be the Foundation of all farther Negotiations, and without which perhaps neither of us should be very forward to speak our Minds with Confidence and Freedom, in what concerned our Neighbours, being likely therein to shock so great Powers abroad: I told them, for the rest, his Majesty having resolved, as far as he could in Honour, to comply with the Sense of the *States*, in the Offices of Mediation between the two Crowns; I was first to expect from them the Knowledge of the *States* Resolution, in case they were already agreed.

I took this Course in my first Proposals, because I found here that the Provinces were not yet resolved upon theirs, five of them only having fallen upon that of Monsieur *de Witt*; but *Zealand* being of Opinion to agree with *France* for dividing *Flanders*; and *Utrecht*, for suffering *France* only to retain the last Years Conquest, by way of *Compromis*, till their Pretensions were adjudged before competent Arbiters, to be agreed by the two Crowns, or by the joint Mediators.

dators: And I was in hopes, that knowing his Majesty's Resolutions to join with them, before they were agreed among themselves, it might produce some Counsels among them, a little more favourable to *Flanders*, and consequently more honourable to his Majesty.

After my Proposals, Monsieur *de Witt* was by the rest of the Commissioners desired to speak for them all in the Conduct of our Conferences, who after a Preamble of the usual Forms and Complements, upon his Majesty's happy Dispositions, to enter into a nearer Alliance with the *States* upon the mentioned Points, declared the same Resolution in the *States*, and allowing our Confidence by a defensive League for the Basis of the rest, said, the *States* were very willing *de faire insérer les Clauses pour la sûreté commune dans les Articles de la Médiation*; and was large upon this Argument, that the last being of very pressing Haste as well as Necessity, and they having already Order from their Provinces to proceed upon it, they could not have the same Powers upon the defensive, being a new Matter, under six Weeks or two Months time, but as soon as they received them, would proceed to give their Ambassador in *England* Powers to fall upon that Treaty, which must for a Basis, have at the same time an Adjustment of Matters of Commerce for his formentioned Reasons.

I thought fit to cut this Matter short, and told them directly, I had no Orders to proceed upon any other Points, but in Consequence or Conjunction of the defensive League; in which I thought his Majesty had all the Reason that could be, both because he would not venture a War's ending in *Flanders* to begin upon *England*; and on the other side knew the *States*, whose Danger was nearer, would never be capable of taking any vigorous Resolutions in their Neighbours Affairs, till they were secure at home by his Majesty's Defence.

That his Majesty thought the most generous and friendly Advance that could be, was made on his Side by his Proposition, being himself so much more out of Danger than they were, and so much courted to a Conjunction with *France* to their Prejudice, as well as that of *Flanders*; that they had not made a Difficulty of such Alliances with Princes, who had lately *désarmées* with them as well as his Majesty; and that, God be thanked, his Majesty was not in Condition to have such an Offer refused by any Prince or State of *Christendom*.

These were the Sum of our Discourses, tho' very long, and such as occasioned the Commissioners to withdraw thrice and consult together, tho' nothing was resolved, but that Monsieur *de Witt* and Monsieur *Isbrant* should spend the Afternoon with me at my Lodging, to endeavour the adjusting of Circumstances between us, since we seemed to agree in Substance.

That Conference ended, as I gave your Lordship Notice that Evening, upon the Point, that instead of the Project of *Schevelin*, or any new Adjustment concerning marine Affairs; the *States* would proceed upon his Majesty's Project of a defensive League, provided the provisional Articles in the *Breda* Treaty might be inserted and perpetuated in this, and thereupon we should expect his Majesty's Answer to what I should write that Night.

The next being *Saturday* Morning, I desired another Conference with my two Commissioners, but could not have it till the Afternoon, they being to report that Morning to the *States* what had passed the Evening before. At our Meeting after Noon, they told me their Communication of all to the *States*, and their Lordships Resolution upon them, that it was necessary the Articles provisional should be inserted in the Treaty, so as I began to doubt a Stop of all till his Majesty's Answer, which subjected all to Uncertainties: I knew the *French* Ambassador was grown into very ill Humour upon my Arrival, and fallen into Complaints and Expostulations with several of the *States*; and the more, because he could not see Monsieur *de Witt* from my coming over till that time, tho' he had often press'd it, and had an Hour given him the next Day, Monsieur *de Witt* having promised to see him, as he went to Church after Noon. Upon this I knew likewise he had dispatch'd a Courier to *Paris*, which I thought would make no Delay, and therefore resolved to fall upon all the Instances and Expedients I could, to draw up a sudden Conclusion. I told them I desired it extremely, before I could hear again out of *England*, because I had left Monsieur *Ruvigny* very busy at my coming away,
and

and not unbefriended; that I feared the same Artifices of *France* to disturb us here, and perhaps Monsieur *d'Esstrades* might at his next Meeting endeavour to infuse some Jealousies into them, by the Relation of what had passed between your Lordship and Monsieur *Ruvigny*, three or four Days after the Date of my first Instructions; upon which I told them frankly (as his Majesty gave me Leave) what had passed in that Affair. Monsieur *de Witt* asked me whether I could shew him the Paper drawn up between you; and knowing I had it not, desired earnestly I would procure it him, assuring me no Use should be made of it, but by joint Consent: But saying, nothing would serve so far to justify them, in case of a Breach, growing necessary between them and *France*, I promised to write to your Lordship about it, which I desire you will please to take Notice of.

I told Monsieur *de Witt* what Confidence I had given his Majesty of his sincere Proceedings, and how I had been supported by your Lordship in those Suggestions, against the Opinion of some other great Men: What Advantage these would take, if they saw our whole Negotiation was stopp'd upon a thing that look'd like a *Chicanerie*; since Articles provisional till new Agreements, were in effect as strong as perpetual, which might it self be changed by new Agreements: That this would be esteemed an Artifice of his, especially since he had declared upon my asking him, that it was his own Opinion, (and that he would tell the *States* so if they demanded it) not to conclude without Inter-
 tion of those Articles, which yet he could not deny to be of present Force; for that they allowed; but seemed to doubt, that referring in the Treaty of *Breda* to a new Treaty, they would be invalidated if a new Treaty should pass without their Confirmation.

I found Monsieur *Isbrant* was content with my Reasons, and said he would undertake his *Province* should be so, but Monsieur *de Witt* said, *Holland* and *Zealand* would not. I told them at last, that I was sure the *States* would not think fit to lose the Effect of the League proposed upon such a Point as this, and that they intended only to have the Advantage of seeing his Majesty's Resolution, in Answer to my Letter before they concluded, with Resolutions however that this should not hinder at last; that I foresaw many things might arise in ten Day's time, to break all our good Intentions, and some more than I had told them, or could at present; that if they knew me, and how far I was to be trusted where I gave my Word, I would propose an Expedient to them; but being so new among them, I thought it was to no Purpose: There I paused. They desired me I would propose however, and so I did; which was, that we should proceed to draw up the whole Project, and sign as soon as was possible; and that in case I afterwards received his Majesty's Leave, in Answer of my *Friday's* Letter, to insert those provisional Articles, I would freely declare it to them, and insert them in a separate Article, to be a part of the defensive League. They both looked a while one upon another, and after a Pause, Monsieur *de Witt* gave me his Hand, and after a Complement upon the Confidence he had taken in my Face, and in the rest of my Dealing since our first Commerce, told me, that if I would promise them what I had said, *en Homme de bien*, they would ask no farther Assurance of me; and provided the Treaty of *Breda* might be confirmed in the Preamble of this, to take away all Scruples of those Articles being of less Force than they were before; for his part, tho' he could promise nothing what the *States* would resolve, yet he would promise that he and Monsieur *Isbrant* would use their utmost Endeavours, to induce them to proceed upon my Proposition; and so we fell immediately to digest our Project of the whole Treaty: For I made no Difficulty of the Confirmation proposed, knowing that new Treaties use to begin by Confirmation of the old.

I am the larger in this Relation, that his Majesty may know upon what Reasons I engaged my Word to them in this Point, and thereupon may give me Leave, without more Circumstances to be true to it, in case his Majesty's Pleasure in the Point be dispatch'd away to me, upon the Receipt of my former Letter.

After

After this Difficulty well evaded, we found none but in this Expression [*In case our Persuasions to Spain should not prevail, and we should come à la Force & à la Contrainte*] which I moderated at first by the Words [*aux moyens plus durs*] and afterwards [*aux moyens plus efficaces*] for we drew it up first in *French*: The other Additions or Enlargements, I dare presume, his Majesty will not be displeased with, no more than that Article about *Portugal*, though I had no Instruction in it. If I have failed in enlarging upon very short and hasty Instructions, I most humbly beg his Majesty's Pardon, because I am sure I kept my self as close as was possible, to what I apprehended to be his Majesty's Sense upon the whole and every part.

That Evening being *Saturday*, or rather that Night and *Sunday* Morning, we agreed upon the Project in *French*, and gave Order for the translating of it into *Latin*, which was done, and perused by me, and agreed to between twelve and one that Night, and engrossed by eleven next Morning, being *Munday*, and at a Meeting with the Commissioners, jointly was signed and sealed, and mutually delivered between two and three that Afternoon; after that, time spent in comparing the Instruments, and adjusting the Sums, computed as the Value of the several Aids.

After Sealing, we all embraced with much Kindness and Applause of my saying upon that Occasion, *A Breda comme Amis, icy comme Freres*; and Monsieur de Witt made me a most obliging Complement, of having the Honour which never any other Minister had before me, of drawing the *States* to a Resolution and Conclusion in five Days, upon a Matter of the greatest Importance, and a *Secours* of the greatest Expence they had ever engaged in; and all directly against the Nature of their Constitutions, which enjoined them Recourse to their *Provinces* upon all such Occasions, and used to draw out all common Deliberations to Months Delays; and added upon it, that now it was done, it look'd like a Miracle.

I must add three Words to do him Right in return of his Complement, that I found him as plain, as direct, and square in the course of this Business, as any Man could be; though often stiff in Points where he thought any Advantage could accrue to his Countrey; and have all the Reason in the World to be satisfied with him, and for his Industry no Man had ever more. I am sure, for these five Days at least, neither of us spent many idle Hours, neither Day nor Night.

After the Conclusion, I received Yesterday the Visits of all the publick Ministers in Town, except the Ambassadors, between whom, and Envoys Extraordinary, some Difficulties were arisen (they say, here first begun by Sir George Downing) which have in a manner spoiled all Commerce. None of the other failed to rejoice with me upon the Conclusion of my Business, and to express their adoring his Majesty's Resolutions, which in this Conjunction, they say, have given new Life to all the Courts of *Christendom*, whose Councils were before in the greatest Perplexities and Disorder that could be. They say his Majesty will have the sole Honour of giving either Peace to *Christendom*, or a Balance to the Wars; and has shewn, that all must follow what he gives a Head to. Much more of this kind I hear from all Hands, and have no Reason to doubt their Meaning what they say.

Thus far I have given your Lordship the smooth side only of this Conclusion, and now you must receive the rough; for having concerted with the Commissioners, that Monsieur de Witt and I should give part of our Treaty (all but the separate Articles) to the *French* and *Spanish* Ambassadors; the first we performed this Afternoon, the last we intend to morrow Morning.

The *French* Ambassador had been much surprized with our Conclusion: For upon our first Conference with the Commissioners, he had said, *Tout cela s'en ira en Fumée, & que le Roy son Maître s'en mocqueroit*. The Day before our Signing, being told, we advanced very fast, he replied; *Et bien, d'icy à six semaines nous en parlerons*, relying upon the Forms of the State, to run the Circle of their Towns.

Upon our giving him part of the whole Business, he replied coldly, that he doubted we had not taken a right way to our End; that the fourth Article

of the second Instrument was not in Terms very proper to be digested by a King of twenty nine Years old, and at the Head of eighty thousand Men : That if we had joined both to desire his Master to prolong the Offer he had made, of a Cessation of Arms till the Time we propose, and withal, not to move his Arms farther in *Flanders*, tho' *Spain* should refuse, we might hope to succeed : But if we thought to prescribe him Laws, and force him to Compliance, by Leagues between our selves, or with *Spain*, tho' *Sweden* and the *German* Princes should join with us ; he knew his Master *ne flecheroit pas*, and that it would come to a War of forty Years. From this he fell a little warmly upon the proceeding of the *States*, saying, they knew his Master's Resolutions upon those two Points, neither to prolong the Cessation proposed beyond the End of *March*, nor to desist the Pursuit of his Conquests with his own Arms, in case *Spain* consented not to his Demands within that Term. He said, his Majesty not being their Ally, might treat and conclude what he pleased, without their Offence ; but for the *States* who were their nearest Ally, to conclude so much to his Master's Disrespect at least, and without communicating with him the Ambassador at all during the whole Treaty, he must leave it to his Master to interpret as he thought fit. Monsieur *de Witt* defended their Cause, and our common Intentions with great Phlegm, but great Steadiness, and told me after he was gone, that this was the least we could expect at first from a *Frenchman* ; and that I should do well however to give his Majesty an Account of it by the first, that we put our selves early in Posture, to make good what we have said ; and that as to the Time and Degree of our arming, he would consult with the *States*, and let me know their Thoughts, to be communicated to his Majesty upon this Occasion.

I was in hopes to dispatch this away to morrow Morning, but I shall be hinder'd till Night, by the Delay of signing of a separate Article with the Count *de Dona*, whereby Place is reserved for *Sweden* to enter as principal into this Treaty : For I have gone along in the whole Business since my coming over, with perfect Confidence and Concert with the Count *de Dona*, upon his assuring me, his Orders were to conform himself to his Majesty's Resolution in what concerns the two Crowns, tho' before he absolutely engages, he expects from the *Spaniards* by our Intercession, some Supplies for Payment of his Troops, and some other Adjustments with the *Emperor*, which will be treated between the several Ministers at *London* under his Majesty's Influence. In what I shall sign upon this Occasion, together with the *States*, I confess to your Lordship to go beyond my Instructions, but apprehending it to be wholly agreeable to his Majesty's Intentions, and extremely advantagious to the common Ends and Affairs ; I venture upon this Excess, and humbly beg his Majesty's Pardon if I fail. Your Lordship will be troubled with some Postscript to Morrow, before I dispatch an Express with the Copies to be ratified by his Majesty within a Month, tho' I hope a less time will be taken, those of *Holland* having undertaken theirs on fifteen Days.

I am, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Hague, Jan. 26. S. N. 1668.

SINCE the Close of my long Dispatch, I have every Hour expected the Copies to be transmitted for his Majesty's Ratification, without being able to procure them. I cannot but imagine some Occasion of the Delay, may have been a Desire in them here to interpose some time, between the Receipt of my last *Friday's* Letter and of this Pacquet, to the end his Majesty may in the mean time have dispatch'd his Orders to me about the provisional Articles, tho' I cannot think they should be of such Moment inserted or omitted to either side.

I now

I now dispatch the inclosed Copies of the Treaty, in order to his Majesty's Ratification, which is generally desired may be returned as sudden as possibly; the *States* having undertaken to have theirs ready in fifteen Days after the Signing, and believing it necessary to proceed jointly and early, to the mutual Councils of Arming, in case *France* continues the Dispositions they seem to be in at present of pursuing the War.

My Brother, who will deliver this Dispatch to your Lordship, is able to add what particular Circumstances I may have omitted, or your Lordship shall think fit to enquire from this Place; and what he fails, Count *Dona* will supply, who is a Person very well worth your Lordship's particular Acquaintance and Assistance in his Negotiations, or at least the Forms and Entrances of them, being in all Points our Friend.

Yesterday the *Spanish* Ambassador received the Communication of our Treaties from Monsieur *de Witt* and me, with some Descants upon the Hardship of it, but, I believe, Satisfaction at Heart. I have this Day written at large, and with all the Instance imaginable to the Marquis *de Castel Rodrigo* to induce his Consent, and immediately upon the Ratifications, shall away and pursue that Point at *Brussels*.

I cannot but rejoice in particular with your Lordship, upon the Success of this Affair, having observed in your Lordship as well as my *Lord Keeper*, a constant steady Bent, in supporting his Majesty's Resolution, which is here so generally applauded as the happiest and wisest, that any Prince ever took for himself or his Neighbours: What in earnest I hear every Hour, and from all Hands of that kind is endless, and even extravagant. God of Heaven send his Majesty's Councils to run on the same Course; and I have nothing left to wish, since I know your Lordship will continue to esteem me what I am with so great Passion and Truth,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To Sir Orlando Bridgman, *Lord Keeper*.

My Lord,

Hague, Jan. 27. S. N. 1668.

THO' I know my long Dispatch by this Express to my *Lord Arlington* will give your Lordship your share of Trouble, yet I could not omit the encharging my Brother with a particular Attendance upon your Lordship from me, nor accompanying him with these Acknowledgments of your Lordship's great Favour and good Opinion, even before I had the Honour of being known to you. I will presume I have done nothing since to forfeit them, as I had nothing before to deserve them; and that my late good Fortunes at the *Hague*, will help to continue what my good Fortunes alone at *Brussels* began, and my five Days Stay at *London*, served to improve in so great a degree. Yet I will assure your Lordship, if I can make any farther Advance by the Resentments of your Favour, by my Desires to deserve it in the return of my best Services, or by the true Honour and Esteem of those Qualities, I have discovered in your Lordship, upon so short an Acquaintance; I am very far upon my way already.

But I will leave this Subject in the first place, to congratulate with you upon another; which is the Success of a Council, wherein I observed your Lordship and my *Lord Arlington* to have the most steady Bent, in promoting a Resolution of his Majesty's, which is on this side the Water, esteemed generally the happiest and the wisest that could ever have been taken by any Prince in such a Conjunction, and upon Respects not only of his own Affairs, but even those of all *Christendom* besides. It is not fit for me to tell you much of what I hear of this kind, or the Applauses given to his Majesty and his Ministers upon this Occasion: To tell you all, I am sure would be endless; but from what I hear, I cannot but raise at least a happy Prefage of a new Year, and a
new

new Ministry's running on together, with a Succession of the same Honour and good Fortunes both to his Majesty and his Kingdoms.

In the next place I will, according to your Orders, give your Lordship an Account of some Particulars that fell into this great Transaction, which I thought not fit to trouble my Lord *Arlington* with, as not perhaps proper, or of weight enough, for the View of his Majesty or the foreign Committee, and yet worth the Knowledge or Reflection of some of his Ministers, in order to the Conduct of his Majesty's Councils hereafter, both in this and other of his Affairs.

I must tell your Lordship, that in my first Conference with Monsieur *de Witt* since my return; I begun with telling him, that he could not but remember, that when I passed this way last into *England*, I told him, upon what Points his Majesty desired with the greatest Secrecy that could be, to know his Opinion, and by that to guess at what might be the *States*, upon the present Conjuncture of Affairs in *Flanders*; to the end his Majesty might accordingly take his own Measures. That his Majesty guess'd by the general Carriage and Discourses of the *Dutch* Ambassadors at *London*, the *States* were not willing to see *Flanders* over-run by *France*, but could not find they had any thing positive to say to him upon that Subject: That he had therefore sent me privately and plainly to tell him his Mind upon it, as to a Man of Honour, and who he believed would make no ill use of it, and (if he thought fit) to know his Sentiments upon that Affair. That for his Majesty, he neither thought it for his own Interest nor Safety, nor for that of the *States*, or of *Christendom* in general, that *Flanders* should be lost; and therefore was resolved to do his utmost to preserve it, provided the *States* were of the same Mind, and that it might be done in Conjunction between them; and to that end desired to know, whether the *States* would be content to enter into an Alliance with him, both defensive between themselves, and offensive against *France*, for the Preservation of *Flanders*. That he (Monsieur *de Witt*) might remember, his Answer to me was; first, much Applause of his Majesty's Resolution, great Acknowledgment of his Confidence towards him by that Communication, much Assurance that the *States* would be of the same Mind, as to the Preservation of *Flanders*, which was their nearest Interest next their own: That he found, both his Majesty and the *States* had the same Mind as well as Interest in this Matter, but that the Distrusts remaining upon the late Quarrel between them, had kept either of them from beginning to enter frankly upon it. But since his Majesty had pleased to break it to him in a manner so obliging, tho' he could not pretend to tell me his Master's Mind, yet he would his own: Which was, that the Defence of *Flanders* was absolutely necessary, but that it ought to be tryed first, rather by a joint Mediation of a Peace between the two Crowns, than by a Declaration of War; but that if the first would not serve, it ought to come to the other. That I knew *France* had already offered a Peace to the Offices made by the *States* upon an Alternative at the Choice of the *Spaniards*; that he thought our Mediation ought to be offered to both Crowns upon that Foot, to induce *France* to make good their own Offer, and *Spain* to accept it. And that to this purpose he thought it very necessary to make a strict Alliance between his Majesty and the *States*.

That for making an offensive Alliance, it could not be; for it was a Maxim observed by this *State*, never to make any, at least when they were in Peace; that for defensive Leagues, they had them with many Princes, and he believed would be ready to enter into one with his Majesty; and tho' he could not at all answer what would be the Mind of the *States* upon these Points, yet he had told me his; and would add, that he was not usually mistaken in theirs, and that he would at least use all his Endeavours to bring the *States* to such Opinions and Resolutions.

When I had said this, and observed by his Action and Face that he assented to this Recital of all that had passed between us; I ask'd him whether this was all right, that I might know whether I had mistaken nothing in representing his Majesty's Meaning to him, nor his to his Majesty. He answered, that it was all right, and that he very well remembered it, and

much commended a Method of proceeding so exact and sincere, by an endeavour to avoid all Mistakes between us.

I then told him, that I had upon my Arrival in *England*, represented all as faithfully to his Majesty as I had done to him; and that upon it his Majesty had taken so much Confidence in his (*Monfieur de Witt's*) Opinion and Judgment, as well as in his Credit with the *States*, that he had taken a sudden and firm Resolution upon it; first, to join with the *States* in the Offer of a Mediation between the two Crowns, and upon such Terms, as they and I should agree, but with a Desire, that they might be as advantageous as the *States* could be induced to, for the Preservation of *Flanders*, and Recovery of such Places as should be most necessary to it. In the next place, to conclude a Treaty, the strongest that could be between us, for obliging *France* to accept the Peace upon those Terms, and in the mean time for putting a Stop to the Course of their Arms in *Flanders*. But that his Majesty thought it necessary to begin all this, with a strict League between him and the *States*, for their own mutual Defence, and to this Purpose had sent me over as his Envoy to the *States* with full Powers, and the Draught of a defensive League between us; but refers the rest for what touched *Flanders*, to what the *States* and I should agree.

Monfieur de Witt received this Discourse with a Countenance pleased, but yet as I mark'd, something surprized, and as if he expected not a Return from his Majesty so sudden and so resolute. He said, that the *States* would be much pleased with the Honour his Majesty did them, and the Overture he made them; that I should chuse my Time, whenever I desired it, for my Audience; and would pass the Forms of demanding it from the President of the Week: That he was still confident the *States* would enter with his Majesty into the Mediation, tho' *France* gave them Hopes of succeeding by their own: That the Provinces differed in Opinion upon what Terms the Peace should be made: That *Utrecht* was so bold as to think nothing but Justice ought to be considered in the case: That all that *France* had conquer'd should be restored to *Spain*, and their Pretensions be referred to Judgment or Arbitrage. But *Holland*, with most of the other Provinces, were of another Mind, and considering their own present Condition, as well as that of *France*, thought it best to keep the *French* to their own Offer; but he believed would come to means of more Force, if *France* should recede from what they themselves had advanced to the *States*. That, for the defensive League between us, he did not know whether the late Sore were yet fit for such an Application, but would try the Mind of the *States*. That he doubted they would think it like to prove too sudden a Change of all their Interests, and that which would absolutely break them off, from so old and constant a Friend as *France*, to rely wholly upon so new and uncertain a Friend, as *England* had proved.

I told him, that the doing what he said, would be the Effect of any Treaties of this Nature between us, let them be as tenderly handled and composed as we could: That *France* would take it as ill of us and of them, to be stopp'd in the remaining Conquest of *Flanders*, as to be forced out of all they had already gained: That he knew very well, it had been long their Design at any Price, to possess themselves of the *Spanish Netherlands*; and he knew as well that it was their Interest to do so, considering the Advantages it would give them over all the rest of *Christendom*; that it was as much our Interest to hinder it, and that nothing could do it, but a firm Conjunction between us: That the *States Part* would be next after *Flanders* was gone, and therefore they had now as much need of being protected by *England* against *France*, as they thought they had three or four Years ago of being protected by *France* against *England*; and that they had no other Choice, but either continuing their Friendship with *France*, till they should see both *Flanders* and themselves swallowed up by such a Neighbour; or else change their whole Measures, and enter into the strictest Alliance with his Majesty for the Preservation of both; and let *France* take it as they pleased.

Monfieur de Witt confessed the Designs of *France* for the Conquest of *Flanders*, spoke of the Treaties they had made with the *States* in Cardinal Rich-

lieu's time, and lately offered again, for *partaging* it between them; and said, he understood very well the Danger of such a Council and Neighbourhood, or else he should have fallen into them; but the Ventures were great on the other side too; that the *States* were much more exposed than the King; that the *Spaniards* were weak, and ill to be trusted by the *States*, between whom there had never yet been any better Measures than barely those of the *Munster* Peace, after so great Rancours and long Hostilities. That tho' he believed the *German* Princes would be glad of what his Majesty proposed, yet he knew not how far *Sweden* might be engaged in the Measures with *France*, who lay here at their Backs in the Duchy of *Bremen*. And last of all, tho' this Resolution seemed now to be taken by his Majesty and his Ministers, upon the surest and wisest Foundations, which were those of true Interest and Safety; yet no Man knew how long they might last. That if they should break all their Measures with *France*, and throw themselves wholly upon his Majesty by such a Conjunction, any Change of Councils in *England* would be their certain Ruin. That he knew not this present Ministry, and could say nothing to them; but that he knew the last too well. Upon which he said a good deal of our uncertain Conduct since his Majesty's return, and concluded that the Unsteadiness of Councils in *England*, seemed a fatal thing to our Constitution; he would not judge from what Grounds, *Mais que depuis le temps de la Reyne Elisabeth, il n'y avoit eu qu'une fluctuation perpetuelle en la Conduite de l'Angleterre, avec laquelle on ne pouvoit jamais prendre des Mesures pour deux Années de Temps.* After this ended, with some Melancholy that looked a little irresolute, I told him, that as to their own Interests he knew them, and could weigh them better than I; that after my Audience and first Conference with Commissioners, I should quickly see how the *States* would understand them, in which I knew very well how great a part he would have: That for our Danger, I confess'd they would be first exposed to *France*, and we the last, which made it reasonable they should make the first Pace to their Safety. That for *Sweden* I had no Orders to negotiate with them, but being fully instructed in his Majesty's general Intentions, I should be glad to see them strengthen'd all I could; and to that purpose, if he thought fit, I would talk with the Count de *Dona* the *Swedish* Ambassador here, and see whether he had any Powers to engage their Crown in any common Measures for the Safety of *Christendom*; that if by such a Conjunction we could extend it to a *Triple Alliance* among us, upon the same Foundation, I believed he would think it too strong a Bar for *France* to venture on. That for the Unsteadiness of our Councils, I would rather bewail than defend it; but that I should not have made this Journey, if I had not been confident that had been ended, and we now bottom'd past any Change or Remove. That I could not pretend to know any body's Mind certainly but my own; but that upon this Matter I was as confident of his Majesty's, of your Lordship's, and my Lord *Arlington's*, as I was of my own. Upon this Occasion I said a great deal, not only of the Interests, but Resentments, that had engaged his Majesty and his Ministers in this Council; and concluded that I was confident it could never break, but would answer, if ever it did, it should never be by my Hand, and was as confident I might answer the same for your Lordship and my Lord *Arlington*, and that you would fall or stand upon this Bottom.

Monfieur *de Witt* seemed much satisfied with what I had said; assured me for his part, he would give his Hands towards a good Conclusion of this Affair: That he would trust his Majesty's Honour and Interest upon so great a Conjunction, as well as the Sincereness and Constancy of his Ministers, whom he could judge of by no other Lights but what I gave him; made me Complements upon the great Confidence he had taken in me and my manner of dealing, by what he had heard and seen of me since the first Visit I made him in my Passage here, after the end of the War; and concluded that I should see the Count *Dona*, and try how far *Sweden* was to be engaged in this Affair.

I tell your Lordship all these Circumstances, that knowing where the Difficulties have been, how they have been overcome, and upon what Advances on my side this Knot has been tied, your Lordship and my Lord *Arlington* may

the better know how to support this Affair, and make any others easy, by recovering the Credit of our Conduct in *England*, so far lost by the Unsteadiness too truly laid to our Charge; and at least by your own Constancy, in what you have begun, make good the Characters you have already in the World, and the Assurances I have given Monsieur *de Witt* upon your Occasion.

That Evening I went to the Count *Dona*, and run over all Ceremonies of our Characters, by going straight into his Chamber, taking a Chair, and sitting down by him before he could rise out of his. I told him, I hoped he would excuse this Liberty upon an Errand wherein I thought both our Masters were concerned; that Ceremonies were intended to facilitate Business, and not to hinder it; that I knew nothing to make my seeing the other Ambassadors at the *Hague* necessary, and so was content with the Difficulties had been introduced between our Characters; but thinking it absolutely for my Master's Service to enter into Confidence with his Excellency upon my Errand here, I had resolved to do it in this manner, and if he gave me leave, would pursue it as if our Acquaintance and Commerce had been of never so long a Date.

The Count embraced me, gave me great Thanks for the Honour I did him, made me Complements upon so frank and confident a manner as I used with him; and said he was ready to return it upon any thing that I should think fit to communicate to him.

After this I enter'd into the Detail of my whole Progress to that time, both in *England* and here; of his Majesty's Reasons, of the common Interests of *Christendom*, of the Reception my Errand found from Monsieur *de Witt*, and the Hopes I had of succeeding: Of our Discourses about engaging *Sweden* in the same Measures, and a Desire of extending our League into a *Triple Alliance* among us, for our own mutual Defence, the Safety of *Flanders*, and thereby of *Christendom*. That I knew how the Crown of *Sweden* had been treated of late Years by *France*, how close they had kept to the Friendship with his Majesty, and how beneficial as well as honourable, such a part as this might prove to them, by the particular use they might be of to the Crown of *Spain*; and that upon any good Occasion they might be sure of his Majesty's Offices and the States, who resolved to enter into this Affair without any other Interest than that of the Preservation of *Flanders*, and thereby of their own Safety, and the common Good.

The Count *Dona* professed to applaud his Majesty's Council, to be confident that *Sweden* would be content to go his Pace in all the common Affairs of *Christendom*, which he was assured of by his own Instructions in general; but that such an Affair as this not being foreseen, he could have none upon it: That if it succeeded, he would make all the Paces he could to engage his Master in it, as what he thought, of Honour and Advantage to the common Safety: But that he would return my Frankness to him with the same to me, in telling me, that he doubted my bringing it to an Issue: That he first doubted Monsieur *de Witt's* Resolution, to break upon any Terms with *France*, and close with *England*; not only considering what had lately passed between us, but the Interests of the House of *Orange*, which he must ever believe would at one time or other be advanced by us; whereas he was sure to be supported against them by *France*: Therefore he believ'd, though he would not oppose it, because the States and People might run into it; yet he would find some Means to elude the Conclusion or Effect of it, without appearing himself in any such Design: That in the next Place, since such a Treaty could not be made by the States General, without first being sent to all the Provinces and Towns for their Approbation, and Orders upon it to their Deputies; he did not see how it was possible for the French Ambassador to fail of engaging some Towns or Provinces against it, and the Opposition of any one of them would lose the Effect; since no new Treaty could be made by the Constitutions here, without an universal Consent. That however he would not discourage me, but wish'd me Success with all his Heart, upon many Reasons; and among others, as being so much a Servant to the House of *Orange*, which could not but profit by a Conjunction between *England* and *Holland*: And again promised, whenever I brought it to a Period, to use

all his Endeavours, and stretch his Powers as far as he could, towards engaging his Master in the same Measures with us.

In the second Conference I had with Monsieur *de Witt*, I acquainted him with what had passed with Count *Dona*: which he seemed much pleased with; and said, tho' we could not expect he should have Powers so general as to conclude such an Affair, yet an Instrument might be drawn up between us, whereby room may be left for *Sweden* to enter as a Principal into our Alliance; and the Count *de Dona* had so much Credit at his Court, to recommend it there so as to succeed, especially upon the hopes we must give him of obtaining Subsidies from *Spain*, which might countervail what they might lose from *France* upon this Occasion.

I then fell upon the Form of concluding this Treaty; saying, I could easily foretel the Fate of it, if it must pass the common Forms of being sent by the several Deputies to all their Principals for their Result upon it: That I knew this would take up a Month or six Weeks time, and that nothing would be so easie as for the *French* Ambassador to meet with it in running that Circle, and by engaging some one Member, perhaps by Money thrown among the chief Persons in some of the small Towns, to prevent and ruin a Council of the greatest Importance to *Christendom*, as well as to our two Nations, that had been on foot in many Ages: That unless the *States General* would conclude and sign the Treaty immediately, and trust to the Approbation of their several Provinces and Towns after it was done, I should give it for gone, and think no more of it.

Monsieur *de Witt* seemed to think this impossible; said, no such thing had ever been done since the first Institution of their Commonwealth; that tho' it was true, the *States General* might sign a Treaty, yet they could not ratifie it without recourse to their Principals, and that they should venture their Heads in signing it, if their Principals not approving it should question them for doing it without Orders; that he hoped the Forms might be expedited in three Weeks time, and that all Care that could be, should be taken to prevent the Addresses of the *French* Ambassador among the Provinces.

I cut the matter short, and told him I continued of my first Opinion, to see it immediately agreed between me and the Commissioners, and then signed by the *States*, which might be done in four or five Days; and that the Deputies might safely trust to the Approbation of their Principals in a Point of so great and evident publick Interest: That for my part, I know not how this Delay, and thereby Hazard of the Affair might be interpreted in *England*, nor what Change in my Orders it might produce: That I had now Powers to conclude an Alliance of the last Consequence to the Safety of *Flanders* and this State; that if it should miscarry by the too great Caution of the Deputies in Point of Form, for ought I knew, they might venture their Heads that way, and more deservedly, than by signing at present what all of them believed, would not only be ratified, but applauded by their Principals. With this I left him; and the rest that passed in the Progress of this Affair, as well as in my Audience or with the Commissioners, your Lordship has it in my Dispatch to my Lord *Arlington*, to whom you will please to communicate these more secret Springs, that by knowing the Conception, the Forming, the Throws, and Birth of this *Child*, you may the better consult how it is to be nourished till it grow to Strength, and thereby fit to achieve those great Adventures, for which it seems designed.

I am ever with equal Passion and Truth,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most Faithful

and most Humble Servant,

To Mr. Godolphin.

S I R,

Brussels, Jan. 28. N. S. 1668.

THOUGH the Interruption of our Commerce hath been long, yet I thought it necessary to renew it at this time, and thereby let you know what has lately broken it on my Side, that you may not believe any Interruption of yours has had a worse effect upon me of late than it ever had before, being an Accident I have often been subject to. About the end of last Month, N. S. I passed through this Place with private Commission from his Majesty, to sound the Mind of the *States*, in what concerns the present Quarrel between the two Crowns, and how they were disposed to join with him in the Share of a War, or Project of a Peace, to be endeavoured by our joint Offices between them. From hence I went to *London*, with the private Account of what I had in Charge. After five Days stay there, I was dispatch'd back, as his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary to the *States*, with full Power, to treat and conclude upon those Points which his Majesty esteemed necessary for our common Safety, and the Repose of *Christendom* in this Conjunction. Upon the 6th I arrived here, had my first Audience on the 18th, and on the 23^d were signed by me, and the Commissioners given me by the *States* with full Powers, three several Instruments of our present Treaty: The first, containing a League defensive and perpetual between his Majesty and the *States*, against all Persons without exception, that shall invade either of them, with Agreement to furnish each other upon Occasion with forty Ships of War, of which, fourteen between sixty and eighty Guns, and four hundred Men apiece one with another; fourteen between forty and sixty Guns, and three hundred Men apiece; and of the other twelve, none under thirty six Guns, and a hundred and fifty Men: Besides this, with six thousand Foot, and four hundred Horse, or Money instead of them, at the Choice of the invaded, and to be repaid within three Years after the end of the War; the Proportions of Money to the several Parts of the said Aid, being ascertained in the Treaty.

The second Instrument contains our joint Obligations to dispose *France* to make Peace in *Flanders* upon one of the Alternatives already proposed; and likewise to dispose *Spain* to accept it before the end of *May*; but in case of Difficulty made by them, to dispose *France* however to stop all farther Progress of its own Arms there, and leave it wholly to the Allies to procure the Ends proposed in this League.

The third Instrument contains certain separate Articles between his Majesty and the *States*, signed at the same Time, and of the same Force with the Treaty, but not to be committed to Letters.

'Tis hardly imaginable, the Joy and Wonder conceived here, upon the Conclusion of this Treaty, brought to an Issue in five Days, nor the Applause given to his Majesty's Resolution, as the wisest and happiest that could in this Conjunction be taken by any Prince, both for his own and his Neighbours Affairs; nor are the Reflections upon the Conduct of it less to the Advantage of the present Ministry in *England*; the thing being almost done here as soon as my Journey was known in *London*, and before my Errand was suspected by any publick Minister there.

Three Days after our signing, the *Swedish* Ambassador signed another Instrument jointly with me and the *States* Commissioners, obliging his Master to enter as a Principal into the same Alliance, so soon as some Pretensions he has from the *Emperor* and *Spain* are satisfied by our good Offices between them. After which Count *Dona* parted as Ambassador likewise from that Crown for *England*, where the rest of that Affair will be negotiated; and in his Company my Brother *Henry Temple*, with the whole Account of my Business, and the Treaties signed in order to their Ratification, for which a Month is allowed, though the *States* promise theirs within fifteen Days after the Date. When those arrive and are exchanged, I return to my Residence at *Brussels*,

to see the Issue of this Business, which now takes up the Thoughts and Discourse of all *Christendom*, and from which most Princes will resolve to take their Measures.

I suppose my Lord *Sandwich* upon his way, and therefore content my self only with giving you this Trouble, and the Professions of my being,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To the KING.

May it please your Majesty,

Hague, Jan. 29. N. S. 1668.

IN my last Passage hither I had the Honour of trying your Majesty's Yacht in such a Storm as that never felt before, and a greater no Man in her pretended ever to have seen. The Fortune of your Majesty's Affairs help'd us to the Discovery of a Pilot Boat at a distance from the Coasts that brought us happily in, without which we had passed such another Night at Sea, as I should not care to do for any thing your Majesty could give me, besides your Favour, and the Occasions of serving you: If we had miscarried, your Majesty had lost an honest diligent Captain and sixteen poor Seamen, so beaten out with Wet and Toil, that the Compassion I had then for them I have still about me, and assure your Majesty that five or six more will be necessary for your Yacht, if you use her to such Passages as this; but for the rest I believe there is not such a Boat in the World. She returns with a long but final and happy Account of my Business to my Lord *Arlington*, and with the Count *de Dona*, who will be better Company than a long ill Letter, and deserves your Majesty's Welcome by his other Qualities, as well as his particular Devotions for your Majesty's Person and Service.

I cannot end this Letter without congratulating with your Majesty upon the Success of your Resolution, which occasioned my Journey hither; and which is generally applauded here as the wisest and happiest, both for your Kingdoms and your Neighbours, and the most honourable to your Majesty's Person, that ever was taken upon any Occasion by any Prince: And the strange Success of it hath been answerable to the rest of your Majesty's Fortunes, and so amazing, that the Expressions made of it here every Hour, are altogether extraordinary, not to say extravagant.

God of Heaven continue your Majesty's good Health, and good Councils, and good Fortunes, and then I shall have nothing more to wish, but that you may pardon the Faults, and accept of the humble and hearty Devotions of,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most Loyal and most

Obedient Subject and Servant.

To Monsieur Gourville.

A Monsieur de Gourville.

Hague, Febr. 7.
N. S. 1668.

De la Haye, 7 Fevr.
S. N. 1668.

I Have just received (by the *Rhingrave's* Favour) yours of the 28th past, and am extreme glad to have yet some place in your Memory, after so many Diversions in Germany, which use

Je viens de recevoir par les soins obligeans de Monsieur le Rhingrave, votre lettre du 28 du passé; & je me rejouis extrêmement d'occuper encore quelque place dans votre souvenir, après tant

use to make one forget Things of much greater Importance. But all this was necessary to comfort me for your Absence, which I believe you have ordered, with design for all my Journeys into *Holland*; this is now the third I have made since that of *Breda*, without ever meeting you there; you, I say, who are not able to live three Months without going thither, though you are forced for it to leave the Ladies and the Orange Trees at *Brussels*.

I can tell you no News; the Duke of *Lunenburg's* Resident having assured me, that he has sent you Word of the Conclusion of our Treaty here, whereof I every Day expect the Ratifications. They will needs have me pass here for one of great Abilities, for having finished and signed in five Days a Treaty of such Importance to *Christendom*: But I will tell you the Secret of it: To draw things out of their center, requires Labour and Address to put them into Motion; but to make them return thither, Nature helps so far, that there needs no more than just to set them a going. Now, I think, a strict Alliance is the true Center of our two Nations. There was also another Accident, which contributed very much to this Affair, and that was, a great Confidence arisen between the *Pensioner* and me; he is extremely pleased with me, and my sincere open way of dealing; and I with all the Reason in the World am infinitely pleased with him upon the same score; and look on him as one of the greatest Genius's I have known, as a Man of Honour, and the most easy in Conversation, as well as in Business. In short, the two Nations are closer united than if there never had been a War. For Affairs in general I can tell you nothing, but that our common Design is to give Peace to all *Christendom*, so that if *France* pleases they may have it this Spring; if not, (as Monsieur d'*Estrades* says, at least not after our Fashion) they may have their fill of the War. For the Convention at *Aix*, I can tell you nothing till we get an Answer from *France* and *Brussels*, where we have already sent

Advice

tant de divertissemens goutez en Allemagne, ce ne seroit pas la premiere fois qu'ils auroient fait oublier des choses plus importantes que ma personne: Mais il ne falloit pas moins que les plaisirs que je say que vous avez goutez, & la nouvelle marque que vous me donnez de votre amitié, pour me consoler de votre absence; Je croy au reste que vous l'aviez concertée avec tous mes voyages en Hollande; car voici le troisieme que j'y fais depuis celui de Breda, sans vous y trouver, vous dis je, qui ne pouviez passer trois mois sans y aller, quand meme il auroit fallu pour cela quitter vos orangers & les mignonnes de Bruxelles.

Je n'ay point de nouvelles à vous mander; le Resident de Lunebourg m'ayant assuré qu'il vous avoit appris la conclusion du traité que nous avons fait icy: J'attens de jour en jour les ratifications. On veut à toute force me faire passer icy pour habile homme, à cause que j'ay achevé & signé en cinq jours un Traité si important pour toute la Chrétienté: Mais je vous diray le secret; quand on arrache les choses de leur centre, il faut du tems & de la peine, & même de l'adresse pour les faire mouvoir; mais lors qu'il n'est question que de les y ramener, la nature y ayde si puissamment, qu'il ne faut quasi que leur donner le branle: Or, je croy qu'une étroite Alliance est le centre de nos deux Nations. Il y a encore un accident qui a fort contribué à cette affaire; c'est la parfaite confiance qui nous a reciproquement uni, Monsieur le Pensionnaire & moy: il se loue de moy & de ma maniere d'agir, qui comme vous savez, est toujours franche & ouverte; & moy, je me loue infiniment de luy; j'en ay toutes les raisons du monde, & je dois à toute sa conduite les eloges qu'il donne à la mienne: Je le regarde comme un des plus grands Genies que j'ay connus, avec cela, très homme de bien; d'un commerce également aisé soit dans les negotiations, soit dans la conversation. Enfin la confiance est presentement retablie entre les deux Nations; & je la croy même plus entiere que s'il n'y avoit jamais eu de guerre. Pour les affaires generales, je ne vous saurois dire autre chose, si non, que notre dessein unanime est de donner la paix & la tranquillité à toute la Chrétienté; de sorte que si la France le veut, elle l'aura ce printemps; si elle ne le veut pas (ainsi que le dit Monsieur le Comte d'Estrades, qui ajoute, que du moins ce ne sera pas d'une

Advice of our defensive League, and of our Treaty or Project of the Peace.

d'une paix de notre façon) elle aura tout son soul de guerre. Touchant la Convention à Aix jusqu'à ce que nous ayons réponse de France & de Brüsselles, je ne vous en saurois rien dire. Nous leur avons déjà donné avis de notre Ligue defensive, & de notre traité ou projet de paix.

This at least may serve for a new Health at your German Feasts when the old ones are gone round, and will at the same time help to put you in mind of,

Du moins cecy servira à fournir une nouvelle santé dans vos festins Allemands, lors que les anciennes auront fait leur ronde accoutumée; & cela vous fera en meme tems souvenir de,

S I R,

Your, &c.

Monfieur,

Votre, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Hague, Feb. 12. N. S. 1668.

THE Arrival of the Ratifications here was received with the same Dispositions of general Satisfaction and Joy; that the Treaty was concluded: Those of the *States* will I doubt be something later ready, tho' occasion'd only by a Delay in the Assembly of the *States* of *Friezeland* and *Zealand*; but new Dispatches were yesterday sent away for hastening both; and Monsieur *de Witt* assures me, the 20th of this Month will be the latest I shall expect them, and he hopes all may be ready something sooner. I shall press it all I can possibly, and immediately after the Exchange made, shall demand my Audience of *Congé*, and away to *Brussels* to pursue his Majesty's Instructions there. I cannot tell with what Success, because I know not with what Mien the *Marquis* has entertain'd our Project of the Peace, not yet having heard one Word from him in answer to all I have writ upon this Subject. I wish some of his Visions may not give it another Face than what it ought, I am sure, to receive from the true present State of the *Spanish* Affairs; for in that case I know his way of arguing so well, as to expect he should say there is no reason for them to give Money to lose their Towns; but that in case his Majesty will enter into their Defence, he shall want no Money the *Indies* can give him; therefore he must be plied on that side by the Count of *Molina* and Baron *de l'Isola*, as well as by me here; and not only disposed to accept the alternative, but to receive it as the greatest Effect at present of his Majesty's good Will to the Preservation of *Flanders*, and step towards a future defensive League between us and them, and *Holland*, for the general Safety of the *Spanish* Crown.

Tho' I shall not fail of my part in pressing all these Points on this side, yet the Impressions will be easier given the two Ministers there than the *Marquis* here, as Persons something more substantial in their Conceptions upon this Point; and will have more weight upon his Excellency, coming from their own Ministers, than from me: For the Point of Money to be furnish'd by the *States* upon the Towns of *Gelderland*, the whole matter was dismissed by Monsieur *de Witt* till the *Marquis's* Acceptance of our Project was declared; upon which the Baron *de Bargeyck* will return to pursue it, and in case of a War, by Obstinacy of the *French* Refusal, I doubt not but the matter will be easy, the *Marquis* offering *Ruremond* and *Venlo*, tho' Monsieur *de Witt* insists as yet upon the Fort of *Gelre*, and two others by *Sluys*, which the *Marquis* says he has no Power to treat upon.

For their Opinion of the *French* Expedition into the *Franche Comté* they seem little startled at it, believing it may the more incline the *Spaniards* to receive our Offices for the Peace according to the Treaty; and that possibly some Exchange may be found convenient for the *Spaniards* between Parts of the

the *Franche Comté* and those Towns of *Flanders* which are now in the *French* Possession, and lie in the very Bowels of the rest of that Dominion; which are *Courtray*, *Tournay*, *Oudenard*, and *Aeth*; for the rest, they resolve to make good the Peace to the *Spaniards*, without the loss of any thing more, than was actually in the *French* Hands at the time of our Treaty being signed, whatever new Progresses they may make before the Conclusion; and in case *France* shall refuse, or seek Evasions, I do not believe they will be the least backward from entering into the War.

I should formerly have marked that, all which is digested in our Treaty, and that is to pass in our Negotiation with *France* upon this Occasion, the *States* avoid calling our Parts a *Mediation*; because they say *that* seems to import a Neutrality, whereas upon failing of our Offices towards a Peace, we are to take our parts in a War.

For the Method and Manner of our joining together in pursuit of the War, if it grow to engage us by the *French* Refusal, Monsieur *de Witt* tells me frankly his Opinion is, for us to enforce the Towns of *Flanders* by such of our Troops as will be necessary to defend them, or at least to draw on long and expensive Sieges, and in the mean time with our several Fleets, to make the sharpest Impressions we can upon some of their Coasts, and seize some of their Towns, and force them that way to necessary Divisions and Diversions of their Forces, as well as give Countenance to whatever Discontents may arise among them at home, upon such an Occasion. Upon my arguing that an Impression would be the sharper and the safer, perhaps if it were made by our Fleets in one place, but with joint Forces; he said, he did not see how our Fleets could possibly join, for the Point of the *Pavilion*; and fell into a good deal of Discourse upon that matter, as the only now left, that could ever occasion any Dispute amongst us; being at length bottomed upon our mutual Interest, and the wrangling about little Points of Commerce being taken away. All I could draw from him upon the Point of the *Pavilion* was, that they would give all to the King's Ships at Sea, which theirs or any other Ambassadors gave to his own Person in his Kingdom, where his Dominion was as absolute as he could pretend it to be, in the narrow Seas; which is, to *uncover* first, and *cover* last; so that all their Ships should vail to ours when they met, in case ours would in Return take down the *Pavilion* as a Civility to theirs afterwards, and theirs should remain vailed, till we had set up our *Pavilion* again. I told him I could say nothing to that matter, which I knew was very delicate; but that if ever we agreed in that Point, I thought it must not be by Articles or Treaties, but by concert between the Ministers of each side; as, for the *States*, first to give absolute Orders to all their Captains to vail to the King's Ships, whenever they met them in the narrow Seas; and at the same time to signify so much to his Majesty in a Letter of Complement, and as a Resolution taken upon consideration of so near and happy an Alliance, as was now enter'd into between the Nations: Upon which his Majesty might consider, what Returns of Civility he would be content his Captains should make to an Ally so near, as this *State* was now likely ever to be to the Crown of *England*.

Monsieur *de Witt* was willing to fall into any Expedient, and said, that whenever I came into *England* he would hope I might bring this last Matter to pass, as happily as I had done all the rest. That his Majesty should find he would be wanting in nothing that the Point of Civility or Deference might require in this Matter, provided it were without acknowledging our Pretensions to the Dominion of the Sea, which they must die rather than do; but in what should pass, they would leave us to our Interpretations, and keep themselves to theirs.

For the provisional Articles according to my Word, which made way for the Treaty's Conclusion, I told Monsieur *de Witt* his Majesty had in his Answer given me leave to do it, with an Article for the meeting of Commissioners at both Parties Desire, to complete what should be defective, and change what should be found inconvenient, and cut off any thing that should be superfluous, so as it might appear to be an original Treaty between us, which would be more for our Honour than to copy after the *French*: That tho' his Majesty

had given me this leave, in Compliance to the *States*, yet he had rather the thing should now be left to Commissioners for these Ends, than concluded with reference to them hereafter. I made his Majesty's Concession in this point easy for these two Ends; that either they finding his Majesty indifferent in it, might grow so too; Men being commonly apt to pull the harder, the faster another holds; or else (if they resolved to insist upon it, since I was already engaged) to value a thing which costs his Majesty nothing, for as much Obligation as I could to the *States*, which might make way for some material return upon another Occasion.

Monsieur de Witt seemed very much pleased at his Majesty's Compliance with them in this Point; and said, if I knew his Majesty's Pleasure in any Particulars which he desired should be added, or any others changed for common Convenience, he desired me to tell him, and doubted not but we should end it in twenty four Hours; but he was unwilling it should fall into other Hands, or remain undone, for the Reasons I mentioned in one of my last. After much Discourse, and no way left to avoid the thing, we agreed it should be done, but with an ample Article for the meeting of Commissioners for those foresaid Ends; and after the Perpetuity, I will endeavour to get in these Words; *Aut quousque saltem ex utriusque partis Consensu indicentur Commissarii*; or some Words to that Purpose. And likewise in the Preamble of this separate Instrument, some Expressions of this kind; *Ut omnibus innotescat quam sincerâ sanctâque Fide nuper contractæ Amicitiae non modò in præsens sed in posteros colendæ cavere voluerunt*: And, *Ad divellenda penitus quæcunque non modò dissensionum, sed & Litium & Altercationum Semina*: And, *Ad præcidendam spem omnem, & Expectationem quorumcunque prædictam Amicitiam novis Altercationibus labefactam iri interesse possit*. Which are things that come now only into my Head, but shall be digested against we meet to morrow upon this Occasion. And this is all that is possible for me to do in this Matter, and which at least is likely to hasten the Exchange of the Ratifications, and to leave our Alliance the clearest, firmest, and most confident that can be. I confess I am troubled that it cannot be otherwise, because your Lordship says, his Majesty would rather have had it so; and if you had not sent me after the Treaty's Arrival, an Explanation of what was written to me, in an unintelligible Cypher, it had been so, and my Words had been safe; but I think it had been worse, in leaving a Dissatisfaction between us, which is now avoided: and I find my Lord Keeper in a Letter to me, seems to put no weight upon it, if done in the manner mentioned; and I know you both put a great deal upon any Person's (employed by his Majesty) being and passing for an honest Man.

No Post going from hence till the end of the Week, I have resolved to dispatch this by the Yacht that brought over my Brother, whose Orders it seems are to return immediately: But I know not how to find the safe Conveyance for the *Dutch* Ratifications, unless another Yacht be sent for them about a Week or ten Days hence; and to that end I shall leave them with Mr. Carter at my Lord Craven's House here, and who does all his Lordship's Business, who shall deliver them to any Person that brings a Letter from your Lordship to that Purpose. This I think will be much better than to venture them with me in my Journey to *Brussels*, or upon a Passage from thence.

I am ever with,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

P. S. I had forgot the mention of this inclosed Memorial, given in yesterday to the *States*, and by their Order sent me with a Complement, *They would receive nothing without communicating it to me*: They resolve upon the Marquis's Answer for the treating at *Aix*, to send likewise thither, but refer the Qualities or Number of Persons to the Marquis's Intentions of going himself, or sending some Delegate; and that I suppose will depend upon *Don Juan's* coming over. In the mean time the *States* are absolutely of Opinion with me, that no Treaty can begin with good Intentions on the *French* side, unless they consent to a Suspension of Arms while it lasts; and therefore,

therefore, that the Force of our joint Instances at *Paris*, is to be put upon that Point.

To Sir Orlando Bridgman, Lord Keeper.

My Lord,

Hague, Feb. 12. N.S. 1668.

I Received by my Brother the Honour of your Lordship's, and therein the Testimony of your Favour to me in a manner so obliging, and indeed altogether extraordinary, that I know as little how to acknowledge, as to deserve it; and therefore I shall not enlarge my self upon a Subject, where I am sure not to succeed as I desire; but leave it to Time, and the Constancy of my Services, to express how very sensible I am of what I owe, and how great a Value I place upon that part your Lordship is pleased to allow me in your good Opinion and Memory, of which I beg the Continuance, esteeming them among the very best of my Possessions.

I have written to my Lord *Arlington* at large, upon the Confidence of this safe Conveyance by the Return of the Yacht; which will give your Lordship your share of Trouble, but withal, a full Prospect of the Dispositions here, and consequently the present as well as future Estate of our Alliance, if it be pursued with the same Directness it has been contracted; and the happy Continuance whereof, I am perfectly of your Lordship's mind, is the true Interest of both Nations, and will be the surest Support of his Majesty's Honour, and the Kingdoms Safety, as well as Satisfaction. The Expression your Lordship pleases to make, of endeavouring in your Station the inviolable Observation of it, I shall value before I part to Monsieur *de Witt*, and the other Commissioners, as it deserves, which will be easy to do; for I dare say very truly, that the general Opinion conceived here, of your Lordship's and my Lord *Arlington's* Honour and Sincerity, and unbiass'd Pursuit of the true Interest of the Kingdom, has very much contributed to the Success of my late Negotiation, and been indeed the Spring of any Honour, that your Lordship or any others may attribute to me in the Conduct of it.

It will not become me to take no Notice of those repeated Offers your Lordship pleases to make, in a Fashion so extremely obliging, to favour me in any of my own Concernments; and therefore I shall humbly recommend to you the countenancing my Wife in her pursuing the Payment of my ordinary Allowances while I am abroad; since the Narrowness of my own Fortunes (while it pleases God to continue my Father's Life to us) will not suffer me to serve his Majesty without troubling him, as I am forced to do, whenever five or six Months of my Ordinaries are grown in Arrear. Therefore upon your Lordship's Encouragement, I will tell my Wife, she may beg your Countenance to her when she begins her next Pursuit of that kind; and that you may the more confidently own your favouring me in this Point, I will assure your Lordship, his Majesty shall never be troubled with any Pursuits of mine, farther than what he has pleased to make my Due, by my ordinary Establishment, tho' lower than that of a much cheaper Countrey, as I am informed; but that is very indifferent to me; for I am perfectly content to live just in the Posture his Majesty thinks fit I should, while I serve him; and very willing to spend his Allowance and my own Revenue, but no more; which is the plain Truth of my Story. And I doubt, now the Funds at *Antwerp* fail, out of which I have been hitherto paid by my Lord *Arlington's* Favour to me, something against the Commissioners Inclination, I may find longer Attendances upon the Exchequer, for that is grown or growing due, than my Occasions will suffer, which makes me use this Liberty to your Lordship; tho' I should not have done it had you not now twice, and of your self encouraged me.

For the obliging Message my Brother brought me likewise from your Lordship's Favour to me, besides my Acknowledgments, I shall only say, that * what ^{that he} your Lordship pleased to mention, would be as agreeable to my Inclinations as ^{should be} any of Stat^{Secretary}.

any thing I know ; but I shall never presume to ask any thing of that kind from his Majesty, no more than of any other, referring my Station and every thing else, wholly to his Pleasure and Choice, whilst I have the Honour of serving him : Besides, I find every body here and in *Flanders* designs another Post for me, at least for a Month or two this Spring, if the Treaty happens to be at *Aix* ; believing, that having had so much part in what has been done already, I am likely to have some part in that too : And I confess, because People are fallen into this Thought, I may take the contrary for a Mark of his Majesty's not being satisfied with me in what is past ; and because I am by Advance instructed in the Business, and acquainted with Persons, I should be very well pleased with it, if his Majesty finds none to serve him better, especially if by the *Marquis's* going thither himself, his Majesty should find it fit to send a Person of great Quality to maintain the Port of the Employment, and give me my part under his Shade.

I am ashamed to have said all this of my self and my Concernments ; and beseech your Lordship to remember, that you have drawn it all from me ; and after that, to forget it all if you please. For, to say the Truth, I am very well as I am, being of so dull a Complexion, that I do not remember any Station or Condition of Life I have been in these dozen Years, which I have not been pleased with, and a little unwilling to leave. However, what Thoughts of this kind your Lordship shall have of me, I desire you will please to communicate them to my Lord *Arlington*, to whose Favour I have been long obliged : And whatever your two Lordships shall think fit in my Disposal, will be ever perfectly welcome to,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord,

Hague, Feb. 13. N. S. 1668.

SINCE the writing of your Lordship's Letter, and the sealing up of my Lord *Arlington's* Pacquet, I have been so far press'd by Monsieur *de Witt*, to send him the Article for meeting Commissioners, I desired might be added to the provisional Articles in a new Instrument, that I have been fain to digest it as well as I could, according to my Lord *Arlington's* Instructions, and your Lordship's since given me in your Letter. I thought fit likewise to draw up a Preamble to it, whereby it might appear, that the Intention of this Agreement was only an Effect of our mutual Kindness, and for Prevention of any Disputes that might possibly arise to interrupt it, and for cutting off all our Enemies Hopes ever to see us any more, make way for their Ends by our future Diffension. I will send your Lordship a Copy on the other side of this Sheet, of both Preamble and Article, which I have been forced to draw up as hastily as I could ; and hope, if Monsieur *de Witt* thinks fit to pass it in this Form, it will be in all Points of more Honour and Advantage to us, even than to have had it all omitted. I desire your Lordship to communicate all this to my Lord *Arlington*, and to excuse this Trouble, by reason of his Lordship's Pacquet being already sealed up.

I am ever, &c.

Proœmium Tractatûs inter Anglos & Hollandos, Feb. 13. 1668.

Q Uandoquidem annuente Divinâ Gratiâ, & conspirante mutuarum rerum salute, æquè ac Christiani Orbis jam temporis necessitate ; Vigesimo tertio Die Januarii proximè elapsi, inter Serenissimum ——— & ———, conclusum & signatum sit Fœdus perpetuum defensivum, fortissimis utrinque tam mari quam terrâ præstandis

præstandis auxiliis communitum. Eodemque die alioque Instrumento, de rerum vicinarum tranquillitate, paceque Orbi Christiano restituendâ inter Prædictum ———— & ———— pronis animis consultum & conventum fuerit, adeoque nihil aliud protinus superesse videatur, quod tam mutuâ voluntate conflata amicitiam & necessitudinem ullo demum tempore interpellare poterit, præter controversias de mercimoniis speciebus hic inde redigendis forsitan orituras, & ex incertâ vel ambigüâ ejusmodi rerum utrinque adjudicatione forsitan etiam promovendis. Quo autem omnibus innotescat quàm sincerâ sanctâque fide Prædictus ———— & ———— nuper conflatae amicitiae non modò in præsens sed & ad posteros colendæ cavere voluerint, jamdemum ad divellenda quaecunque non modò diffensionum sed vel altercationum semina, præcidendamque penitus eorum spem aut expectationem quorumcunque demum prædictam amicitiam novis litibus concussam aut labefactatam iri interesse poterit: In subsequentes Articulus utrinque conventum est, qui pro normâ & regulâ ejusmodi rerum maritimarum & mercaturæ hic inde redigendæ mutuo & perpetuo observabuntur, aut quousque saltem ex utriusque partis Arbitrio & Consensu Commissarii indicentur, & convenient ad uberiores iis de rebus omnibus Navigationisque Legibus tractatum, & communi utrinque commodo & ulteriore experienciâ dirigendum.

Sequuntur Articuli.

Conclusio.

CUM autem rerum omnium & Conventionum commoda aut incommoda non nisi tractu temporis mutuaeque experientiae documentis penitus indagari poterunt, Conventum itaque est ut quocunque demum Tempore utrique Parti id visum fuerit, ex communi Consensu indici & convenire poterunt utrinque delegati Commissarii, quorum curæ erit, & operis quodcunque in suprâ memoratis Articulis defecisse reperietur, supplere, quodcunque autem incongruum & utrinque incommodum, mutare aut circumscribere, & uberiores demum hisce de rebus omnibus Tractatum absolute prorsus & perlimare.

To the States at first Audience.

Highb and Mighty Lords,

WHEREAS his Majesty of Great Britain the King my Master, hath already found the good Effects of the late Peace, concluded at Breda with your *Highb and Mighty Lordships*, by the general Satisfaction of his Majesty's Subjects as well as his own; and doubts not but your Lordships have likewise found the same Effects among your People in general, as well as among your selves: His Majesty esteems nothing more likely to encrease the mutual Satisfaction, nor to assure the Safety of both Nations, than an Increase of the Confidence and Friendship already contracted between his Majesty and your Lordships, by a stricter and firmer Alliance at this time.

And whereas his Majesty, contented with those great and powerful Kingdoms and Dominions, which Almighty God has given him by an undisputed Succession, covers nothing from his Neighbours, nor has other Thoughts or Wishes, besides those of the common Peace and Repose of *Christendom*; his Majesty finds himself in this Conjunction sensibly touched by the Calamities so many others are like to feel, from the Continuance of the War lately broken out between the Neighbour Crowns, and which in course of time cannot but involve most of the Princes and States of *Christendom*, unless the Flame be quenched before it rise too high. And his Majesty believes, that nothing can so much contribute towards a safe and sudden Composure of that Quarrel, nor consequently restore the Peace of *Christendom*, as a joint Mediation of his Majesty with your *Highb and Mighty Lordships* (together with each others Allies) between the two Crowns now in War.

S

Upon

Upon these two Considerations his Majesty hath thought fit, to send me to your Lordships with full Powers, to treat and conclude, upon what shall be found necessary, between his Majesty and your Lordships, in the Adjustment of all Matters tending to these great Ends. And since nothing can bring these Negotiations to be of Effect, so much as the Suddenness of their Conclusion, I desire your Lordships to appoint such Commissioners as you shall think fit, with whom I may fall upon the Treaty of these Matters, and to whom I am ready to expose the full Powers which his Majesty the King my Master has given me upon this Occasion.

*At my Audience of Leave to
the States General.*

High and Mighty Lords.

HIS Majesty of Great Britain the King my Master, having seen so happily finished, and in so few Days, three several Treaties with Your High and Mighty Lordships; by which the common Security of both Nations is established, the Seeds of all new Differences entirely rooted out, and the Way laid open to the Peace of Christendom, in case our Neighbours proceed with the same good Faith, wherewith we have begun: His Majesty thinks he has no farther Occasion for my Services here, because Ministers are only proper for fastening and cementing a Confidence and Friendship; whereas ours is so firmly established, as not to require any, even the most ordinary Supports.

For this Reason, his Majesty has order'd my Return to *Brussels*, there to pursue in concert with your Lordships, in favour of our Neighbours, what we have here concluded for ourselves. But his Majesty has commanded me upon my Departure to assure your Lordships from him, that as all things are best preserved by the same Means they are begun, so his Majesty will not fail for ever to observe what he has now concluded, with the same Faith, the same Sincerity, and the same open Heart, wherewith he gave Command they should be negotiated: And his Majesty doubts not at all, that your Lordships are entirely resolved to proceed after the same manner, which is the highest Mark of a perfect Confidence to be given at present.

For my own particular, I cannot part from hence without expressing
my

*A mon Audience de congé
aux Etats Generaux.*

Hauts & Puissant Seigneurs.

SA Majesté le Roy de la Grande Bretagne mon Maitre, ayant vu conclurre si heureusement, & en si peu de jours, trois divers traitez avec V. H. & P. S. par lesquels la sureté commune des deux Nations vient d'estre retablie; les semences de toutes les nouvelles discordes entierement deracinées, & le chemin à la paix & au repos ouvert pour la Chretienté, en cas que nos voisins s'y portent avec la même foy & la même franchise qui nous l'a déjà fait acheminer; sa Majesté croit n'avoir plus besoin de moy en ce lieu, puisque les Ministres ne servent & ne sont propres qu'à cimenter & entretenir la confiance; mais la nôtre se voit etablir sur de si solides fondemens qu'elle n'aura plus besoin des appuis ni des aides ordinaires.

C'est pourquoy sa Majesté ordonne mon retour à *Brusselles*, pour y poursuivre de concert avec V. S. en faveur de nos voisins, ce que nous venons de conclurre icy pour nous mêmes: Mais elle m'a commandé sur mon depart d'assurer V. S. de sa part, que comme une chose n'est jamais mieux conservée que par les principes qui l'ont fait naître, aussi sa Majesté ne manquera pas d'observer constamment tout ce qui vient d'estre conclu, & cela avec autant de bonne foy, avec la même sincerité, & la même droiture de coeur, qu'on luy a vu temoigner lors qu'elle l'a fait negotier: Et sa Majesté ne doute point que V. S. ne soient entierement resolu à tenir la même conduite à son egard; & c'est là le dernier sceau qui doit être apposé de part & d'autre à nos traitez pour preuve d'une parfaite confiance.

Pour ce qui me regarde en particulier, je ne saurois sortir d'icy sans me
louer

my Satisfaction, at the sincere and judicious Proceeding of *Your High and Mighty Lordships* in the whole course of these Negotiations; and particularly at the great Prudence you have shewn in the Choice of those Commissioners you gave me; their Candour and Sincerity, their great Capacity and Application, did contribute very much to the quick and happy Conclusion of our Treaties. For my own particular, as I shall ever bear in mind with Joy and Pleasure, this short space of Time I have pass'd with your Lordships, in whatever Part of the World I may be; so I shall always contribute by my good Wishes, and whatever Services I may be capable of, to the Support of this good Intelligence, so happily restored between both Nations. In the mean time, God Almighty take *Your High and Mighty Lordships* into his Holy Protection.

louer hautement de la judicieuse, & sincere conduite de Vos H. & P. S. dans tout le cours de cette Negotiation, & particulièrement de l'extreme prudence que vous avez fait paroître dans le choix de Messieurs les Commissaires que vous m'avez donnez. Leur candeur, leur capacité consommée, leur ardeur, & leur application pour l'affaire proposée. n'ont pas peu contribué au bonheur & à la rapidité de la conclusion de nos Traitez. Pour moy, comme je me souviendrai, toute ma vie avec joye, & meme avec tendresse du court espace de tems que j'ay passé près de V. S. aussi dans quelque lieu du monde que je sois appelé à passer ma vie, je ne negligera jamais de contribuer par mes vœux, par toutes sortes de soins, & de services dont je me croiray capable, au maintien de cette mutuelle intelligence que je vois si heureusement retablie entre les deux Nations. Cependant je prieray Dieu ardemment de prendre vos H. & P. S. sous sa sainte protection.

*A Letter from the States to
the King of Great Britain.*

*Lettre de Recreance de la
part des Etats. Au Roy
de la Grande Bretagne.*

S I R,
Feb. 18. S. N.
1668.

SIRE,
Le 18. de Fevr.
S. N. 1668.

IT is merely in Compliance to Custom, that we do our selves the Honour to write to your Majesty, in Answer to the Letter you were pleas'd to send us, relating to Sir *William Temple*: For we can add nothing to what your Majesty has seen your self of his Conduct, by the Success of the Negotiation committed to his Charge. As it is a Thing without Example, that in so few Days three such important Treaties have been concluded, so we can say, that the Address, the Vigilance, and the Sincerity of this Minister, are also without Example. We are extremely obliged to your Majesty, that you are pleas'd to make use of an Instrument so proper for confirming that strict Amity, and good Intelligence, which the Treaty at *Breda* had so happily begun: And we are bold to say, that if your Majesty continues to make use of such Ministers, the Knot will grow too fast,

CE n'est pour satisfaire à la coutume que nous nous donnons l'honneur d'ecrire à vôtre Majesté, en réponse de la lettre qu'il luy a plu nous ecrire au sujet de Monsieur le Chevalier *Temple*; car nous ne pouvons rien ajouter à ce que vôtre Majesté même a vu de sa conduite, par le succes de la Negotiation qui luy avoit été confiée. Comme c'est une chose sans exemple que dans si peu de jours trois si importants Traitez ont été ajustéz, aussi pouvons nous dire que l'adresse, la vigilance, & la sincerité de ce Ministre sont aussi sans exemple. Nous sommes bien fort obliges a V. M. de ce qu'il luy a plu se servir d'un instrument si propre à achever d'etreindre le noeud d'amitié & de bonne intelligence que le traité de *Breda* avoit commencé à serrer: Et nous osons dire, qu'il se elle continue d'employer des semblables Ministres, le lien deviendra indissoluble, & Elle en tirera toujours une satisfaction toute particulière aussi bien

fast, ever to be untied; and your Majesty will ever find a most particular Satisfaction by it, as well as we, who after our most hearty Thanks to your Majesty for this Favour, shall pray God, &c. and remain

S I R, &c.

bien que nous, qui après l'avoir remercié de tout nôtre coeur de cette faveur, priérons Dieu, &c.

SIRE, &c.

A Letter from Monsieur de Witt to my Lord Arlington.

Monfieur de Witt à Milord Arlington.

Febr. 14. N. S.
1668.

My Lord,

AS it was impossible to send a Minister of greater Capacity, or more proper for the Temper and Genius of this Nation, than Sir William Temple; so I believe, no other Person either will, or can, more equitably judge of the Disposition wherein he has found the *States* to answer the good Intentions of the King of Great Britain. Sir William Temple ought not to be less satisfied with the Readiness, wherewith the *States* have pass'd over, to the concluding and signing of those Treaties for which he came hither, than they (the *States*) are with his Conduct, and agreeable manner of dealing in the whole Course of his Negotiation. It appears, My Lord, that you thoroughly understand Men, and bestow your Friendship only upon such as deserve it, since you cause Persons to be employ'd who acquit themselves so worthily. I think my self happy to have negotiated with him, and that by his Means your Lordship hath been pleas'd to give me a new Testimony of your Goodwill. For the Favour you say his Majesty is pleas'd to have for me; I have no otherwise deserved it than by my Respects for his royal Person, whereof I shall endeavour to give Proofs upon all Occasions his Majesty will please to afford me. In the mean while, I shall wait with Impatience for some Opportunity, to shew how sensible I am of all your Lordship's Civilities, which I shall ever acknowledge, by a true Esteem for your Merits, and by a strong Passion to let you see, that I am with as much Sincerity, as you can desire,

My Lord,

Your &c.

The

Le 14. Fevr.
S. N. 1668.

Monfieur,

Comme il n'étoit pas possible d'envoyer icy un Ministre plus capable ni plus propre pour le Naturel & le Genie de cette nation que Monsieur le Chevalier Temple; aussi croy-je que l'on n'auroit pas pû choisir une personne qui pût ou veuille plus équitablement juger de la disposition en laquelle il a trouvée les *Etats* à répondre aux bonnes intentions du Roy de la Grande Bretagne. Il ne doit pas être moins satisfait de la promptitude avec laquelle les *Etats* ont passé outre à la conclusion & signature des traités pour lesquels il est venu icy; qu'ils sont de sa conduite, & de sa belle maniere d'agir en toute la suite de sa négociation. Il paroît, Monsieur, que vous vous connoissez en hommes, & que vous ne donnez votre amitié qu'à ceux qui la méritent, puisque vous faites employer des personnes qui s'acquittent si dignement. Je m'estime heureux d'avoir eu à négocier avec luy, & de ce que par son moyen il vous a plu me donner un nouveau témoignage de votre Bienveillance. Pour ce qui est de la bonté que vous dites que sa Majesté a pour moy; je ne l'ay mérité point que par le respect que j'ay pour sa personne Royale, dont je tâcheray de luy donner des preuves à toutes les occasions qu'elle me fera la grace de m'en faire naître. J'attens bien avec autant d'impatience celles où je vous puisse témoigner combien je suis sensible à toutes vos civilités, que je reconnoîtray toujours par un véritable estime pour votre mérite, & par une très forte passion de vous faire voir que je suis avec autant de sincérité que vous pouvez désirer,

Monfieur,

Votre &c.

Factum

The Triple Alliance copy'd from the Original Papers. Factum tripliciter conven-
tum.

WHEREAS by the late Treaty concluded at *Breda* between the King of *Great Britain*, and the *States General* of the *United Netherlands*, both Nations have been restored, through the Blessing of God, to that ancient Friendship and good Correspondence which was between them : And in order to cut off all Occasions of farther Differences, and to prevent all new Accidents, which might tend to the Disturbance of the said Amity and good Correspondence of the Subjects on either part, some Articles and Rules of Navigation and Commerce were there agreed; and particularly by the eleventh Article of the said Treaty, it was ordained, That the said King, and the said *States General*, shall be oblig'd as Friends, Allies and Confederates, mutually to defend the Rights and Immunities of each others Subjects against all such as shall endeavour to disturb the Peace of either State by Sea or by Land, or such, as living within the Dominions of either, shall be declared publick Enemies by the one or the other : And because it is not particularly determined in what way and manner the said Confederates stand obliged mutually to succour each other; and that it is the fix'd Resolution of the said King of *Great Britain*, and of the said *States General*, more and more to corroborate and accomplish the said Agreement: Therefore in the first place, and above all other things, they consent to confirm the said Treaty concluded at *Breda*, together with the said Laws of Navigation and Commerce relating to the same, as by these Presents they are confirm'd, under a mutual and undissoluble Obligation to observe and accomplish them truly and faithfully, and to command the Subjects on both sides exactly and religiously to observe and fulfil them according to the genuine Sense and Tenor of the said Treaty and Articles : And for the better ascertaining the mutual Assistance that the Parties are to give to each other, which was omitted in the preceding Treaty; for increasing Amity and Friendship between

Quandoquidem pactis non ita pridem *Bredæ* inter *Magnæ Britannię Regem*, & *fœderati Belgii Ordines generales conclusis*, pristina inter utramque Nationem Amicitia ac bona Correspondentia annuente divina gratia restituta, adeoque ad præcedendam omnem omnino in posterum novis dissidiis ansam, atque ad præveniendam nova inter utriusque partis subditos accidentia, quæ dictam amicitiam ac bonam correspondentiam turbare aliquando possint, in Articulos quosdam Legeſque navigationis ac commerciorum ibidem consensum atque speciatim undecimo dicti Tractatus Articulo statutum sit, uti dictus Dominus Rex, dictique Domini Ordines Generales maneant Amici, confœderati Neceſſitudine & Amicitia, conjuncti & astricti, ad Jura atque Immunitates Subditorum alterutrius contra quoscunque demum tuendas, qui utriusve status Pacem Terra Marive disturbare conabuntur, vel qui infra alterutra Dominia degentes publici utriusque status Hostes denunciabuntur; neque tamen specificè definita reperiantur media, auxiliave, quibus Fœderatorum pars una alteri, tali in casu, succurrere debeat : Dicto autem magnæ Britannię Regi, dictisque Ordinibus Generalibus ſet Sententia isthæc Pacta corroborandi magis, magisque perficiendi, placuit imprimis atque ante omnia, dictum Tractatum *Bredæ* conclusum, dictasque Leges Navigationis ac Commerciorum eo spectantes confirmare, quemadmodum per præſentia confirmantur, obligatione mutua atque indissolubili, eas bona Fide observandi atque adimplendi, jubendique ut à subditis utrinque exacte atque religioſe observentur atque adimpleantur, juxta genuinum dicti Tractatus dictorumque Articulorum Sensum ac Tenorem. Ut autem præterea de specialiore auxiliorum mutuo præſtandorum designatione prioribus Pactis omiſſa, pro Amicitia inter dictum Dominum Regem dictosque Dominos Ordines Generales Incremento majori constet, utque securitati & defensionis mutua utriusque status contra infestos conatus vel insultus hostiles à quocunque forte quocunque demum sub prætextu instituendos, arctiori fœdere inſra Unione plene proſpiciatur; Nos infra

T

scripti

tween the said King and *States General*, and that full Provision may be made by a nearer Alliance and Union, for the Safety and mutual Defence of both States, against the pernicious Endeavours and hostile Attempts of any Enemy under any Pretext whatever: We whose Names are underwritten, in virtue of the Orders and full Powers granted to us, and hereunder to be inserted, do covenant and agree, That the said King of *Great Britain*, and the said *States General* of the *United Netherlands*, shall be mutually obliged, united and confederated together, as they are by the Force and Virtue of these Presents mutually obliged, united and confederated in a perpetual League defensive, in the manner, and under the Conditions following.

I.

That if any Prince, State, or other Person whatever, without Exception, shall under any Pretext, invade or attempt to invade the Territories, Countries, or any Places that lie within the Dominions of the said King of *Great Britain*, or shall exercise any Acts of Hostility by Sea or by Land, against the said King or his Subjects, the said *States General* shall be obliged, as by Virtue of these Presents they are obliged to send forty Ships of War, well furnish'd with all things necessary, to assist the said King, to oppose, suppress and repel, all such Insults and Acts of Hostility, and to procure him due Reparation for any Damages sustained: That is to say, fourteen of the said Ships shall carry from sixty to eighty great Guns, and four hundred Men, a just Allowance and Computation being made, as well with respect to those Ships that carry a greater, as those that carry a lesser Number of Men: Fourteen other Ships shall carry from forty to sixty Guns, and one with another, three hundred Men at the least, Allowance to be made as before; and none of the rest to carry less than six and thirty Guns, and a hundred and fifty Men. Besides which, they shall assist him with six thousand Foot Soldiers, and four hundred Horse, or shall pay a Sum of Money with due regard to the just Value of such an Assistance, either for the whole or a part, at the Choice of the said King. All these
Aids

scripti Virtute mandati plenæque potestatis nobis concessæ, atque inferius inserendæ, convenimus atque statuimus dictum Dominum Magnæ Britannie Regem, dictosque Dominos fœderati Belgii Ordines Generales, invicem obstrictos, unitos atque confœderatos fore; quemadmodum vi ac vigore præsentium invicem obstricti, uniti atque confœderati sunt fœdere defensivo perpetuo, modo atque conditionibus sequentibus.

I.

*Quod si Principum Statuumve aliquis, aut quilibet alius, qualiscunque ille tandem fuerit, Nemine excepto, sub quocunque prætextu invaserit vel invadere tentaverit Territoria, Regionisque, aut loca quælibet sub ditione dicti Magnæ Britannie Regis sita, aliumve quemcunque Actum hostilem Terra Marive contra dictum Dominum Regem ejusve Subditos exercuerit; dicti Domini Ordines Generales tenebuntur, quemadmodum virtute præsentium tenentur, dicto Domino Regi, ad insultus eos actusque hostiles arcendos, supprimendos, atque repellendos, debitamque Damni dati Reparationem obtinendam, auxilio adesse quadraginta Navibus bellicis probe instructis; quarum quatuordecim à sexaginta ad octoginta Tormenta bellica majora, Hominesque quadringentos ferant singulæ, facta justa compensatione aut retributione inter eas quæ numerosiore, & eas quæ minus numero milite Nautaque instructæ erunt: Quatuordecim aliæ à quadraginta ad sexaginta Tormentis, Hominibusque ad minimum trecentis; facta compensatione ut supra, instructæ sint quælibet: Et nulla reliquarum minus ferat quam triginta sex tormenta, Hominesque centum & quinquaginta; atque insuper sex mille Peditibus, & Equitibus quadringentis; vel valore justo hujusmodi Auxilii in pecunia numerando, prout dicto Domino Regi eligere placuerit, vel parte tali prædicti Auxilii, aut dicti Valoris in Pecunia, quæ à dicto Domino Rege expetetur. Præstabuntur
6 autem*

Aids shall be furnish'd within six Weeks after they shall be demanded; and the said King shall reimburse the whole Charge to the said States within three Years after the Conclusion of the War.

II.

That if any Prince, State, or other Person whatever, without Exception, shall under any Pretext, invade or attempt to invade the *United Provinces*, or any Places situated within the Jurisdiction of the said *States General*, or garrison'd by their Soldiers; or shall exercise any Act of Hostility by Land or by Sea, against the said *States General* or their Subjects; the said King shall be obliged, as by Virtue of these Presents he is obliged, to send forty Ships of War well furnished with all things necessary, to assist the said *States General*, to oppose, suppress and repel, all such Insults and Acts of Hostility, and to procure due Reparation for any Damages sustained by them: That is to say, fourteen of the said Ships shall carry from sixty to eighty great Guns, and four hundred Men; a just Allowance and Computation being made, as well with regard to those Ships that carry a greater, as those that carry a lesser Number of Men: Fourteen other Ships shall carry from forty to sixty Guns, and one with another three hundred Men at the least; Allowance to be made as before; and none of the rest to carry less than six and thirty Guns, and a hundred and fifty Men. Besides which, he shall assist them with six thousand Foot Soldiers, and four hundred Horse; or shall pay a Sum of Money, with due regard to the just Value of such an Assistance, either for the whole or a part, at the Choice of the said *States*. All these Aids shall be furnished within six Weeks after they shall be demanded: And the said *States* shall reimburse the whole Charge to the said King, within three Years after the Conclusion of the War.

III.

The said Ships of War, and the said auxiliary Forces of Horse and Foot, together with the Commanders of the Ships and Forces, and all the subaltern Officers of both, that shall be sent to the

autem dicta Auxilia intra sex septimanarum spatium postquam postulata fuerint; dictisque Dominis Ordinibus à dicto Domino Rege refundentur impensæ omnes intra triennium, à finito atque extincto Bello numerandum.

II.

Quod si Principum, Statuumve aliquis, aut quilibet alius, qualiscunque ille tandem fuerit, nemine excepto, sub quocunque prætextu invaserit vel invadere tentaverit Provincias Confœderatas, aut loca quælibet sub Ditione dictorum Dominorum Ordinum Generalium sita, vel in quibus ipsorum miles præsidio positus est, aliumve quemcunque actum hostilem, Terra Marive, contra dictos Dominos Ordines Generales, eorumve subditos exercuerit; dictus Dominus Rex tenebitur, quemadmodum Virtute præsentium tenetur, dictis Dominis Ordinibus Generalibus ad insultus eos actusque hostiles arcendos, suppressendos, atque repellendos, debitamque damni dati Reparationem obtinendam, auxilio adesse quadraginta Navibus bellicis probè instructis: Quarum quatuordecim à sexaginta ad octoginta Tormenta bellica majora, Hominesque quadringentos ferant singulæ; facta justa Compensatione aut Retributione inter eas quæ numerosiore, & eas quæ minus numero militum Nautique instructæ erunt: Quatuordecim aliæ à quadraginta ad sexaginta Tormentis, Hominibusque ad minimum trecentis, facta compensatione ut supra, instructæ sint quælibet: Et nulla reliquarum minus ferat quam triginta sex Tormenta, Hominesque centum & quinquaginta: Atque insuper, sex mille Peditibus, & Equitibus quadringentis; vel valore justo hujusmodi Auxilii in Pecunia numerando, prout dictis Dominis Ordinibus eligere placuerit, vel parte tali prædicti Auxilii, aut dicti valoris in Pecunia, quæ ab iisdem expetetur. Præstabuntur autem dicta Auxilia intra sex septimanarum spatium postquam postulata fuerint: Dictoque Domino Rege à dictis Dominis Ordinibus refundentur impensæ omnes intra triennium, à finito atque extincto Bello numerandum.

III.

Dictæ Naves bellicæ, ac dictæ equitum peditumque Copiæ auxiliares, Naviumque & Copiarum Præfetti, cæterique Officiales bellici minores, vim atque injuriam passo submissi, ejus Voluntatem respicere

the Assistance of the Party injured and attack'd, shall be obliged to submit to his Pleasure, and be obedient to the Orders of him or them, who shall be appointed to command the Armies in chief either by Sea or Land.

IV.

Now that an exact Computation may be made of the Charges that are to be reimburs'd within the space of three Years after the Conclusion of the War; and that the Value of such Assistance may be adjusted in ready Money, which possibly the Party attack'd may chuse, either for the whole or a part of the said Ships, Horse and Foot; 'tis thought expedient, that the fourteen Ships carrying from sixty to eighty Pieces of Cannon, should be valued at the Sum of eighteen thousand six hundred and sixty six Pounds Sterling, or of *English Money*; the other fourteen which carry from forty to sixty Guns, at fourteen thousand Pounds Sterling; and the remaining twelve, at six thousand Pounds of the same Money: Six thousand Foot, at seven thousand five hundred Pounds Sterling; and four hundred Horse, at one thousand and forty Pounds, for one Month: The Money to be paid by the said King of *Great Britain* at *London*, and by the said *States General* at *Amsterdam*, according as the Course of the Exchange shall be at the time when Payment is to be made. But in Consideration of the six thousand Foot Soldiers, the Sum of six thousand Pounds Sterling shall be paid within the first Month, to defray the Expence of lifting and providing the Men.

V.

This League, with all and every thing therein contained, shall be confirmed and ratified by the said King of *Great Britain*, and the said *States General* of the *United Provinces*, by Letters Patents of both Parties, sealed with their Great Seal in due and authentick Form, within four Weeks next ensuing, or sooner, if it may be; and the mutual Instruments of Ratification shall be exchanged on each part within the said time.

Here follows a Copy of the Powers granted by the most serene King of *Great Britain*, &c.

Charles,

IV.

respicere tenebuntur, atque obsequi mandatis ejus eorumve, quos summa cum potestate exercitui suo Terra Marive præficere voluerit.

Quo autem exacta Computatio institui possit impensarum, intra trium Annorum spatium, postquam bello finis impositus fuerit, restituendarum; vel etiam justiarundem Valoris in Pecunia numerata, quam vim hosticam passo, loco dictarum Navium, Equitum, Peditumque, vel omnium vel pro parte eligere forte placuerit; visum fuit impensas quatuordecim Navium à sexaginta ad octoginta Tormentis instructarum, æstimare Pretio octodecim millium sexcentorum & sexaginta sex Librarum Sterlings, sive Monetæ Anglicanæ; earumque quatuordecim quæ à quadraginta ad sexaginta Tormenta ferunt, quatuordecim millibus Libris Sterlings; Reliquarum autem duodecim, sex millibus ejusdem Monetæ libris: Sex mille autem Pedites, septem millibus & quingentis Libris Sterlings: Quadringentos verò Equites, mille quadraginta ejusdem monetæ Libris, pro quolibet Mense computandis: Nummique à dicto quidem Domino Rege Magnæ Britanniae, Londini, à Dominis verò Ordinibus Generalibus Amstelodami solventur, juxta cursum Cambii eo tempore quo Solutio præstanda erit: Pro primo autem Mense respectu peditum supradictorum, insuper persolventur sex mille Libræ Sterlings, pretium nimirum ad eos conscribendos instruendosque necessarium.

V.

Fædus hoc omniaque & singula eo contenta, à dicto D. Rege Magnæ Britanniae, dictisque Dominis Ordinibus Generalibus Fæderatarum Provinciarum, per patentes utriusque partis Literas sigillo magno munitas debita & authentica forma, intra quatuor septimanas proximè sequentes aut citius si fieri poterit, confirmabitur & ratihabebitur, mutuaque Ratihabitionum instrumenta intra prædictum tempus hinc inde extradentur.

Sequitur tenor Mandati à serenissimo Domino Rege Magnæ Britanniae dati.

6

Carolus,

Charles, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all, &c.

Carolus, Dei Gratia, Angliæ, Scotia, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, &c. Omnibus, &c.

A Copy of the Powers granted by the High and Mighty Lords, the States General of the United Netherlands.

Sequitur tenor Mandati, à Celsis & Præpotentibus Dominis Ordinibus Generalibus fœderati Belgii dati.

The States General of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, To all those, &c.

Les Etats Generaux des Provinces Unies des Pais Bas, A tous ceux qui ces presentes, &c.

In Witness and Confirmation of all, and every part of this Treaty, we, whose Names are underwritten, have subscribed and sealed the same, at the Hague in Holland, the 23^d of January, 1668.

In quorum omnium & singulorum Fidem majusque robur, hisce Tabulis subscripsimus, illasque sigillis nostris subscripnavimus. Hagæ-Comitum in Hollandia die 23^{to} Januarii, Anni 1668.

Signed on the King of England's Part,

Signed on the King of England's Part,

W. Temple.

W. Temple.

On the Part of the States,

On the States Part,

*Gellicom.
Asperen.
J. de Witte.
Crommon.
Unkel.
Jacob Van Coeverden.
K. Isbrants.*

*Gellicom.
Asperen.
Johan de Witte.
Crommon.
Unkel.
Jacob Van Coeverden.
K. Isbrants.*

THE King of Great Britain, and the States General of the United Netherlands, having with great Grief consider'd and maturely weigh'd the Miseries and Calamities of the late War between the two Crowns, which raged in their Neighbourhood; and having observed that the Flames of that Fire have insinuated themselves among their Neighbours, which by inevitable Necessity will involve the greatest part of the Princes and States of Christendom in the same Calamities, unless they may be timely extinguish'd, before they gather greater Force; have thought that they could not discharge the Duty of that Trust, and the respective Offices, wherein they are placed by God, if after the Re-establishment of a mutual Friendship and Alliance between the Nations of Great Britain and the United Netherlands, and the Conclusion of a Peace between the four powerful States that

REX Magnæ Britannię, atque Ordines Generales Fœderati Belgii, reputantes, atque apud Animum expedientes summo cum dolore Miseras Calamitatesque Belli, quod nuper inter duas Coronas in Finibus exarsit, quodque necessitate quadam ineluctabili maximam partem Principum atque Statuum Christiani Orbis iisdem involvet malis, Serpente incendii istius Flamma ad Vicinos, nisi tempestive & in Principio extinguatur: Existimarunt se nullatenus functuros partibus Officii munerisque sibi à Deo mandati, si post feliciter instauratam Amicitiam sub auspiciis divini Numinis, & reductam veterem necessitudinem inter Magnam Britanniam & fœderatum Belgium, eodemque tempore stabilitam Pacem inter quatuor potentes Status, qui cruenti istius Belli Partes fuerunt; Animum non applicent sedulo omnique Industria ad componenda diffidia quæ oborta sunt inter prædictas duas Coronas, præsertim ut memorati in finibus

were Parties in that bloody War ; they should not apply their Minds with the utmost Diligence and Industry, to compose the Differences that have arisen between the said two Crowns, and more especially to take care, that the Flames of that War, which have been kindled in their Neighbourhood, may be extinguished. Therefore the most serene King of Great Britain, and the High and Mighty States of the United Netherlands, having with much Labour and earnest Intreaty, induced the most Christian King to profess solemnly to the said States General, that he would immediately lay down his Arms, if the Spaniard would either consent to yield up to him in due Form and Manner by a Treaty of Peace, all those Places and Forts, together with the Chastellanies and their Dependencies, which he possess'd himself of in the Expedition of the last Year ; or will be persuaded to transfer and make over to him all the Right that remains to them in the Duchy of Luxemburg, (or else in the County of Burgundy) together with Cambray and the Cambresis, Doway, Aire, St. Omer, Winoxbergen, Furnes and Lincken, with their Bailiwicks, Chastellanies, and other Dependencies ; and in case they accept the Alternative last mention'd, the most Christian King will restore to the King of Spain, all such Places and Territories as the French have possess'd by their Arms since they enter'd Flanders. Provided the High and Mighty States General, shall on their part promise, and render themselves Guarantees to the most Christian King, that they will by their Reasons and other effectual Means induce the Spaniards to agree to these Conditions. The said King of Great Britain, and the said States General, jointly conclude and judge, that they can do no better Service in this Conjunction and State of Affairs, either to the two Kings before named, or to the rest of the neighbouring Princes and States, than by their joint Counsels and utmost Endeavours, to exhort, and as much as in them lies, oblige the said two Crowns to make Peace, upon the Terms and Conditions before mention'd. To which end we, whose Names are hereunto subscribed, having received full Power to that Effect, have by Virtue of those Injunctions,

Belli flamma sopiatur. Proinde, cum serenissimus Magnæ Britanniae Rex, & Celsi præpotentesque Ordines fœderati Belgii, post multum Operis insumptum, variasque obtestationes, obtinuerint à Christianissimo Rege, ut professus sit dictis Ordinibus Generalibus se ex hoc tempore Arma depositurum, dummodo Hispani parati sint illi rite atque solenniter cedere per Tractatum Pacis omnia loca & munimenta, ut & Castellanas cum annexis, quæ Armis in Expeditione præcedentis Anni occupavit aut munivit; vel ut Hispani permoveantur in eum transcribere omne jus quod illis restat in Ducatu Luxemburgico (sive Comitatu Burgundii) præter Cameracum cum Cameracensio, Duacum, Ariam, Fanum St. Audomari, Bergas St. Vinoci, Furnas & Linckium, cum Bailluatibus, Castellaniis, cæterisque quæ inde pendent: Regemque Christian. posteriori casu, restitutum Regi Hispaniæ omnia loca ditionesque, quæ Galli Armis ex quo Flandriam ingressi sunt occupavere; ea Lege ut Celsi & Præpotentes D.D. Ordines Generales. reciprocè caveant, Regemque Christian. securum reddant, se effecturos apud Hispanos rationibus aliisque momentis, ut in easdem consentiant Leges; arbitrati sunt se hac tempestate, atque hoc rerum Articulo optimam navaturos operam non modò utrique præfatorum Regum, sed & aliis Principibus & Statibus vicinis; si conjunctim communicatis Consiliis collatisque Operis adhortentur, & quantum suarum Virium est permoveant sæpius dictas duas Coronas, ad ineundam Pacem Legibus atque Conditionibus supra memoratis; in quem finem facta nobis, qui has Tabulas subsignavimus, potestate cum libera, ex præscripto mandatorum nostrorum convenimus de Articulis & Capitibus sequentibus.

tions, concluded and agreed, the following Articles.

I.

That the King of *Great Britain*, and the *States General* of the *United Netherlands*, shall either jointly or separately (provided their Intentions be mutually communicated, and no way repugnant to this Agreement) use their utmost Endeavours and Industry with the Most Christian King, to persuade him to promise and engage in the best Form, and by a solemn Treaty, to the King of *Great Britain*, and to the *States General* of the *United Netherlands*, That he will conclude a Peace and Alliance with the King of *Spain*, without any Exception or Reserve, under whatever Pretext, or for whatever Cause; if the King of *Spain* shall be induced or persuaded by the King of *Great Britain*, and the Confederated States, to yield to the most Christian King, either the Places he possess'd himself of the last Year in the Low-Countries, or to give him an Equivalent, by delivering up the Places above mention'd, or others in lieu of them, as shall be mutually agreed between the Parties concerned.

II.

That the most Christian King be induced to consent, That the present Cessation of Arms in the Low-Countries, may be prolonged to the End of the Month of *May*, to the end that the King of *Great Britain*, and the confederated States may, in the mean time, employ themselves with all Diligence, Care and Industry, to procure the Consent of the King or Queen of *Spain*, and their Council, to the aforefaid Terms and Conditions.

III.

But that the most Christian King may have no just occasion to refuse to prolong the Cessation of Arms; the King of *Great Britain*, and the Confederated States shall oblige themselves by the same Treaty, to take effectual Care, That the *Spaniards* shall yield to *France* all that was taken the last Year by the *French*, or give them an Equivalent, as shall be agreed with the Consent of both Parties.

I.

Quod Rex Magnæ Britanniae, & Ordines Generales foederati Belgii, conjunctim vel separatim, communicatis tamen omnino consiliis, & secundum ea de quibus mutuo convenerint, omnem operam omnemque industriam adhibebunt apud Regem Christianissimum ut in optima legitimaque Forma, solenni Tractatu spondeat & promittat Regi Magnæ Britanniae, & foederati Belgii Ordinibus Generalibus, se pacis fœdus facturum cum Rege Hispaniæ, citra omnem, quocunque sub prætextu, vel quacunque de causa, exceptionem vel dispensationem; si Hispaniæ Rex induci aut permoveri queat per Regem Magnæ Britanniae, & Ordines foederatos, ut cedat Regi Christianissimo, ut loca anno præterito in Belgica armis occupata, aut aliud tantundem valens, per traditionem locorum superius memoratorum aliorumve in compensationem, de quibus mutuo consensu partes inter se convenire poterunt.

II.

Ut Rex Christianissimus consentire velit in prorogationem vacationis armorum in Belgica ad finem Mensis Maii, ut temporis interea Rex Magnæ Britanniae, & foederati Ordines sedulo omnique industria & diligentia operam dare possint apud Regem aut Reginam Hispaniæ, ejusque Consiliarios, uti legibus conditionibusque præfatis consensum adhibere velint.

III.

Ut verò Rex Christianissimus nulla justa ratione dictam armistitii prorogationem recusare queat: Rex Magnæ Britanniae, Ordinesque foederati se eodem Tractatu obstringent, id se effecturos ut reapse Galliae cedatur ab Hispanis omne quod Gallorum Armis Anno præterito occupatum fuit, aut aliud tantundem valens, de quo mutuo partium consensu convenietur.

IV.

That the most Christian King shall be induced and persuaded to give intire Credit to, and put full Confidence in the aforefaid Promise, that his Arms may not for the future disturb the Quiet of the Low-Countries: So that if it should happen, contrary to all hope and expectation, that the King of *Great Britain*, and the confederated States, shall not be able by their Exhortations and earnest Sollicitations to persuade the *Spaniards* to give their Consent to the Conditions above mention'd, before the end of the next ensuing *May*; and that it become necessary to use more effectual means to that purpose: Nevertheless the *French* shall not move or introduce their Arms within, or upon the Limits of the Low Countries; but the King of *Great Britain*, and the confederated States shall engage, and take upon themselves such necessary Provision, as may effectually oblige the *Spaniards* to accept the foresaid Conditions of Peace: And it shall not be left to the Discretion of the most Christian King, either to exercise any Acts of Hostility in the said Countries, or to possess himself of any Town, tho' by voluntary Surrender; unless the King of *Great Britain*, and the confederated States shall cease and omit to prosecute the Things above-mention'd.

V.

That when the Peace is made between the two Crowns, not only the King of *Great Britain*, and the confederated States, but likewise the Emperor, and all the neighbouring Kings and Princes, who shall think themselves concern'd, that the Quiet of Christendom remain unshaken, and the Low-Countries be restored to the Enjoyment of their former Tranquillity; shall be Guarantees and Conservators of the same: To which end, the number of Forces, and other means to be used against either of the Parties that shall violate or infringe the said Peace, shall be determin'd and agreed, that the Injury may cease, and the Party offended receive Satisfaction.

VI. That

IV.

Quod Rex Christianissimus inducetur & permovebitur prædicto promisso plenam adhibere fidem, atque in eo Fiduciam ponere velit, & ut proinde ejus Arma in posterum quiescant in Belgica, ita quidem ut si præter omnem spem & expectationem Rex Magnæ Britannie fœderatique Ordines nequeant per exhortationes obtestationesque permovere Hispanos ante finem Mensis Maii proximi, ut consensum adhibeant Conditionibus sæpius memoratis, ac proinde ad media majoris efficacis venire necesse sit; nihilominus Galli intra fines & in finibus dictæ Belgicæ sua arma non movebunt aut introducent: Sed Rex Magnæ Britannie & fœderati Ordines se obstringent, atque in se recipient id sese suppleturos quod necessum erit, ut Hispani reapse astringantur, uti Pacem legibus supradictis accipiant; adeoque Regi Christianissimo integrum non erit ullos exercere Actus hostiles in dictis Regionibus, neque ullum occupare Oppidum licet sponte sua se dedere velit, nisi Rex Magnæ Britannie, & fœderati Ordines cessent atque omittant efficere id quod iam dictum est.

V.

Quod sancita inter duas Coronas pace, ejus servandæ Sponsores vindicesque erunt, in forma omnium optima, amplissima & securissima, non modò Rex Magnæ Britannie, & fœderati Ordines, sed & Imperator, omnesque Reges & Principes vicini, qui existimabunt sua interesse ut Orbi Christiano inconcussa maneat quies, & Belgicæ sua reddatur constetque tranquillitas: In quem finem definietur copiarum militarium numerus, aliæque media quibus utendum erit adversus alterutram partium quæ temeraverit vel violaverit Pacem, ut injuriam demat ac parti læsæ resarciat.

VI. Pacta

VI.

That this Agreement, with all and every thing therein contained, shall be confirm'd and ratify'd by the said King of Great Britain, and the said States General of the United Provinces, by Letters Patents on both sides, sealed with the Great Seal in due and authentick Form, within four Weeks next ensuing, or sooner, if it can be done; and within the said time the mutual Instruments of Ratification shall be exchanged on both sides.

In Witness and Confirmation of all which, we, whose Names are underwritten, have subscribed and sealed the same. At the Hague in Holland, the 23^d of January, 1668.

Signed as before.

VI.

Paſſa hæc conventa omniaque & ſingula iis contenta, à dicto Domino Rege Magnæ Britannię, dictisque Dominis Ordinibus Generalibus fœderatarum Provinciarum, per patentes utriusque partis literas ſigillo magno munitas, debita & authentica Forma, intra quatuor ſeptimanas proximè ſequentes, aut citius ſi fieri poterit, confirmabuntur & ratihabebuntur, mutuaque ratihabitionum instrumenta intrâ prædictum tempus hinc inde extradentur.

In quorum omnium & ſingulorum fidem majusque Robur, hiſce Tabulis ſubſcripſimus, illasque Sigillis noſtris ſubſignavimus. Hagæ-Comitum in Hollandia 23. Die Januarii, 1668.

Signed as before.

Separate Articles, which shall be of the same Force and Authority, as if they had been inserted in the Treaty concluded this Day, between the King of Great Britain, and the States General of the United Netherlands.

Articuli ſeparati, qui ejusdem erunt Virtutis atque Authoritatis, ac ſi inſerti forent Tractatui, hodierno Die, intra Regem Magnæ Britannię, & Ordines Generales fœderati Belgii, concluſo.

I.

IF in the procuring of a Peace between France and Spain, any Difficulty should arise about the Point of the Renunciation, 'tis to be so contriv'd, that either no mention at all is to be made of it in the Treaty, or at least, the Form is to be conceiv'd and set down in such Words, as nothing may accrue to either of the two Crowns, on account of the said Renunciation; nor any Prejudice be created to either of them in Point of Right: But if either the King of Spain, or the most Christian King, refuse their Consent to this Expedient; then the King of Great Britain, and the confederated States, shall proceed against the Refuser, as is agreed by the third and fourth Article of the Treaty, and in the last of these Articles respectively; with this Condition however, That in

I.

SI in procuranda pace inter Galliam & Hispaniam se offerat aliqua difficultas super puncto renunciationis, ea ineunda est ratio, ut vel nulla ejus in pactis fiat mentio, vel ut ejusmodi verbis concipiatur Formula, ut neutræ dudarum Coronarum quoad prædictam renunciationem eo quicquam accedat, aut etiam inde creetur aliquod juris detrimentum: Quod si verò Rex Hispaniarum vel etiam Rex Christianissimus in id consentire nolint, adversus recusantem, Rex Magnæ Britannię, & fœderati Ordines procedent; ut conventum est Articulo tertio & quarto dicti Tractatus, & ultimo horum Articulorum respectivè: Ea tamen conditione, ut in casu recusationis Regis Hispanię, Rex Christianissimus se reciprocè obstringat, quemadmodum in Articulo quarto, se nullatenus arma moturum in Belgica.

in case such refusal proceed from the King of *Spain*, the most Christian King shall oblige himself not to make War in the Low-Conntties, according to the Tenor of the fourth Article.

II.

That the King of *Great Britain*, and the *States General* of the *United Netherlands*, to the end that all Parties may be satisfied, shall oblige themselves to use their utmost Endeavours, that a Peace may at the same time be establish'd between the Kings of *Spain* and *Portugal*; but with this Condition, That the most Christian King shall also oblige himself, in case this Negotiation cannot be so soon accomplish'd, that such a Delay shall no way hinder on his Part, the Peace between him and *Spain*; except only, That it shall be free for the said most Christian King, to give Succour and Aid to the King of *Portugal*, his Ally, either by way of Attack, that he may draw the Enemy from other Parts, or by any other means which he shall judge to be most convenient and advantageous. And if the *Spaniards* can be brought to consent to a Peace under the said Condition, and the same be concluded accordingly; then the most Christian King shall be oblig'd wholly to abstain from the Low-Countries, as possess'd of Peace, and not involv'd in the Disputes of either Party. Neither shall it be lawful for him to form any Designs against them, either by open Force or clandestine Practices; nor to require any Satisfaction, under the Pretext of Charges and Expences to be sustained on account of the War in *Portugal*; either for raising Men, or any other Burdens of that War. And if it should happen that during the said War, the auxiliary Forces of the most Christian King, should possess themselves of any Places in *Spain* or *Italy*; the said most Christian King shall restore them to *Spain*, as soon as the Peace with *Portugal* shall be made. But if beyond, and contrary to Expectation, *Spain* should refuse to make Peace with the King of *Portugal*, and also with the most Christian King, under that Exception, of leaving him free to assist his Confederate, as has been already said: In this unexpected case, The
King

II.

Quod Rex Magnæ Britanniae, & Ordines Generales fœderati Belgii, ut prolixius ab omni parte satisfiat, se obligabunt omnem sedulo operam duros, ut Pax inter Reges Hispaniæ & Lusitaniæ eodem tempore sanciri possit; ea tamen lege ut vicissim Gallia se obstringat, si tam citò non possit id negotium perducere ad exitum, uti Pax inter se & Hispaniam nihilominus ineatur; hoc excepto, ut liberum sit Regi Christianissimo suppetias ferre Regi Lusitaniæ Fœderato suo, eique auxilio esse, sive inferendo arma sua ut aliunde detrahat hostem, sive alio quocunque modo quem sibi commodissimum atque maxime ex usu fore existimabit. Et si Hispani adduci poterunt ut consentiant in Pacem sub dicta conditione, atque ea proinde concludatur; Rex Christianissimus tenebitur, à Belgica ut pacata, atque neutrarum partium rebus implicata, omnino abstinere; neque ei jus fasque erit quidquam adversus eam moliri, neque palam virtute bellica, neque clandestinis artibus; ut ne petere ullam satisfactionem sub obtentu impensarum erogationumque quæ in bello Lusitanico erunt faciendæ, tam ob delictum Militum quam alia Belli Onera. Quod si contingat manente dicto Bello per Auxiliares Regis Christianissimi copias, occupari loca quædam in Hispania Italiave; Rex Christianissimus simulatque Pax cum Lusitania facta fuerit, eadem restituet Hispaniæ: Sed si præter & contra expectationem Hispania recuset Pacem cum Rege Lusitaniæ, ut & cum Rege Christianissimo, ea cum exceptione ut Fœderato suo liberum sit ei auxiliari, quemadmodum jam dictum est; hoc inopinato casu Rex Magnæ Britanniae & fœderati Ordines tenebuntur reapse id efficere ut Hispani omnimodò in id consentiant; ita tamen ut reciprocè Rex Christianissimus se obstringat quemadmodum Casu primo, quod non sit moturus Arma in Belgica.

King of *Great Britain*, and the confederated States, shall be bound to employ themselves effectually to procure the Consent of the *Spaniards*; yet with this Provision, that the most Christian King do also oblige himself not to make War in the Low Countries, as in the former Case is already said.

III.

But if beyond all Expectation, the most Christian King should entertain such Thoughts as shall induce him to refuse to promise, that he will sign the Treaty of Peace as soon as the *Spaniards* shall consent to give up all those Places which have been acquir'd by him in his last Expedition, or such an Equivalent as shall be agreed by mutual Consent; or in case he shall not accomplish his Promise, or shall disallow or reject the Cautions and Provisions that are express'd in the said Treaty, which are so necessary to obviate the Fears and Jealousies that are most justly conceiv'd of the most Christian King's Intentions to make a farther Progress with his victorious Arms into the said Low Countries, so often already mentioned: In all these Cases, and also if he should endeavour by any Subterfuges or oblique Practices to hinder or elude the Conclusion of the Peace, then *England* and the *United Netherlands* shall be bound and oblig'd to join themselves to the King of *Spain*, and with all their united Force and Power to make War against *France*; not only to compel him to make Peace upon the Conditions aforesaid, but if God should bless the Arms taken up to this end, and favour them with Success; and if it shall be thought expedient to the Parties concern'd, to continue the War, till things shall be restored to that Condition, in which they were at the time when the Peace was made upon the Borders of both Kingdoms, in the *Pyrenean Mountains*.

IV.

These separate Articles, with all and every thing therein contain'd, shall be confirm'd and ratified by the said King of *Great Britain*, and the said *States General* of the *United Provinces*, by Letters Patents of both Parties, sealed with their Great Seal in due

III.

Si præter omnem expectationem Rex Christianissimus inducat in animum ut promittere nolit quod Tractatum Pacis signaturus sit, simulatque Hispani cessuri sint omnia loca ab eo occupata in novissima expeditione, vel aliud tantundem valens, de quo mutuo consensu convenietur; aut promissorum fidem non impleat, aut detrectet respuatve cautiones & præmunimenta in dicto Tractatu expressa, quæ necessaria sunt ut obviam eatur metui justissime concepto, ne Rex Christianissimus arma sua victoricia in sæpius memorata Belgica ulterius proferat: Quod omnibus istis casibus, ut & si per alia Subterfugia aut obliquas Artes conetur Pacis conclusionem impedire aut eludere; Anglia, federatumque Belgium tenebuntur accedere partibus Regis Hispaniæ, omnibusque & junctis viribus Terra Marique adversus Galliam bellum gerere; ut compellatur non in leges duntaxat sæpius jam memoratas Pacem facere; sed si arma in eum finem sumpta, Deum habeant faventem & propitium, atque de communi consensu id expedire visum fuerit, etiam bellum continuare, donec res in eum statum fuerint restitutæ quo fuerunt tempore fœderis in collimitio Regnorum in Montibus Pyrenæis sanciti.

IV.

Articuli hi separati, omniaque & singula iis contenta, à dicto Domino Rege Magnæ Britanniæ, dictisque Dominis Ordinibus Generalibus fœderatarum Provinciarum, per patentes utriusque partis literas sigillo magno munitas, debita & authentica Forma intra quatuor Septimanas

due and authentick Form, within four Weeks next ensuing, or sooner if it may be; and within the said Time, the mutual Instruments of Ratification shall be exchange'd on both Sides.

Done at the *Hague* in *Holland* the 23^d of *January*, 1668.

Signed as before.

manas proximè sequentes, aut citiùs si fieri poterit, confirmabuntur, Et ratihabebuntur, mutuaque Ratihabitionum Instrumenta intra prædictum tempus hinc inde extradentur.

Actum Hagæ-Comitum in Hollandia Die 23 Januarii, 1668.

Signed as before.

The Swedish Act.

WHEREAS the King of *Great Britain*, and the States of the *United Provinces* of the *Netherlands*, have earnestly desired, that the King of *Sweden* might be associated with them, as one principal Party, in that League which is this Day concluded, and signed by their Commissioners and Plenipotentiaries; whereby a speedy and safe Peace may be promoted and made between the two neighbouring Kings, and the publick Tranquillity of *Christendom*, by the Blessing of God, may be restored: And whereas the King of *Sweden* himself, even from the Beginning of these Differences, which have grown to such a Height between the two Kings, has acquainted the King of *Great Britain*, and the States of the *United Netherlands*, with his good and sincere Intentions and Desire, to associate and join himself to them in the Business abovemention'd, as well in regard of the strict Friendship and Alliances, which he acknowledges have join'd him in one common Interest with them, as that by his Accession to them, all useful and honourable Means and Industry may be used to establish a Peace between the two Kings: Professing that no other Difficulty has hitherto restrained him from opening his Mind upon that whole Matter, than that he waited to be informed, what firm and deliberate Counsels the King of *Great Britain*, and the States of the *United Netherlands*, would take in this Affair, and what Assistance would be requisite, with other Things of that kind, in which the said King of *Sweden* desires to be satisfied, to the end that he may proceed by the like Steps, and in equal manner with the King of *Great Britain*, and the States of the *United Netherlands*: For these Reasons

'tis

CUM *Magnæ Britanniae Rex*, ac *Ordines Fœderatarum Belgii Provinciarum*, valde desiderarint Regem *Sueciæ* unâ cum ipsis in partem principalem adscisci illius Fœderis, quod hodierno Die per Deputatos ac Plenipotentiarios suos conclusum signatumque est; quo prompta atque tuta Pax inter Reges duos vicinos promoveatur, quoque Divinâ adspirantè gratiâ per Orbem Christianum publica tranquillitas instauretur: Præterea cum Rex ipse *Sueciæ* jam ab initio eorum motuum qui inter duos designatos Reges cruduerunt, tam *Magnæ Britanniae Regi*, quam *Fœderatorum Belgarum Ordinibus* sit testatus bonum sincerumque suum propositum ac studium quo tenebatur, sese cum iis in hoc negotio modo supradicto sociandi ac jungendi; idque respectu arctissimæ necessitudinis, Et horum Fœderum per quæ communibus cum iisdem commodis adstringi se agnoscit, ut per hunc interventum, perque modos utiles quoscunque ac honestos, Paci inter binos Reges stabiliendæ infunderetur: Nec per ullam difficultatem sese hætenus cohibebat, mentem suam super re totâ aperiendi, nisi quod præstolatus est dum certò resciretur quid deliberati atque firmi consilii Rex *Magnæ Britanniae* Et *Fœderatorum Belgarum Ordines* super omni hoc negotio essent capturi; tum quousque promoveri subsidia, aliaque id genus nonnulla possent, per quæ dictus *Sueciæ Rex* sibi satisfieri exoptat, ut pari Et æquato cum *Magnæ Britanniae Rege* ac *Fœderati Belgii Ordinibus* passu in hac re procedat: Ea propter, ex commodo communi visum est fore, si hoc instrumentum inter Ministros Deputatos ac Plenipotentiarios dictorum Regum *Sueciæ Magnæque Britanniae*, nec non dictorum *Fœderati Belgii Ordinum* scripto consignaretur; Quo unâ ex parte obligaretur Rex *Sueciæ*, mediante satisfactiōe

'tis thought expedient for the common Good, that the present Instrument between the Ministers, Deputies and Plenipotentiaries of the said Kings of Sweden and Great Britain, and those of the said States of the United Netherlands, be put down in Writing, whereby, on the one Hand, the King of Sweden should be obliged, after the foresaid Satisfaction receiv'd, to embrace the said League, to use the same Endeavours, and to proceed equally, and in the like manner, as the said King of Great Britain and the said States of the United Netherlands think fit to do, in order to promote and carry on so useful a Work; and on the other hand, the said King of Sweden will be assured, that a Place is reserved for him, empty and intire, to enter, as one principal Party, into this League; as by these Presents he is desired in the most friendly manner, both by the King of Great Britain, and by the States of the United Netherlands; who on their part will most readily employ themselves, and all kind of good Offices, towards the Emperor and King of Spain, to the end that all such Differences, as the said King of Sweden may have with them, be compos'd and determin'd, according to the Rules of Equity and Justice. And forasmuch as concerns the Aid which is required from the said King, the States General of the united Netherlands will not be wanting to send with Expedition, such necessary Instructions to their Ambassadors in the Court of England; that between them, and such Commissioners as the said King of Great Britain shall appoint to that purpose, and the extraordinary Ambassador of the King of Sweden, who is now ready to begin his Journey thither, together with other Ministers residing there on the Part of divers Princes and States, who are concern'd and interested in this Affair; such Measures may be taken to settle all things which shall be requisite and necessary, that the said League may acquire the Substance as well as the Form of a *Triple Agreement*: To which the respective Parties shall make it their Business to invite their Friends and Allies, if any of them should desire to be admitted.

Done at the Hague, $\frac{1}{23}$ of January, 1668.

Signed,

factione prædictâ, ad amplectendum designatum Fœdus, & ad eandem navandam Operam, eodemque passu procedendum, quo dictus Magnæ Britannię Rex, dictique Fœderatorum Belgarum Ordines procedendum sibi esse existimant, ut negotium tam salutare promoveatur: Necnon parte ex alterâ dictus Rex Suecię certus itâ fieret locum sibi vacuum ac integrum relinqui Fœderis hujusce inter partes principales amplectendi, quemadmodum id ut faciat à Magnæ Britannię Rege, & ab Ordinibus Fœderati Belgii per hæc præsentis, maximè amicis in modum rogatur; qui & ipsi libenter apud Cæsarem & Hispaniarum Regem omne officii genus eo convertent, ut Controversię nonnullę quę dicto Suecię Regi cum iis possint intercedere, quamprimum componantur, & secundum jus fasque è medio tollantur. Quantum vero ad subsidia quę à dicto Rege prætenduntur; Ordines Fœderati Belgii Generales non defuturi sunt mandatis necessariis confestim ad Legatos suos in Aula Britannicâ mittendis, ut hos inter & Commissarios quos dictus Magnæ Britannię Rex eam in rem designabit, interque Legatum Regis Suecię extraordinarium, qui iter jam nunc è meditatur ex Belgio, aliosque illic degentes Ministros Principum Statuumve, quos id negotium quoque tangit atque concernit; concilia ineantur, super necessariis ac requisitis omnibus constituendis; sic ut Fœdus jam dictum consequatur, quamprimum substantiam atque formam Pacti tripliciter conventi; ad quod invitandis Amicis & Confœderatis, si qui ejus in partem admitti volent, omni ex parte opera quam diligentissimè dabitur.

Actum Hagæ-Comitum, $\frac{1}{23}$ die Januarii, 1668.

Y

Signed,

Signed,

*Christopher Delphicus B. and Count
of Dhona.*

Haraldus Appelboom.

Signed.

Christophorus Delphicus B. ac Comes in Dhona.

Haraldus Appelboomius.

The Negotiation of the Peace at *Aix la Chapelle*.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Antwerp, Feb. 27. N.S. 1668.

I Did not expect to give your Lordship another Trouble from this Town, but having been detain'd here some Days by the Marquis's Stay till this Morning, and intending at Night to follow him for *Brussels*; I know not whether my Arrival there may be time enough to write by the Pacquet that parts from thence to Morrow at Evening, and therefore will not venture by any Omission to forfeit my Charter of writing every Post.

I had Yesterday a joint Audience with the *States Deputies*, and will refer your Lordship for what pass'd there to the inclosed Memorial on our part, and Answer given us by the Marquis, which we have dispatch'd this Morning to Sir *John Trevor*, and Mr. *Bouningham* at *Paris*, by a joint Express; in hopes by their Endeavours there to bring the Business to a Suspension of Arms, upon the Marquis's having now accepted the Truce, to the shorter Term offered by *France*, as well as the longer proposed by his Majesty and the *States*.

For the *Alternative*, we can yet draw no Resolution from him upon it, defending himself by the Necessity of first concerting with us how he shall be assisted, in case of *France* refusing both the Truce and the *Alternative*. This is in the Marquis an Aim of engaging us by Advance in the Party, and thereby exasperating *France*, by being threaten'd more directly; and so embark the whole Affair into the Necessity of a long ensuing War: For, that *Spain* would much rather engage in with our Assistance, than be forced to a Peace upon our late Project; and, I think, pursues its own Interest right in this Point. That of *Holland* is certainly opposite to theirs, and leads them to nothing so much as the Composition of the Quarrel, with some Security of *France* growing no greater at least on this side.

The *Marquis* is large in arguing to me, that our Interest lies in a joint War, rather than a Peace between the two Crowns, and that our End must have been hitherto, only to engage *Holland* with us in the Quarrel; and reasons from Story, and the present Genius of our People and Parliament. I endeavour to quiet him in this Point, by assuring him, that whatever other Kings have thought or done, and whatever the People wish or talk; the King, in whose sole Disposition all Matters of Peace and War lie, will by no Arts nor Considerations be induced to break from *Holland*, in the Management of this Business; nor make one Pace farther in the *Spaniards* Defence, than the *Dutch* are willing to join in. That his Interest as well as Honour lies in this Resolution, agreed by so many solemn Treaties; and that we as well as the *Dutch* can very well content our selves with a Peace, and Pursuit of our Commerce; provided we are not alarmed too much, and too near, with the Growth of the *French* Greatness. And I wind up all with pressing him still to an Acceptation of the *Alternative*, and to embrace the Peace according to our Project. And thus we fence here at present; of all which your Lordship, I believe, will receive the Detail more at large by the *Holland* Packet, in the Dispatches pass'd between me and Monsieur *de Witt* since my Arrival here; of which I desired him to send Copies to their Ambassadors in *England*, to be by them communicated to your Lordship; because more Uncertainty in the *Nieuport* Pacquet, and the present want of a settled Cypher, have hindered larger

Transmis-

Transmissions this way, and more directly to your Lordship's Hands.

Yesterday came in the *Spanish* Letters, and though I have not seen the Marquis since, yet by what I have from his Secretary, and the Count *Monte-rey*, I have reason to believe, that *Don Juan* is on his way hither, and now at Sea with considerable Supplies of Men and Money, which are very necessary here, either for carrying on a War, or inducing a Peace. The Particulars I cannot assure, though the common talk is, of eight thousand *Spaniards*, and six hundred thousand Crowns in *Specie*, and eight hundred thousand in *Remise*. 'Tis very possible your Lordship may hear more there of his coming, and see him sooner than we shall here, as well as judge better, What, or how much it will import to the Effect or Defeat, the Advance or Diversion of the present Councils. What occurs to your Lordship upon it, and will relate to my Conduct here, I hope to receive from you by the first; not esteeming any thing well begun, without a Thread at least from your Lordship to guide me; nor well perform'd, 'till I receive your Approbation, upon which depends so much the Satisfaction, as well as good Fortune of, &c.

To Monsieur de Witt.

A Monsieur de Witt.

S I R,

Antwerp, Feb. 27.
N.S. 1668.

I Have received much Satisfaction as well as Honour by yours of the 25th, and am very glad to observe the same Conformity of Sentiments between us since we parted, that there ever was while I resided at the *Hague*. I shall write to you now with my own Ink, having already done it with that of the Marquis, who would not be satisfied 'till I sent you that Dispatch: And I was forced to shew him my Letter before I sealed it, to see whether it were agreeable with what he had desired me to tell you upon that Occasion.

I had at my first Audience press'd him so closely to declare himself upon the *Alternative*, and surmounted all his Excuses upon Defect of Powers, by desiring that he would do it by way of Limitation, not to be ratified 'till the Queen of *Spain's* farther Pleasure; that at last he told me he would comply, provided *France* could be brought to ratify their Renunciation in Form in the Parliament of *Paris*, to content themselves with an Equivalent for the Cities taken, which advance so far into the Heart of the Country: And lastly, if in case of a Refusal from *France*, he might be assured before hand of the Assistance of

Monsieur,

Anvers, le 27 Fevr.
S. N. 1668.

J'AY éprouvé beaucoup de Satisfaction, & reçu beaucoup d'Honneur par votre Lettre du 25 de ce mois; & je suis fort aise de remarquer une aussi grande Conformité de Sentimens entre nous, depuis que nous nous sommes séparés, qu'il y en a toujours eu pendant mon sejour à la Haye. Je vous écriray à présent de mon propre encre, car c'est de celle de Monsieur le Marquis que je vous écrivis dernièrement: Il ne voulut point paroître satisfait, que je n'eusse consenti à me charger du soin de vous écrire, & par là je me vis contraint à luy montrer ma lettre avant que de la fermer; car il falloit qu'il jugeat si elle étoit conforme à ce qu'il m'avoit prié de vous mander sur l'affaire qui en faisoit le sujet.

Dans ma première audience je l'avois si fort pressé de se déclarer sur l'alternative, & j'avois été si habile à lever toutes ses difficultez, & à m'opposer à ses delais qui étoient fondez sur son manque de Pouvoirs; mes instances étoient si fortes & si redoublées; qu'il me dit enfin qu'il se disposeroit à faire ce que j'exigeois de luy, pourvu qu'on pût porter la France à faire verifier, dans les formes, sa renonciation dans le Parlement de Paris; à se contenter d'un équivalent pour les Villes prises, lesquelles sont situées si avant dans le pays, & presque au cœur de l'Etat, & enfin qu'en cas de refus de la part de la France, il seroit assuré du secours de l'Angleterre & de l'Hollande,

of *England* and *Holland* by a common Concert.

I told him, that for the two Points of the *Renunciation* and the *Equivalent*, he might reckon from our joint Offices upon all we could obtain from *France* in Favour of *Spain*. For, as to the *Equivalent*, our own Interest obliged us to it, that we might leave so much a stronger Barrier between *France* and *Holland*: And as for the *Renunciation*, we desired it too, but do not conceive it a Thing upon which *Spain* ought to be too stiff; since our *Guarranty* was the only strong and solid *Renunciation* that could be made upon this Occasion: And for the Assurance he desired, of being assisted in case of a Refusal from *France*, I did not doubt but he had heard at least the Substance of our secret Articles to that Purpose; because their Ambassador at the *Hague* had told me, that a Jew of *Amsterdam* had sent him a Copy of them, by which he must needs be well informed of our mutual Obligations, as well as of our Intentions not only to assist *Spain* in case of a Refusal from *France*, but to engage our selves in the Quarrel, by an open War with all our Forces against that Crown.

After much Discourse to this Purpose, I thought fit for his entire satisfaction upon the Article of our assisting *Spain*; to let him know clearly, how far he might hope from us in the Point of the *Renunciation*, and to remove a Thought which *Don Estevan de Gamarra* had given him as coming from me, That there was something in the Articles, by which it should appear, that we would not force *Spain* in case of a Refusal: For these Reasons, I say, I thought good to read to him our three separate Articles, without giving him a Copy; for

*l'Hollande, & que les deux Nations ar-
meroient de concert. Au reste, voicy
par où je réussis à vaincre sa repugnance,
& à obtenir ma demande; je luy dis
qu'en attendant l'arrivée de pleinpou-
voirs, il fit sous le bon plaisir de la Reine
d'Espagne, & ad ratificandum, la de-
claration sur laquelle je le pressois.*

*A l'égard des conditions qu'il propose,
voicy ce que je luy ay répondu; que pour
les deux premieres, savoir la Renoncia-
tion & l'Equivalent, qu'il se pouvoit
promettre de nos soins & de nos offices
mutuels tout ce que nous pourrions obte-
nir de la France en faveur de l'Espagne;
à quoy j'ay ajouté, qu'à l'égard de l'E-
quivalent, nôtre intérêt commun deman-
doit qu'on pressât cet Article, & qu'il
fust accordé, afin qu'une plus forte bar-
riere fust laissée entre la France &
l'Hollande. Que pour ce qui regardoit la
Renonciation, nous la desirions aussi;
mais que nous ne croyons pas que ce fût
une chose sur laquelle l'Espagne dût s'opi-
niâtrer; puisque nôtre Guarrantie étoit
l'unique sûreté & la seule solide Re-
nonciation, sur laquelle il fût seur de se
reposer en cette occasion. Qu'à l'égard
de l'assurance qu'il vouloit avoir d'un
secours, en cas que la France refusât les
Conditions; je ne doutois point qu'il
n'eût été instruit, du moins en substance,
du contenu de nos Articles secrets tou-
chant ce point là; que l'Ambassadeur
d'Espagne à la Haye m'avoit même dit,
qu'un Juif d'Amsterdam luy en avoit
fait tenir la copie, par où il devoit être
assez instruit de nos engagements mutuels,
aussi bien que de nos Intentions pour
l'Espagne; qui étoient, non seulement de
l'assister en cas d'un refus de la part de
la France, mais de nous engager dans sa
querelle, par la declaration d'une guerre
ouverte en tournant toutes nos forces
contre la France.*

*Après beaucoup de discours sur cette
matiere, j'ay trouvé à propos, afin de le
satisfaire pleinement sur l'Article de se-
cours, pour luy faire évidemment sentir
jusqu'où il pouvoit conter sur nous, dans
l'affaire de Renonciation, aussi bien que
pour luy ôter la pensée que Don Estevan
de Gamarra luy avoit donnée de ma part,
que peut être y avoit-il quelque chose
dans les Articles par laquelle il paroî-
troit que nous ne voulions forcer l'Espagne
en cas d'un refus: Pour toutes ces rai-
sons, dis-je, j'ay jugé à propos de luy lire
nos trois Articles séparéz, sans luy en
laisser la copie; car il me declara, qu'il*

for he profess'd to me, that he never receiv'd one from the Jew, though he did the Substance of them both from him, and the Baron de Bargeyck. I do not know whether I did well in shewing them to him; but if you think otherwise, I hope you will excuse me upon my good Intentions, and my usual plain dealing, to inform freely those I treat with, of what they have to hope or to fear. The Marquis took no Offence at our two first Articles; and only said, He could not comprehend, why the States being newly Enemies to Portugal, and having still a Controversie with them, should desire so much to see them strengthened by a Peace with Spain. I told him, my Opinion was, That they drove on this Affair, because they believ'd, that without a Peace with Portugal, Spain would not recover it self enough to make head against France, and reduce Affairs of Christendom to the Balance that is necessary. He was satisfied with this Answer, and spoke no more of the Business of the Renunciation: But, upon that of the Assistance we promis'd; he said, that the Words of the third Article were strong enough, but in too general Terms; and that after he should have accepted the Alternative, France might yet, during the next Month, or April, make some Enterprizes upon the Places on this side, before the new Levies could be raised, and take some of them, if he were not furnished with three or four thousand Foot, which might be easily done from Holland: And though I told him, that we could not concert farther with him before he had accepted the Alternative, and by that means cast the Refusal upon France, and by consequence, the Force of our Arms in case of a War, which we could not declare till we were assur'd upon which Side the Refusal would lye, for all that, he would not be satisfied till I had writ you that Letter; from which however, I look'd for no other effect, than to let him understand from you, what he had already learnt enough from me.

ne les avoit point reçeus de son Juif, mais qu'il en avoit vu la substance, & que c'étoit par le canal de ce Juif & du Baron de Bargeyck. Je ne say pas si j'ay bien fait en les luy montrant; mais en cas que vous jugiez le contraire, j'espere que vous m'excuserez toujours en faveur de mes bonnes Intentions, qui m'ont toujours porté à déclarer ouvertement à ceux avec que je traite, tous les sujets qu'ils ont à craindre & d'esperer. Le Marquis ne se formalisa pas de nos deux premiers Articles; il dit seulement, qu'il ne peut comprendre pourquoy les Etats qui estoient n'agueres ennemis de Portugal, & à qui il reste encore des choses à demeler avec luy, souhaitoient si fort de voir accroître leurs forces par une paix avec l'Espagne: Je luy dit que ma pensée estoit, qu'ils pressoient cette affaire, parce qu'ils croyoient que sans la paix avec le Portugal, l'Espagnol ne se verroit jamais en état de faire tête à la France, & de donner par ce moyen aux affaires de la Chretienté le juste equilibrium qu'elles doivent avoir. Il se contenta de cela, & ne parla plus de l'affaire de la Renonciation. Mais à l'égard de secours que nous promettons, il me dit, que les termes de l'Article troisieme estoient assez forts, mais trop generaux; & qu'apres qu'ils auroient accepté l'Alternative, la France pourroit encore pendant les Mois de Mars & d'Avril, faire quelques tentatives sur les Villes du Pais bas; que les nouvelles levées nous pourroient encore être sur pied; & que la Flandre se verroit enlever quelqu'une de ses places, si elle n'estoit munie de trois ou quatre mille Hommes de Pied, & qu'il estoit facile à la Hollande de les fournir. Quoyque j'aye pris le soin de luy repeter, que nous ne pouvions entrer en aucune Negotiation avec luy, avant qu'il eut accepté l'Alternative, que par là le refus retomberoit sur la France, & que par consequent elle s'attireroit toutes nos forces sur les bras en cas de guerre; qu'enfin ces forces ne pouvoient faire de demarches jusqu'à ce qu'on eut sçu de quel côté seroit le refus. Tout cela ne le satisfait pas, & il ne parut point content que je ne vous eusse écrit la Lettre qui a precedé celle cy, de laquelle pourtant je n'attendois pas d'autre effet que de luy faire voir par vôtre propre Plume, ce qu'il avoit déjà assez appris par ma bouche.

On Sunday Morning your Deputies arriv'd, and we had a joint Audience with the *Marquis*, whereof they will send you an Account. I shall only tell you, That as we press'd him very much upon the *Alternative*, and he on the contrary press'd us to a Concert for the Defence of *Flanders*, and in the mean while to make our Preparations for War; I told him thereupon, what Preparations the King my Master had already made, and those also made by the *States* on their side; but I desir'd him by his declaring himself upon the *Alternative*, to let us know against which of the two Parties such great Preparations must be employ'd. I leave it to your Deputies to entertain you with an Account of the long Discourses he made upon this occasion, which however were moderate enough towards our common Intentions. But we finish'd them all, by giving him a Memorial to the same Effect with what we had told him; upon which having receiv'd an Answer yesterday in the Evening, we dispatch'd it away this Morning to the Ministers at *Paris*, to forward the Suspension of Arms, if possible, by our accepting the Truce propos'd by *France*, to the end of *March*.

Yesterday came Letters from *Spain*: And tho' I have not seen the *Marquis* since, (who went early this Morning for *Brussels*) yet, by what I have learnt from other Hands, I have reason to think, that *Don Juan* may be at present upon his Journey hither, and perhaps at Sea, and that he brings along with him considerable Supplies both of Men and Money. The Talk runs, that he has eight thousand *Spaniards*, six hundred thousand Crowns in Specie, and eight hundred thousand in Returns. But of these Particulars I cannot assure you at present. I have already inform'd your Deputies more at large in what I have learnt upon the Subject of *Don Juan*; as I shall continually do before-hand of all things that I think you would be glad to know from hence: And I believe they will tell you, That there is no need

Le Dimanche au matin Messieurs vos Deputez arrivèrent, & nous eûmes conjointement nôtre audience du Marquis; c'est de quoy ils vous rendront conte; je vous diray seulement, que comme nous l'avons fort pressé sur l'Alternative, & que luy au contraire, ne nous à parlé & n'a insisté que sur un Concert pour sa defense, nous proposant de faire tous nos preparatifs pour la guerre en attendant; je luy ay parlé de ceux que le Roy mon Maître faisoit déjà, & de ceux que les Etats faisoient aussi de leur côté: Je l'ay prié de nous apprendre en se declarant sur l'Alternative, contre lequel de deux parties il faudroit employer de si grands preparatifs. Je laisse à Messieurs vos Deputez le soin de vous entretenir du Detail de la Conference, qui fut longue, & dans laquelle le Marquis parla souvent & long tems, mais toujours d'une maniere assez moderée, & qui ne paroissoit point s'eloigner de nos communes Intentions. Notre audience s'est conclue par la Presentation d'un memoire que nous luy avons remis, & qui contenoit en substance les choses que nous etions charge de luy dire. Notre memoire ayant été repondu hier au soir, nous avons envoyé ce matin la reponse aux Ministres qui sont à Paris, & cela dans la vue de faire reüssir, s'il est possible, la suspension d'Armes; qui selon toutes les apparences ne sera pas long tems differée, de qu'on aura appris en France, que la treve qu'elle a proposée jusqu'à la fin de Mars vient d'être acceptée.

Il arriva hier des Lettres d'Espagne, & quoyque je n'ay pas vû le Marquis depuis qu'il a reçu ses depeches (car il à parti ce matin des la pointe de jour pour Bruxelles) j'ay pourtant lieu de conclure de tout ce que j'ay appris d'eux, que Don Juan est enfin parti, & même déjà embarqué pour se rendre en ce pais-cy, & qu'il a mené avec luy des secours considerables & d'Hommes, & d'Argent; le bruit court, que les Troupes consistent en 8000 Espagnols, que l'Argent se monte à 600000 ecus en especes, & en 800000 ecus de remises. Mais en vous écrivant ces particularitez je ne pretens vous apprendre encore rien de certain. J'ay dit dans un plus grand detail, à Messieurs vos Deputez, ce que j'avois appris touchant Don Juan; & à l'avenir je seray toujours prest à leur declarer toutes les choses que je croiray que vous serez bien aise que vous soient mandées.

need to desire me to use them with all Confidence whereof they have already receiv'd Proofs enough since we met here: And they will be in every thing the more acceptable to me, by how much I see they are in esteem with you, and in Credit with the States, as indeed they deserve both from their Qualities and their Persons.

Pray give me the Liberty to desire you will send a Copy of this Letter to the *Dutch* Ambassadors at *London*, with Directions to shew it to my Lord *Arlington*; because I cannot so well trust the *Nieuport* Pacquet, too much expos'd to the Inspection of the *French*; and I am not yet so perfect in my Cipher as to write long Letters in it upon these Affairs.

I desire you will remember me to my Friends at the *Hague*, and believe me, as much as any Man in the World,

Sir,

Your, &c.

mandées d'icy. Je me flatte qu'ils vous diront qu'il n'est pas nécessaire de me prier de me communiquer, & de m'ouvrir à eux avec toute sorte de confiance, puisque je leur en ay déjà donné des preuves depuis que nous nous sommes rassemblez icy. Leur entretien & leurs personnes me seront d'autant plus agréables, que je vois qu'avec vôtre estime ils ont aussi l'estime & la confiance de Messieurs les Etats; c'est une justice rendue à leur mérite & à leurs qualitez personnelles.

M^r accordez vous la liberté de vous prier d'envoyer une copie de cette Lettre aux Ambassadeurs d'Hollande à *London*, avec ordre de la faire voir à M^r lord *Arlington*; car je me desie extrêmement du courier de *Nieuport*, trop exposé à la rencontre des François, & je ne suis pas encore assez grand Maître dans mon chiffre, pour m'en servir dans les affaires d'un aussi long detail.

Je vous prie de m'aider à me conserver dans le souvenir de mes amis de la Haye, & de me croire toujours, & autant que personne du monde,

Monsieur,

Vôtres humble & tres
affectionné Serviteur.

*The Memorial given to the
Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo.
Febr. 1668.*

My Lord,
THE under-signed Resident of the King of *Great Britain*, and the Deputies Extraordinary of the States General of the *United Netherlands*, find themselves obliged to represent to your Excellency, That his Majesty, and their High and Mightinesses having lately concluded a Treaty, by which they have not only provided for their proper Security, but also for the Peace and Quiet of *Christendom*, in case their Neighbours proceed in it with the same good Intentions wherewith the said Allies have begun this Affair: His said Majesty and their High and Mightinesses, for the better perfecting so Christian a Work, having given Orders to their Ministers residing at the Courts of both

Memoire au Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo. Anvers. Fevr. 1668.

Monsieur,
LES sous-signez Resident de la Grande Bretagne, & les Deputez extraordinaires des Etats Generaux des Provinces Unies de Pais Bas se trouvent obligez de représenter à V. E. que sa Majesté & leurs Hautes Puissances ayant depuis peu conclu un traité, par lequel ils n'ont pas seulement pourvu à leur propre sûreté, mais aussi à la paix & repos de la Chretiente, en cas que leurs voisins y procedant avec les memes bonnes intentions dont les dits Alliez ont entamé cette affaire; sa dite Majesté & leurs Hautes Puissances, pour mieux acheminer un ouvrage si Chretien, ont donné ordres à leurs Ministres auprès de deux Couronnes à present en guerre, de tacher par tous moyens, & par un Concert commun de disposer les dites deux Cou-

ronnes

both Kings at present in War, to endeavour by all Means, and by a common Concert, to dispose both the said Kings to accept the Means proposed by the said Allies, as the readiest and most necessary for arriving at so happy an End; that is to say, to accept the Peace upon the *Alternative* already proposed: And (to prevent the Accidents that may intervene to hinder the Progress of the Treaty) to consent also immediately to a Truce till the end of *March*, and in the mean while to send their Plenipotentiaries to *Aix la Chapelle*, furnish'd with Instructions and Powers, necessary to treat and conclude a Peace upon the said *Alternative*; that the Fire at present kindled, and whereof in all appearance the Sparks are ready to fly through the greatest part of *Christendom*, may be soon extinguish'd, and give place to a general and lasting Peace, to the Safety of all those who find themselves engaged in the sad Effects or Consequences of the present War.

The said Resident and Deputies extraordinary are more particularly obliged by the Orders of their Masters, to represent to your Excellency, how glorious it will be to you, how advantageous to the common Ends of the Peace, and how necessary for preserving to *Spain* the Remainder of *Flanders*; that your Excellency by virtue of your Powers, would make the first Step in this great Affair, by consenting readily to the said *Alternative*, and to the said Truce, and to the dispatching of the said Plenipotentiaries to *Aix la Chapelle*; and for the better entering into this Negotiation, and the said Truce, that your Excellency will declare immediately your Acceptation of the Truce, which the most Christian King has proposed, from the 18th of *November* to the last of *March*, 1668. And upon all these Points, the said Resident and Deputies extraordinary, do pray your Excellency with all possible Instances to give them a speedy and plain Answer, agreeable to the good and holy Dispositions wherewith his Majesty and their *High and Mightinesses* have begun and pursued this glorious and *Christian* Design of a general Peace.

ronnes à accepter les moyens proposez par les dits Alliez, comme les plus prompts & les plus necessaires pour arriver à une fin si heureuse; c'est à dire, de consentir à la paix sur l'Alternative déjà proposée; & (pour prevenir les accidens qui pourront survenir pour empecher le progres d'un traité) de consentir aussi promptement à une treve jusqu'à la fin du mois de Mars, & en attendant, d'envoyer leurs Plenipotentiaires à la Ville d'Aix la Chapelle, munis des Instructions & de pouvoirs requis pour y traiter & conclurre la Paix sur la dite Alternative, afin que le feu qui se voit à present allumé, & duquel les estincelles se vont en apparence jeter dans la plus grande part de la Chretienté, se puisse bientôt etouffer; & faire place à une paix generale, durable & salutaire à tous ceux qui se trouvent enveloppes ou dans les effets ou dans les consequences funestes de la guerre presente.

Les dits Resident & les Deputez Extraordinaires se trouvent plus particulièrement obliges par les ordres de leurs Maitres, de représenter à V. E. combien il luy sera glorieux, & avantageux à la fin commune de la paix, & nécessaire à la conservation de ce qui reste à l'Espagne dans les Pais Bas; que V. E. en vertu de ses pouvoirs fasse le premier pas dans cette grande affaire, en consentant promptement à la dite Alternative, & à la dite Treve, & à la depeche des dits Plenipotentiaires à la Ville d'Aix la Chapelle: Et aussi pour mieux acheminer cette Negotiation & la dite Treve, que V. E. se declare promptement d'accepter la treve que sa Majesté Tres Chretienne a proposée le 18 Novembre 1667, jusqu'au dernier jour de Mars 1668. Et sur tous ces points les dits Resident, & les Deputez Extraordinaires se trouvent obliges de prier V. E. avec toutes les instances possibles, de leur donner une réponse prompte, nette & agreable aux bonnes & saintes dispositions avec lesquelles sa Majesté & leurs Hautes Puissances ont entamé & poursuivi ce dessein glorieux & Chretien de la Paix commune.

To my Lord Hallifax.

My Lord,

Brussels, March 2. N. S. 1668.

IT would be a difficult thing to answer a Letter I receiv'd lately from your Lordship, if it could be ever difficult for me to do a Duty where I owe it so much, and pay it so willingly. The Reflections I make upon what you say, and what I hear from other Hands of the same kind, carry me only to consider how much by chance, and how unequally *Persons* and *Things* are judged at a distance; and make me apprehend from so much more Applause than is my Due upon this Occasion, that upon the next I may meet with as much more Blame than I deserve; as one seldom has a great Run of Cards which is not followed by an ill one, at least Gamesters that are no luckier than I. It is not my Part to undeceive People, that will make my Successes pass for Merit or Ability; but for my Friends, I would not cheat them to my Advantage it self; and therefore will tell you the Secret of all that has seem'd so surprizing in my Negotiation; which is, that Things drawn out of their Centre, are not to be moved without much Force, or Skill, or Time; but to make them return to their Centre again, there is required but little of either, for Nature it self does the Work. The true Centre of our two Nations, now so near ally'd, is where they now are seated; and nothing was in the way of their returning thither, but the extreme Jealousies grown between the Ministers on both sides, and from thence diffus'd among the People; and this it was my good luck to cure, by falling into a great Confidence with Monsieur *de Witte*, which made all the rest easie: And there is the whole Story; that you may see how much you are either byass'd, or mistaken in all the rest you say of it. For what you mention of Reward, I know not how it came into your Head, but I am sure it never enter'd into mine, nor, I dare say, into any Bodies else. I will confess to you, that considering the Approbation and good Opinion which his Majesty, and some considerable enough about him, have been abus'd into, by my good Fortune in this Business, I think, a wiser Man might possibly make some Benefit of it, and some of my Friends have advis'd me to attempt it, but it is in vain: For I know not how to ask, nor why, and this is not an Age, where any thing is given without it. And by that time you see me next, you shall find all this which was so much in Talk to my Advantage for nine Days, as much forgotten as if it had never been, and very justly I think; for in that time it receiv'd a great deal more than its due, from many other Hands as well as from yours. This I tell you, that you may not deceive your self by hoping to see me ever considerable, farther than in the Kindness of my Friends, and that your Lordship may do your Part to make me so in that, seeing me like to fail in all other Ways. But as I remember, this is a Time with you for *good Speeches*, and not for *ill Letters*; I will therefore end this, to make you more room for the others, and hope that none of the Eloquence you are entertained with, can be more persuasive than a plain Truth, when I assure you that I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordships most

Faithful Humble Servant.

*To my Lord Arlington.**My Lord,**Brussels, March 2. N. S. 1668.*

I AM sorry his Majesty should meet with any thing he did not look for at the opening of this Session of Parliament; but confess I do not see why his Majesty should not only consent, but encourage any Enquiries or Disquisitions they desire to make into the Miscarriages of the late War, as well as he has done already in the matter of Accounts: For if it be not necessary, it is a King's Ease and Happiness to content his People. I doubt, as Men will never part willingly with their Monies, unless they be well persuaded it will be employ'd directly to those Ends for which they gave it, so they will never be satisfy'd with a Government, unless they see Men are chosen into Offices and Employments by being fit for them; continued, for discharging them well, rewarded for extraordinary Merit, and punish'd for remarkable Faults. Besides, in these Cases his Majesty discharges the Hardship and Severity of all Punishments upon the Parliament, and commits no Force upon the Gentleness of his own Nature, while his Subjects see that no Tenderness of their Prince, nor Corruption of Ministers, can preserve them long from paying what they owe to any Forfeits of their Duty. Nor indeed can any Prince do Justice to those that serve him well, without punishing those that serve him ill, since that is to make their Conditions equal, whose Deserts are different. I should not say this to any Person but your Lordship, to whom I know part of that Justice is due. But to say the Truth, the Progress and End of the last War went so much to my Heart, and I have heard so much lately from Monsieur *de Witt*, concerning the Carriage of it on our side, especially what fell under his Eye, while he was abroad in the Fleet, that I cannot but think the Parliament may be excused for their Warmth in this Pursuit. But your Lordship can best discern by the Course of Debates, whether this proceeds from a steady Intention upon a general Good, or from some accidental Distempers, from which the greatest and best Assemblies of Men are not always free, especially when they have continued long together.

I beg your Lordship's Pardon for my Liberty in these Discourses, to which you were pleased to encourage me by hearing me so obligingly those few Minutes I was allowed for such Talk or Thoughts at my last being with you, and from the Sense you then expressed of the absolute Necessity there was for his Majesty to fall into a perfect Intelligence with his Parliament, especially being engaged into an Appearance of Action abroad by the Force of this present Conjunction.

*I am ever, &c.**To Sir John Trevor.**S I R,**Brussels, March 5. N. S. 1668.*

ABOUT ten Days since I dispatch'd away an Express to you, (jointly with the Deputies of *Holland*) whereby we acquainted you and Monsieur *Bunningham*, that the Marquis *de Castel-Rodrigo* had accepted the Truce and Suspension of Arms proposed some time since by *France*, until the end of *March*, as well as the other proposed lately by his Majesty and the *States General* until the end of *May*. We are in some Pain to have yet received no Account of his Arrival, but hope this Delay will be recompensed by bringing us News of the Treaty's being accepted in the same Terms by that Court as well as by this. However, in case of any Scruple which may be raised there, for want of due Notice given of the Acceptation here, we now send you an Act of the Marquis *Castel-Rodrigo*, authorizing his Majesty's and the *States* Ministers

at *Paris*, to manifest to that Court his Excellency's said Acceptation, and thereupon to negotiate and conclude the same on that Side.

And, to the end that no Objection may be made by *France* against the present Expedition of this Truce, in order to an ensuing Treaty and Peace, we send you likewise by this Express the Marquis's last Answer to our Instances yesterday made for the Acceptation also of the Alternative, which is so full and so direct to the Ends of our late Treaty, that we have now nothing left to do on this Side, the Remainder of the whole Negotiation lying on your Parts at *Paris*, which we are here very much pleased with, seeing it is devolved to so much abler Hands. I hope you will place the whole Strength of his Majesty's and the *States General's* Credit in that Court upon an immediate Consent to the Suspension of Arms, knowing how dangerous all new Accidents may prove to the fair Hopes and Prospect in which we are at present of a Peace; and and withal how far his Majesty and the *States* are engaged to take part in any Action that shall begin after the Marquis's accepting the Alternative, as well as all other Points of their late Project for bringing about so happy an End.

For a good Prefage of this greater Peace, we received here the News of that of *Portugal*, the very Evening which brought us so happily the Marquis's Answer upon the Alternative, which has so much raised the Hearts of the *Spaniards* here, that we are likely to have less Thanks for pressing them so far to a prejudicial Peace, as they esteem it on this side: But since they are already obliged, it will depend wholly upon *France* to hinder the Conclusion of this in the same Season with the other; which I will believe them too wise to do, as well as too constant to the Assurances they have already given his Majesty, the *States*, and several other Princes in this Point; of which the immediate consenting to a Suspension of Arms will shew the Meaning and Effect.

I shall no farther increase your present Trouble, than by the Professions of my being,

S I R,
Your most humble Servant.

To the Count de Molina, Spanish Ambassador at London.

Al Conde de Molina.

My Lord, March 7. 1668.

YOUR Excellence cannot doubt of my Satisfaction in arriving at *Brussels*, to find my self there immediately possess'd of your Letter with the inclosed Paper; tho' the News of your Health was more necessary to me, than that of the Unreasonableness of one of your Neighbours, and true Interests of the others, which I find so well described there. But the best Ink in the World is not a Balsam that can cure such Wounds; they must find their Remedy from more powerful Medicines, which the Marquis of *Castel-Rodrigo* has given us Reason to hope, if *France* will still chuse rather to fall out with all the World, than to make a Peace so much to their own Advantage as that we offer them. At least it is certain, that your Excellency with a Stroak of your Pen, has brought to Light the most covered Designs

Sennor Mio, 7 Marco 1668.

NO puede V. E. dudar del gusto que he tenido en llegar a *Brusselles*, aviendo yo allado a qui con su carta en las manos con el quaderno adjunto, aunque a mi era mucho mas necessaria la noticia de su salud de V. E. que no de la sinrazon de uno suyo vezino ny del interez verdadero de los otros, que van muy bien traçados en el dicho quaderno; Pero la mejor tinta del mondo no es balfamo bastante para curar tales heridas, y es menester remedios mas fuertes, a los quales la prudencia del Sennor Marques de *Castel Rodrigo* a dado lugar, si la *Francia* par sus peccados mas quisiere la guerra con todo el mondo, que no la poz avantajada que la hemos offrecido: a lo menos se puede dezir que S. E. con un rasgo de pluma a sacado en luz los desinios mas encubiertos de sus enemigos, a dado a los intereffados el mas claro deffenganno, y puesto las cosas de *Flandes*

Designs of your Enemies, undeceived with the greatest Clearness of your Friends, and put *Flanders* under the securest Protection; of which I cannot help rejoicing with you as the Author. For what relates to Father *Patrick*, how much soever I concern my self in his Fortunes, I do not yet see any way that it can be in my Power to serve him on this Occasion; the last *French* Conquests having determined the Dispute between the Abbot *Arnolphino* and the Marquis of *Baden*, about the Abby de la *Charité*. But the Marquis de *Castel-Rodrigo* has assured me, he will find some other way of shewing the Esteem he has both for the Merits and Person of Father *Patrick*, to whom I hope your Excellency will do me Justice, having endeavoured (though without Success by this unhappy Conjunction) all that lay in my Power to serve him.

*I kiss your Excellency's Hands,
and am yours, &c.*

Flandes debaxodel amparo mas fuerte que se podia buscar, de que no me pudo impedir de dar a V. E. la enorabuena. Por interessado que soy en los aumentos del Padre Patricio, no veo come sara posible servirle mas en esta occasion; aviendo la Francia con su postrera conquista determinada el pleyto entre el Abad Arnolfin y el Marques de Baden, en la de la Abadia de la caridad. Pero el Sennor Marques me ha prometido con muchos veras de ballar otra manera di manifestar en quanto stima la persona y los meritos del dicho padre, a quien V. E. me ha de justifiar por averme empennado quanto era posible en suo negotio aunque saltado en alcançarle por la desdicha de las coyunturas.

B. L. M. D. V. E.

Su Mayor Servidor.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Brussels, March 13. N. S. 1668.

THE last Post brought me none from *England*, nor has this Week as yet brought me any from *Spain*; so that 'tis *France* only at this time that entertains us. The Dispatch return'd us late last Night from Sir *John Trevor* upon the Point of the *Alternative*, has given the Town here occasion to talk of the Peace as a thing done, though I know not yet what the Marquis says to it, having not seen him since; but think it possible he may be as much surprized with their Acceptation, as Sir *John Trevor* says, they were with his. It seems plain to me that *France* desires to pursue the War, but fears our engaging in it; and to hinder that, will use all the Address that can be to lay the Obstruction of Peace upon the *Spaniards*. They on the other Side desire to continue the War, provided they may be sure of our and *Holland's* Assistance; and to that End, if they play their Game well, they will be sure to retort the Address of *France* upon them, and lay the Blame of the War at their Doors, without which they have no Hopes of *Holland's* falling into their Party; who whether they are partial to the *French* or no in this Quarrel, are certainly partial to the Peace, and will not be drawn to share in the War but upon the last Necessity. Therefore my Business will be at present, to induce the Marquis to clear those two Scruples made by the *French* upon his Powers, and the Choice of one or other of the *Alternatives*; in which I know not what Success I am like to have after so many Advances made already as he conceives on his side, and so near *Don John's* Arrival, at least according to the present Reckoning here, which persuades us that he parted from *Madrid* upon the 22^d past.

I know your Lordship has the same Papers I received from Sir *John Trevor*, and from what occurs upon them here, I beg your Lordship's Leave that I may this once refer you to the enclosed Copy of my Letter this Evening to him upon that Subject, having not Time left me to repeat it here so at large as I ought to do.

The Truth is, I never had so hard a Part upon me as I have at this Time, to keep all in good Temper between the Marquis and the Deputies of *Holland*: For besides, that their Ends may perhaps be a little different, their Complexions are extremely *so*: He is not the easiest of Access, nor the quickest at Dispatch; and his Officers are at the same rate. The *Dutch* Deputies are all upon the Spur; and when they demand an Audience or a Paper, if they have it not within half an Hour, they say, the Marquis *Se mocque d'eux*, & *Ils se trouvent obligez de l'escrire ce Soir aux Estats*, & *que le Marquis ne cherche que des Retardements*, & *par la' de les engager dans la Guerre*. When they receive Orders to move the Marquis in any Particular, they must have it granted the first time it falls in Discourse, and in the very same Form and Words it runs in their Letters; and think the Marquis ought to observe the *States* Order and Directions as punctually as they; and will reason him to the Death upon every Point. The Marquis, who uses to owe no Man any thing in that kind, grows ten times more difficult by that time they have talk'd an Hour, than he was at first; and engaging in large Discourses, gives them twenty Occasions of growing *warm* upon the Place, and *wise* afterwards by Interpretations, that, God knows, were never in the Case; so that in their Audiences, between the Marquis's Eloquence and their *Leyden* Philosophy, the Cards commonly run high, and all is *Picque* and *Repicque* between them; and I am to go to one and t'other next Day to set all right again, and endeavour to make them agree afunder upon Points which they could by no means agree upon together. But if I go on, I shall weary your Lordship as much as they weary me: And therefore I shall break off this Letter with telling you only, that the Talk here is of an Attempt for the Relief of *Genap*, and that the Horse are drawing together for that Purpose; with what Success I know not, but am sure the *French* deserve none there, for continuing an Attempt so long after the Suspension of all Enterprizes was accorded.

I am ever, &c.

To Sir John Trevor.

S I R,

Brussels, March 13. S. N. 1668.

I AM two Letters in your Debt since my last by the Ordinary, one of the 8th, the other of the 12th; but I must needs say that your last has left you nothing in mine. That King's Answer is full and fair in my Apprehension, what it will appear in the Marquis's I know not: For since that Court cavils at his Acceptation of the *Alternative*, and calls it captious, I know not whether he may not have his Revenge at theirs. Besides, Monsieur *Lionne's* Letter I confess looks of a very different Style from his Master's, and, in my Judgment, artificial: Nor do I understand great Ministers reasoning upon the Intentions of Crowns, rather from common Report, from Passages of private Mens Letters, or of Books made for Argument, than from the open and positive Declaration of Ministers, who ought to know their Powers best, and how to use them. Besides, they give the *Spaniards* very fair Play against them in this kind of War, by an Action I am very much unsatisfied in, which is, beginning and continuing the Siege of *Genap*, about four Leagues from hence, now the eighth Day after the Accord granted by *France* for the Suspension of Arms, notwithstanding our Signification of it to the Commander of those Troops; Besides the seizing of another Castle five Days after the said Accord, though the Courier came in two Days from *Paris*, and the same Haste might as easily have been made upon the other Errand. In short, if *France* pretends to be believed here, they must give *Deeds* as well as *Words*; and will shew the Sincerity of their Intentions for Peace, by consenting to the Truce till the end of *May*, accepted already here; since if there should be any Defect in the Marquis's Powers, it may be easily supplied with a little Time, and any Delay in the Choice of the *Alternative* repaired. In the mean while I will hope by the

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next Courier to give you Satisfaction in those Points; for I neither know why the Marquis should be difficult in making his Choice upon the *Alternative*, or exposing the material Clauses of his Powers, which I will assure you are as full, in my Apprehension, as can be granted. In the mean time, this Courier goes to you with a Duplicate of Monsieur *Colbert's* Pass, (which was sent some time since to the *Internuncio* at *Aix*) with the Orders sent out for the Suspension of Arms, and with the Marquis's naming a Day for the Baron de *Bergayck's* coming to *Aix*, in case Monsieur *Colbert* can be ready in that time; tho' I do not see how the Treaty can begin till his Majesty's and the *States* Ministers can be there, as well as two Principals; and in that regard as well as many others, it will be absolutely necessary to obtain *France's* Consent to the Truce, if they would have us believe they intend the Peace, and in the mean time to procure Orders for the Suspension of Arms before *Genap*, as well as all other Places.

To Morrow I expect an Audience upon the Choice of the *Alternative*; tho' I confess I did not think, any more than the Marquis, that such a Declaration was necessary before the Ministers meeting at *Aix*; but the Compliance must be on the weaker side, and to that Purpose I shall use my best Endeavours, and remain,

S I R, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Brussels, Mar. 16. S. N. 1668.

BY your Lordships of the 28th past, I am put out of Pain for the *Merlin* Yacht, and Return of the Ratification upon the last Treaty. The Error in the Forms of the preceding Instruments sent over for his Majesty's Ratification, was, I suppose, occasioned, as your Lordship says, by the Omission of signing both Parts, which I confess was offered me by the *Dutch* Commissioners, but being unpractised in those Forms, I chose to follow the Ambassador's Example at *Breda*, who signed but one.

Your Lordship sees how ill a Minister I am likely to make, if ever I must enter upon new Forms, or a Character that requires being more punctual in them. I shall however say no more in answer to what your Lordship has hinted to me about the Journey to *Aix*, having written from *Antwerp* all that occurred to me upon it; after which I know very well, it becomes me to leave all to the King's Pleasure. I have asked the Marquis, with what Character he will send the Baron de *Bergayck*; he says, in Quality of *Plenipotentiary*, but in the rest, with Power to take upon him that Character the *French* Minister shall assume. He plainly acknowledges that in Right he cannot send any Man with the Title of an *Ambassador*, which lies only between two Sovereigns; and I know not why the Character of *Plenipotentiary* may not agree with that of *Envoy Extraordinary* on all Hands. But the Light in this Point must be drawn from *France*, and not from this Place.

Last Night at an Audience jointly with the *Dutch* Deputies (which I had disposed in the Morning with the Marquis, and with Difficulty enough) his Excellency was content to declare his Choice of the *Alternative*, which was to leave *France* their Conquest of last Campaign, and likewise to promise us a Transcription of the most material Clauses, both to be sent to Sir *John Trevor* and Mr. *Van Beuningham* at *Paris*, to enable them to give that Court Satisfaction upon their last Objections against the Marquis's Acceptation of the *Alternative*. So that we have now gained the utmost Point that can be desired here in pursuit of our Treaty, and must leave the rest upon their Hands at *Paris*.

The Marquis took occasion at the same time to complain hard of the *French* breaking the Suspension by the Attempt upon *Genap*, which was yielded to them two Days since upon Conditions, after a large Breach with their Can-

non, and seems to be designed for a Post to block up this Town, which they would certainly do if they could possess themselves of *Terveur* and *Vilvorde*; the first being an abandoned Place, and the second not tenable without Forces to relieve it. I do not see how his Majesty and the *States* can refuse to oblige *France* to restore *Genap* within the time of the Suspension, since no Pretence of Mistake or Delay in the Orders can appear at all sincere without the Restitution, the Siege continuing to the eighth Day after the Accord made for the Suspension at *Paris*.

The Marquis seems to apprehend, that the Effects of our having obtained from him all that *France* can demand in pursuit of their former Proposals, or we in pursuit of our Treaty, will be a sudden throwing off the Mask on the *French* side, and making what Advances they can in the War before we and *Holland* are in Posture to enter upon Defence of this Countrey, and therefore presses all that can be our arming, and concerting how to proceed in such a Case: And I suppose his Majesty may think fit to encourage *Holland* that is so near, and already armed, to furnish them here with three or four thousand Foot, for Defence of their Towns upon the first Motions of the *French* to attack any of them; with assurance that his Majesty will fall into the same Course, with all possible Speed and Vigour, and in the ways that shall be concerted.

For the Supplies of Money from hence, I can yet say no more than in my former, though I omit no Instances upon that Subject: But I doubt in the present Posture here, the King must lose his Right, which they say will be, where nothing is. And I cannot yet find any thing drawn to a Conclusion in the Negotiation with *Holland* for the Money upon their Towns. The Marquis shewed me *Don Esteven's* last Letters yesterday upon that Matter, which say, that the *Dutch* insist peremptorily upon all the *Spaniards* hold in *Gelderland*, and besides, upon *Damme* and two other Forts in *Flanders*. On the other side, the *Spaniards* are unwilling to conclude, if a Peace be like to ensue; by which means, parting from those Places to the *Dutch*, and at the same time so many other to the *French*, would leave them hardly any thing here they would think worth their Pains to keep: So that the Conclusion of this Money matter between them, will depend upon the *French* King's Answer to the Truce till the end of *May*, and fuller declaring the Continuance of his Satisfaction upon the *Alternative*; and even then I doubt it may be necessary for me to make a Journey into *Holland*, for the perfecting that Treaty between them and the Marquis, who has not yet found out the Persons or Ways of treating to any purpose with them. In the mean time if I knew how far I might engage his Majesty to arm in the Defence of these Countries, since *Spain* has accepted all we propose in our Treaty; I would endeavour to induce the Marquis to conclude a Treaty to that Purpose, and for furnishing his Majesty thereupon, with certain Sums at certain Times, thereby to make the Debt at least from *Spain* a certain thing whenever the Money could be found. I hope to receive some Light from your Lordship upon this, in answer to a former of mine, and the mean while will prepare the Matter with the Marquis.

I am sufficiently warned upon the Point of the *Pavilion*, and will hope his Majesty's Constancy therein proceeds from a Resolution to take those Courses and Councils which may make him as much feared abroad as any of his Ancestors were, in whose time that Point was first gained; for without that, our Pretensions will grow *vain* at present, and in time *obsolete*. In the mean while I hope some Expedient will be foreseen, that may prevent the Inconveniencies or Unkindnesses which may happen between us and the *Dutch* upon this Point in the present Conjuncture; and in case of Necessity, to join our Fleets. The Indignity offer'd us by *la Roche* in landing armed Men in *England*, and the rest, seems the greatest I have ever heard of that kind: And how far Moderation in resenting and revenging Injuries, is a Virtue in a *Prince*, or a *State*, as well as in a private Christian, I will not take upon me to judge. That which I know best is, that

I am ever, &c.

To

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Brussels, March 20. S. N. 1668.

THE Day after the last *English* Pacquet's Arrival, I received your Lordship's of the 2^d by the *Dutch* Resident's Conveyance, which together with some Expressions I made out of your Letter, gave me occasion to conclude that your Lordship at the writing of it believed me in *Holland*; I know not whether upon something written by the Marquis or me, but that Journey I see, the Marquis would have depend upon the *French* Answer to our last Dispatch, and their consenting or refusing the proposed Truce till *May*, from which he supposes it will be easie to guess a Peace or a War. In the mean time I was in hopes to receive some particular Commands or Instructions for my Carriage in *Holland*, not desiring to be left so much at large; and 'tis very possible I ought to have received them by your Lordship's last; but that new Cypher will at one time or other cast me into Despair, for by all our Skill we cannot make out one Syllable of the two long Paragraphs; tho' making out the last short one very easily, makes us see the Fault must be on the Writer's side, and I am apt to imagine the Exactness required to this Cypher, is more than can agree with the Haste often necessary in your Lordship's Office; having observed frequent Mistakes in the use of the old Cypher, which yet never hinder'd my Collection of the Sense, whereas the least of this is mortal to the whole Paragraph.

I cannot yet come to any Adjustment with the Marquis upon the chief Point recommended to me, though I have often fallen upon the Discourse, and endeavoured to engage it farther by the offer of a Project I have drawn up to that purpose; but he assures me your Lordship is fallen upon it with the Count de Molina and Baron de l'Isola in *England*, and when you have agreed it, will send it over hither for his Excellency to perfect; which I confess I think were the better way, since I am but very generally instructed in it: However, his Excellency desired me this Morning to perfect the Draught I had projected, that in case we found it not concluded in *England*, it might be ended here.

I doubt, he will not be induced to part with what the *Dutch* demand in *Gelderland*, till he foresees plainly an inevitable War; and till that Conclusion, or Don John's Arrival, all will be Misery here, what could be spared being gone out upon new Levies and Recruits, and the very *Spaniards* late arrived here, falling already into Want; which is a piece of Husbandry of all others I cannot understand, the old Troops every day diminishing as the new Levies advance. But they assure me, Don John brings with him in Bars a Million and a half of Crowns, and another Million and a half of the same Money in Remises; which is the Life of all Hopes here, though we cannot yet be certain of his having left *Madrid*; the last Letters of the 29th past mentioning his Indisposition, at the same time with his Design of parting three Days after.

Your Lordship will have found that all I could uncypher in your last was already performed here, both upon the Choice of the *Alternative*, as well as Satisfaction in the Powers, and Disposition of the Baron Bergayck's parting for *Aix*: However, I failed not to mind the Marquis of the last this very Morning; who assured me the Baron should certainly be there by the Day appointed, which is the 27th of this Month, and that his Equipage was already well advanced; but however the compleating of it should not hinder his Journey. The Baron tells me, that *France* upon designing Monsieur Colbert, declared his Character to be of *Ambassador Plenipotentiary*, with Reserve of joining another to him as chief of the Ambassy in case of the Marquis's going, but that he (the Baron) knows not yet in what Quality he shall go, leaving it wholly to the Disposition of the Marquis.

I have this Week a long and hearty Assurance from Monsieur *de Witte*, of the *State's* Resolutions to pursue the Effects of our Treaty, with all the Vigour that can be; and for that end, of their having given the first Rendez-vous to their Army near *Bergen op Zoom*, from whence they may easily fall into the Defence of the *Spanish* Towns, upon the first Attempt of the *French* after they have refused the Peace; which they must now suddenly unmask themselves in, one way or other, no farther Pretences being left, since our last *Friday* Pacquets, which were repeated by an Express on *Sunday*, and shall go by another this Week for surety sake; (and your Lordship may be assured we omit no Cautions, we can use, in the matter of our Dispatches, of which none yet has failed us:) The Suspension of Enterprizes is owned by the *French* Commanders since the taking of *Genap*: So that there is little now that furnishes Talk here, besides the shameless Treason by which *Burgundy* was lost, and of which, the Marquis *d' Yenne* the Governor, his Nephew the Count *de St. Amour*, and *Don John de Batteville* have chief Honour; the last being employ'd by the Marquis to treat with the *Suitzers* for the Protection of that Countrey. The Villany and Foulness of this Action make the *Spaniards* say here, that a great King should rather have sent his *Lacquays*, than gone himself, to receive such a Conquest.

I am ever, &c.

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord,

Brussels, March 23. S.N. 1668.

I Believe you may wonder on that side, as well as many do on this, both here and in *Holland*, at the Election the Marquis has lately made, of the *Alternative* offered by *France*, after so long a Deliberation, as might have served him to make a wiser Choice. For if *Spain* had parted with the County of *Burgundy*, *Cambray*, *Air*, and *St. Omer*; tho' they had furnish'd *France* with a better Frontier, yet they had kept a good one for the rest of these Countries on both sides; whereas, parting with the late conquered Places, besides their large Dependencies, which streighten their Territories, that should maintain their Armies; their whole Frontier is laid open on the side of *Flanders*, by the loss of *Douay*, *Lisle*, and *Tournay*, and on the other side, by that of *Aeth* and *Charleroy*, which leaves the *Spaniards* the open Towns of *Lovain* and *Brussels* for a Frontier on this side, and those of *Ghent* and *Bruges* on the other; and the Countrey so pierced by the *French* Conquest, as what remains, will be the Work but of one Campaigne, whenever the Councils or Forces of *England* and *Holland*, shall fail or delay to defend them.

The Reasoners here pretend to say, that *Spain* could not part with the * *French* County, because they must with it quit the Title they yet retain of ^{* *Burgundy*.} *Dukes of Burgundy*; and besides, they would thereby lose their Communication wholly with *Lorraine*, and in a great measure with the *Empire*: This last is indeed of weight, tho' the first be but airy. But neither of them, I take, to have determined the Marquis in his Choice; and having in various Conferences penetrated his inmost Thoughts upon this Subject, I judged it necessary to acquaint your Lordship with them; that his Majesty knowing perfectly the Dispositions of his Neighbours, may the better take his own Measures, in this great Conjunction. But, to explain this Matter I must run it up to the Original.

Your Lordship remembers, that after the *French* Invasions and Successes last Year in *Flanders*, and the Peace at *Breda*; when they found how much both *England* and *Holland* resented the Progress of their Arms in *Flanders*; they sent a Declaration to the *States General*, that they were willing to make a Peace with *Spain*, either upon *Spain's* quitting all their Right to the late conquered Places, or else to the County of *Burgundy*, *Cambray*, *Air*, and *St.*

Omers, and would leave to *Spain* the Choice of either of these *Alternatives*. The *Dutch* were perplexed what use to make of this Declaration, being frightened at the Danger of *Flanders*, but newly and faintly reconciled to *England*, and not knowing, how we would take the Invasion of *Flanders*. In these Doubts I found them, when his Majesty sent me first to sound their Intentions, and immediately after, to enter into Leagues with them, for our own mutual Defence, and that of *Flanders*. The King would have joined with them for the Recovery of all the *Spaniards* had lost in *Flanders*, either by a Peace or a War. The Province of *Utrecht* was for this Resolution; but the *Penfioner* and the other six Provinces were for accepting the Offer of the *Alternative* made by *France*, and obliging *Spain* to make their Choice, as well as *France* to stand by their own Proposal. Upon these Terms the *Triple Alliance* was concluded, but with different Views, both of *Holland* and of *Spain*. The truth is, *Holland* was unwilling to break off their ancient Amity with *France*, and embark in a War, with the Conjunction of such an old Enemy as *Spain*, and such a new Friend as *England*. They reckoned on a Peace upon one of the *Alternatives*, and were solicitous only to preserve *Flanders*, as a Frontier for *Holland* against *France*, without considering the Interests of *Spain* farther than as they appeared to be their own. They reckoned certainly upon *Spain's* chusing to part with *Burgundy*, *Cambray*, &c. which lay far from *Holland*, and recovering the Towns they had lost in *Flanders*, by which their Countrey would be left defensible, at least with the Assistances of *England* and *Holland*.

On the other side, *Spain*, though they profess'd the greatest sense that could be, of what they owed his Majesty, upon the late generous Advances he had made in their Favour; yet they were enraged at *Holland*, for seconding so ill his Majesty's Resolutions, and turning it upon the Choice, only of an *Alternative*, by which the *Spaniards* were to lose so great Territories, and part with their Right to them, instead of recovering the Possession they had yet only lost. They took it as the greatest Indignity in the World, that *Holland* should pretend to oblige the Crown of *Spain* to accept the very Conditions of *France*, after an Invasion so unjust, as they esteemed this last. They were at first upon the thoughts of parting with all they had in the *Low-Countries* to *France*, upon some equivalent on the side of *Spain*; and thereby both end the Charge of keeping *Flanders*, and be revenged upon the *Dutch*, by leaving them open and exposed to the Neighbourhood of *France*. The Marquis once assured me, that most of the Council of *Spain* were for making this desperate Peace; and that for his own part, he was inclin'd to it, tho' more out of spite to the *Dutch*, than what he thought was the true Interest of *Spain*. After some Pause, this heat of the *Spaniards* began to cool: They saw the *Spanish* Crown, by parting with *Flanders*, must abandon all Commerce with the Princes and States on this side that Countrey; and that upon a new War with *France*, about the Succession, they should have no way left of diverting the *French* Forces from falling upon *Spain* it self. And so, with much ado, they resolved to accept the *Alternative*; but left the Choice to the Marquis here, as best enlightned in all the Interests of *Flanders*, as well as the Dispositions of their Neighbours.

The Marquis hated the Peace, upon either of the *Alternatives*, and desired nothing but the continuance of the War, with the Assistance of *England* and *Holland*, to which he saw his Majesty inclinable, and thought the *States* would be induced to, rather than venture an Agreement between *Spain* and *France*, for the Exchange of *Flanders*: He thought, that if they yielded *Burgundy* and the remote Frontiers, *Holland* would be secure, and *France* would perhaps be contented to let the Peace rest upon those Terms during the King of *Spain's* tender Life: But if he yielded all the late conquered Towns to *France*, *Holland* would be in perpetual Alarm for the Danger of the rest; *England* would be likewise the more concerned, and both being obliged to be continually armed, to prevent the Danger of *Flanders*, would find it their Interest, rather to enter into such a War, as might end in a safer Peace, than by a patcht Peace to lie always in danger of a new War, whenever *France* should be in a Condi-

tion of carrying the rest of *Flanders*, by any sudden Invasion, or by any Discontent of Councils or Interests, between us and *Holland*.

Besides, the Marquis imagines, that *France* will either endeavour to avoid the Peace now offered; or if they conclude it for the present, that being possess'd of the Frontiers of *Flanders*, they will not long resist the Temptation of carrying the rest, being in a manner but open Countrey; and thereby engage both us and *Holland*, to assist *Spain* with all our Forces; which he thinks, must make the War prosperous, or a Peace secure. So that upon the whole, the Marquis has chosen this *Alternative*, not from any desire of making the Peace at present; but only in the view, either of carrying on the present War, or of making another with the Strength of his Neighbours.

Your Lordship may easily judge, how much the *Dutch* are like to be disappointed and offended with the *Spaniards* for this Choice: So that I cannot pretend to guess what is like to become of a Peace which both *France* and *Spain* come to so unwillingly, and which *England* and *Holland* promote upon Conditions, which they both dislike. And so I leave this perplexed Affair, and ask your Lordship's Pardon for this long Deduction, which I should not have troubled your Lordship or my self with, but that I thought you would come to know the true Springs of it no other way: And which I could not have known, if the Marquis were not a very warm Talker, and sometimes farther than he intended.

I am ever, &c.

To Monsieur de Witt.

A Monsieur de Witt.

S I R,

Brussels, March 25.
S. N. 1668.

BY Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*'s Dispatches of the 21st, you will have known the Answer of the *French* Court upon the Truce we desired, which in my Opinion seems to make the War inevitable; and that all the Appearances *France* has made of desiring a Peace, are levelled at no other Mark but to slacken the Resolutions of the Allies from assisting *Flanders*; or at least, to gain six Weeks time to enlarge their Conquests, before the *Spaniards* can either receive the Recruits they expected, or the Assistance of their Neighbours for defending their most considerable Places. For, as to what the *French* propose, of restoring all they shall conquer between the end of this Month and the 15th of *May*, it seems to me to be too gross, and to discover a Contempt of our Wit as well as of our Treaty: For, if all our Offices and Offers to make *Spain* ratifie what the Marquis has accepted, are not sufficient to with-hold them six Weeks, from what they pretend to restore, how will they be capable of restoring
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Monsieur,

Brussels, le 25 Mars.
S. N. 1668.

VOUS avez appris par les dépêches de Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* du 21. du courant, la réponse de la Cour de *France* sur la trêve tant désirée: Cette réponse selon moy semble rendre la guerre inevitable; Et il paroît que toutes les mines que la *France* fait de la vouloir, ne tendent à autre but qu'à refroidir les Alliez sur le secours de *Pais Bas*, ou du moins, à gagner un mois Et demy de tems, afin de pousser ses conquêtes, avant que les *Espagnols* puissent recevoir leurs recrutes, ou des secours de leurs voisins pour munir leurs plus importantes places. Car, à l'égard de l'offre qu'elle fait, de restituer tout ce qui sera conquis entre la fin de ce mois Et le 15. de *May*, cela me paroît trop grossier, Et decouvre même son mepris pour nos Esprits aussi bien que de nôtre traité. Car, si tous nos soins, Et nos bons offices, joints à l'offre que nous faisons de faire ratifier par l'*Espagne* les Articles déjà acceptés par le Marquis de *Castel-Rodrigo*, n'ont pu obtenir de la *France* qu'elle renonce pour six semaines au dessein de tenter de nouvelles conquêtes, qui sont, au reste, les seules qu'elle offre de restituer; si tout
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for ever what they have already taken. I cannot see how their manner of accusing and making Exceptions to the absolute Powers of a Minister of Spain; and all this founded upon particular Intelligence they pretend to have from the Court at *Madrid*; nor the formal Objections they make against the Delegation of the Baron de Bergeyck, when at the same time they send Monsieur Colbert to *Aix la Chapelle*. How, I say, all this can admit better Interpretation in what regards their Intentions for the Peace: For, in whatever comes from these Ministers at *Paris*, I think one may discover an irregular Ambition under a great deal of Affectation and Disguise, whereof God only knows the Issue.

For my self, I will tell you in Confidence, and with my usual Freedom, my Opinion in all this. I think then in the first place, that by all our Negotiations, though never so well managed; by all our Offices and Carelesses, we shall never obtain a Peace from *France*, while they have any Appearances of pursuing their Interest or their Glory in carrying on the War: And, that the only way of disposing them to a Peace, is to order it so, as they may only find their Interests in it; which we can no otherwise do, but by shewing them the Strength of our Forces, and the Firmness of our Resolutions before the War begins; and since we only draw a War on our selves by desiring a Peace, to endeavour on the contrary to draw on the Peace by making all the Appearances of desiring a War.

Therefore I think, that what remains to be done is, to advance as much as possible our Preparations and Forces by Sea and Land; and let the most Christian King know by our Ministers, that since his Majesty still declares he is content with the *Alternative* already accepted by the Marquis of *Castel-Rodrigo*, and that all the Difficulty his Majesty finds, is only upon the Powers of the said Marquis, and the Sincerity of Intentions in the Court of *Spain*: We therefore desire his Majesty to give us so much time by a Suspension of Arms, as may be sufficient to send a Dispatch to *Madrid*, and return to *Paris* with a full
and

cela, dis je, est vray, nous pouvons-nous flater que nous en obtiendrons la restitution entiere. Je ne voy pas que leur maniere de chicaner, & de faire des exceptions contre les pleins pouvoirs d'un Ministre d'Espagne, & tout cela fondé sur les avis particuliers que la France pretende avoir de la cour de Madrid, non plus que les objections formelles qu'elle fait contra la delegation du Baron du Bergeyck, en meme tems qu'elle envoie Monsieur Colbert à Aix la Chapelle, puissent recevoir de meilleurs interpretations par rapport à leurs intentions pour la paix: Car dans tout ce qui part de ces Ministres, il me semble qu'on decouvre une ambition dereglee, qui se couvre sous une adresse recherchée, & des manieres trop étudiées pour etre sincerés. Dieu fait ce qui en est.

Pour moy, je vous diray avec ma confiance & ma franchise ordinaires, mon sentiment sur tout cela. C'est, que par toutes sortes de Negotiations les mieux conduites, par toutes sortes de cajoleries, & de caresses, & par tant de bons offices reiterés, nous ne pourrons jamais obtenir la paix de la France, pendant qu'elle est flattée par les apparences; & qu'elle juge qu'il est & de son intérêt & de sa gloire de pousser la guerre; & que par consequent, le seul moyen de la disposer à la paix c'est de faire en sorte que la paix seule puisse s'accorder avec ses intérêts. Pour cela il me semble, que la seule voye qui nous est offerte, est de faire une grande montre de nos forces, de paroître bien résolu à la guerre, avant que la guerre commence: Car puisque nous attirons la guerre en voulant trop fortement la paix, il faut tâcher au contraire d'attirer la paix, en faisant toutes les mines de vouloir la guerre.

C'est pourquoy, il me semble que ce qui reste à faire, c'est de hâter nos préparatifs, & de mettre toutes nos forces en état tant par mer que par terre: De faire dire en même tems par nos Ministres au Roy tres Chretien, que puisque sa Majesté paroît disposée à se contenter de l'Alternative déjà acceptée par le Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo, & que toute la difficulté roule sur les pouvoirs du dit Marquis, & sur la sincerité des intentions de la cour d'Espagne; nous la prions de nous accorder par une suspension d'armes autant de tems qu'il en faut pour dépêcher à Madrid, & de Madrid revenir à Paris avec une reponse, j'entens une reponse nette & précise de la
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and plain Answer from the King of Spain upon the *Alternative*. (And truly I think, a Months time will be sufficient after the Dispatches of our Expresses from *Paris*.) But in the mean time to add, that if his Majesty refuses us a Demand so necessary to the Peace of *Christendom*, and will still carry on his Arms without Consideration of the Offers of *Spain*, or Offices of the *Allies*; that upon the first Advances he shall make to attack the rest of *Flanders*, we will march with our Forces to defend it, and endeavour farther by all ways to give him a Diversion both by Sea and Land.

This I think is all that is left us to do upon the present State of Affairs, for obtaining the Peace: And as to the inward Dispositions of the *Spaniards*, I will tell you, that there is not one of them here, of the least Consideration, who does not desire it, and think it wholly for the present Interest of *Spain*: And the Marquis assures me in confidence, that he has not only the Power exhibited, but that the King his Master has given him others, by which he leaves him absolute Arbitrer of the Conditions of the Peace, according as Conjunctions shall serve to make him accept either an equal or a disadvantageous one. And all the Delays of *Don John* seem only to proceed from their Hopes of a Peace upon the Project of our Treaty.

In the mean time I am glad the States have sent Monsieur *van Beverning* to be at *Aix* with the Ministers of both Crowns; I doubt not but the King my Master will do the same, when he shall have received Advice of their Departure; for Forms must be observed as well as Substance; though for my share I cannot imagine to what Effect this Congress will meet; *France* having declared it self already upon the Invalidity of the Delegation in particular, as well as of the Powers in general. And truly I think, all Pretence of negotiating without a Cessation of Arms, seems a mere Jest, in an Affair where two Months Progress in the War may so near end the Dispute upon which they pretend to treat.

I am, Sir, your, &c.

Reine d'Espagne, touchant l'Alternative, dont les deux partis temoignent se contenter (Et pour moy il me semble, qu'un mois apres le depart de nos courriers de Paris, sera suffisant) D'ajouter en même tems, que si sa Majesté nous refuse une demande si necessaire au repos de la Chretienté, Et veut sans egard pour les offres d'Espagne, Et les offices des Alliez, pousser ses armes plus loin; que sur la premiere demarche qu'elle fera pour attaquer le reste des Pais-Bas, nous ferons avancer nos troupes pour les defendre, Et tâcherons de produire une puissante diversion tant par mer que par terre.

Voila ce me semble tout ce qui nous reste à tenter sur l'état present des affaires, afin d'obtenir la paix. Et pour ce qui est des dispositions interieures des Espagnols, je vous diray, qu'il n'y en a pas un seul icy tant soit peu considerable, qui ne la souhaite, Et qui ne croit y voir l'interêt present de l'Espagne. Le Marquis m'a assuré en confiance qu'il n'a pas seulement les pouvoirs exhibés, mais de plus, que le Roy luy en a donné encore un autre, par lequel il le rend arbitre absolu des conditions de la paix, selon que les conjonctures le devront determiner à la recevoir à des conditions ou egales ou desavantageuses. Et tous les retardemens de Don Juan ne semblent provenir que de ce qu'il espere une paix conforme au projet de notre traité.

En attendant, je suis bien aise de ce que les Etats font partir Monsieur van Beverning, pour se trouver à Aix avec les Ministres des deux Couronnes; je ne doute pas que le Roy mon Maitre ne fasse la même demarche, quand il aura reçu avis de leur depart; car il faut satisfaire aux formes aussi bien qu'au fond; quoy que pour moy, je ne puisse imaginer quel effet resultera de ce Congrez; la France s'étant déjà déclarée sur l'invalidité de la delegation en particulier, aussi bien que sur les Pouvoirs en general. Et pour moy, toute apparence de negotiation avant une cessation d'armes me paroît une pure mocquerie, sur tout dans une conjoncture où deux mois de guerre Et de progres peuvent changer la face des choses, Et decider le different sur lequel on va traiter.

Je suis, &c.

To Mr. Godolphin.

S I R,

Brussels, March 27. N.S. 1668.

I Received lately the Favour of some Lines from you in a Letter of my Wife's, which were the first I remember to have seen of yours these five or six Months past, though I never failed on my part to entertain the Commerce between us as became both our Stations, and the Kindness with which it began on both sides, as I thought; I am sure on mine, till I took your Silence as a civil Declaration that you were willing it should end: And the Compliance I was desirous to shew you in all things, would not suffer me to deny it you in this. I find it very difficult to answer your last, otherwise than by giving you Thanks for the Favour of your Remembrance, which indeed I thought had been better employ'd than upon one who has for so long time so little deserved it. For those Expressions you are pleased to use so much below your self, and so much above me, I confess they rather confound than oblige me, since I am not fond of receiving what I despair of returning. I know no Reason at all I had to be angry with you, but much rather with my self, if having been once possess'd of your Friendship, you found I did not deserve it: But as I reckoned that Loss among my ill Fortunes, so I shall among my good, whenever you return to your former Dispositions of Favour to me, tho' the Misery of the Scene where I live, will teach me to be fond of no Possessions that I am in danger of losing; and to a plain equal Man like me, the Certainty of an Estate seems more valuable than the Greatness of it. But I have as much Ambition for my Friends Advances, as others have for their own; and therefore rejoice in all your good Fortunes in *Spain*, and wish you an Increase of them in your next Designs.

I am, &c.

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord,

Brussels, April 3. N.S. 1668.

I Received some Days since the Honour of one from your Lordship of the 9th past, and though I owe all the Acknowledgments that can be upon it, yet I will not so much wrong your Lordship's Time, or my own Sincereness, as to enlarge them with much Ceremony. It will be enough to say, that nothing can be more obliging than your Favour to me, both in the Degree and Manner of it, arising so freely from your Lordship's Bounty and Generousness, as well as express'd in a way so frank and so hearty as that of your last Letter; and on the other side, that no Man can resent it more, tho' they may much better deserve it: And that your Lordship can never reckon more truly nor more justly, upon any Persons Esteem and Services, than upon mine, which I humbly beg your Lordship to believe. I doubt you will be troubled with my Wife's Attendances, having told her, your Lordship had given her that Liberty: If she ever pretends your Favour and Countenance farther than in receiving what the King has made my due upon this Employment while I have it, or what his Majesty shall from his own Motion assign me, upon any new Commission; I disclaim her beforehand, and declare she goes not upon my Errand; for I shall never think that too little which his Majesty thinks enough: For the rest I will be confident neither your Lordship nor my Lord *Arlington* intend I should ruin my self by my Employments, or that I should at my own Charge bear out a Character, which of it self is enough to turn round a Head that has all its Life, till these last three Years, been used to Shade and Silence. In case the Occasion should break, and my Journey to *Aix* should yet fail, I ask nothing of his Majesty, though putting my self in a Posture to comply with any sudden Necessity of it, has already forced me to enter into very considerable

considerable Expences: But in case I must go, I beg your Lordship that has Children, to consider how hard it would be for me to perform such a Journey upon my own Credit. Whatever it be his Majesty thinks fit to assign me upon such an Occasion, if he pleases to order Alderman *Backwell* to furnish me with a Letter of Credit for so much, let it be what it will, I will live according to what that and my own little Revenue will reach, and not spare any little Presents I have received in his Majesty's Service, where his Honour requires it: All I desire is only not to be forced into Debts, which to say the Truth I have ever abhorred, and would by my good Will eat dry Crusts, and lie upon the Floor, rather than do it upon any other Consideration, than of his Majesty's immediate Commands, and I hope those, his Justice and my Friends Favour, will prevent.

I beg your Lordship's Pardon for troubling you with this strange Freedom about my own Concernments, which you have pleased to encourage me to, and may at any time check me in it, with the least Discountenance, which I doubt I have already deserved. But I will not encrease or lengthen my Faults by Excuses, nor trouble your Lordship, by repeating any thing of what my Lord *Arlington* receives from me at large, upon the Course of publick Affairs here; which though seeming to change often in others Eyes, appears to me constant in the *French* Design of a War; which I believe nothing can alter, but the visible Marks of Force and Steadiness in their Neighbours to oppose them.

I beg your Lordship's Belief, that as I am with very great Reason, so I am with very great Passion too,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To Monsieur de Witt.

To Monsieur de Witt.

S I R,

Brussels, Apr. 17.
N. S. 1668.

I Doubt not but you are pleased as much as I at the Contents of the last Dispatches from *Paris*, which make us believe, that in two or three Days we shall have the Suspension of Arms to the end of *May*; and then I do not see the least Difficulty that can happen, which we shall not easily avoid in the Negotiation of the Peace; for I see not how *France* can draw back, after the Satisfaction we are going to give them at *Paris*: And for *Spain*, I never had the least Scruple upon their Conduct: And I still believe, as I ever did, that unless we drive them to Despair by ill Usage, neither the *Spanish* Nation in general, nor the Marquis of *Castel-Rodrigo* in particular, will have recourse to any base Evasions. And to speak to you in Confidence (as it is necessary between Physicians) since the Resolution you have talk'd of, about driving the *Spaniards* wholly out of this Countrey, and cantoning your selves in it: And since so many violent Instances made by

Monsieur,

Brusselles, le 17 Avr.
S. N. 1668.

JE ne doute pas que vous ne vous rejouissiez autant que moy du contenu de dernieres depêches de *Paris*, qui nous donnent lieu de croire, que dans deux ou trois jours nous aurons une suspension d'armes jusqu'à la fin de *May*; Et cela étant, je ne vois point de difficulté qui puisse survenir, dont nous ne venions facilement à bout dans le cours de la negotiation de la paix. Car je ne vois pas comment la *France* pourra reculer après la satisfaction que nous luy allons donner à *Paris*. A l'égard d'*Espagne*, je n'ay jamais eu le moindre scrupule sur sa conduite; Et je croy encore, comme l'ay toujours crû, qu'à moins que nous ne la reduisons au desespoir à force de la traiter de haut en bas; ni la nation *Espagnole* en general, ni le Marquis de *Castel-Rodrigo* en particulier n'auront point recours à de honteux subterfuges. Et pour vous dire en confidence (comme il faut faire entre Medecins) depuis que vous avez parlé de la resolution de chasser les *Espagnols* des *Païs-Bas*, Et de vous y cantonner; depuis tant d'instances reiterées

by your Deputies for signing Monsieur de Lyonne's Project without altering a Word, or so much as giving the Marquis any Assurance of assisting him in case *France* should draw back, (according to the Orders of the Queen) I have often heard his Excellency say, that if he were now in the Council of *Spain*, he would give his Advice without farther Difficulty, for making Peace with *France* by delivering this Countrey up to them, rather than suffer such a Treatment from all their Neighbours, who are more interested in the Loss of it than themselves. For it cannot enter into the Marquis's Head, why we should give *France* more Assurances than they desire, in case of *Spain*'s refusing the *Alternative*, and even contrary to our Treaty at the *Hague*; and yet refuse to give *Spain* the bare Assurances of the words of our Treaty, in case of *France*'s Refusal after having driven *Spain* to all we can ask. Neither can the Marquis imagine why we press him so much to sign a Project word for word from Monsieur de Lyonne, without first using our Endeavours at *Paris*, to reduce the Affair of *Cities in the Heart of the Countrey*, to some reasonable Exchange; as we have always promised him, and as I let him see in one of your Letters: Nay, without once endeavouring to hinder the Devastations in the *Franche Comté*: So that by this Project, he sees clearly, he must be confined within *Brussels* as in a Prison, shut up by *French Garrisons*, within seven Leagues of him on one side, and eight on the other; and that *Burgundy* may be invaded as an open Countrey, without the Possibility of defending it a Day. And if the Peace be made upon these Terms, every one may see that *France* will only wait till we are engaged in a Quarrel with our Neighbours, or till some Misunderstanding happen between our two Nations, to finish the Conquest of this Countrey, which they may do in fifteen Days. However, the Marquis says, that in case we will give him Assurances to follow the third of our separate Articles, he is ready to sign himself, or give Powers to sign even Monsieur de Lyonne's Project immediately, as the Foundation of the Treaty; and will rely upon our good Offices to negotiate either some convenient

terées faites par vos Deputez pour la signature du projet de Monsieur de Lyonne, sous la condition de ne rien changer, & même sans luy donner la moindre esperance de l'assister en cas que la France recule, conformément aux ordres de la Reyne; depuis cela (dis-je) j'ay souvent oüy dire à son Excellence, que s'il estoit à cette heure au conseil d'Espagne, que son avis seroit, qu'on fit sans marchander l'accord avec la France, en luy donnant tout ce Pais, plutôt que d'endurer un traitement pareil, de la part de tous les Etats voisins de la Flandre; lesquels doivent être plus interessez dans la perte de ces Provinces, que les Espagnols eux mêmes. Car il ne peut pas entrer dans l'esprit du Marquis, que nous donnions à la France plus d'assurance qu'elle n'en desire, supposé le refus d'Espagne, & cela même contre notre traité de la Haye; & que nous refusions à l'Espagne de l'assurer supplement des clauses de notre traité pour elle, en cas que la France refuse, sur tout, après avoir poussé l'Espagne à faire tout ce que nous avons voulu. Le Marquis n'imagine point aussi, pourquoy nous le pressons tant pour la signature mot-à-mot du projet de Monsieur de Lyonne, sans faire par avance tous nos efforts à Paris, pour reduire l'affaire des villes situées dans le coeur des Provinces, à quelque échange raisonnable: cela luy avoit toujours été promis; & je l'en ay moy même assuré par une de vos lettres que je luy ay fait voir. Il s'etonne encore pourquoy nous ne faisons pas nos efforts pour empêcher la demolition des places dans la Franche-Comté. De sorte qu'il voit tres clairement, que par ce projet il sera dans *Brusselles* comme en prison, ou en otage à l'égard de la France, ses garnisons d'un coté n'en étant qu'à huit lieues, & de l'autre qu'à sept. Il voit de plus, que les forces de France entreront dans la Bourgogne comme dans un plat pais sans qu'on la puisse couvrir un jour entier. Que si la paix se fait dans ces termes, tout le monde voit que la France n'attendra que le moment de la premiere desunion entre quelqu'un de nos voisins, ou de la plus legere mesintelligence entre nos deux Nations, pour achever la conquête des Pais-Bas, qui ne luy coutera plus de quinze jours. Pourtant le Marquis dit, qu'en cas que nous luy donnions des assurances de poursuivre le troisieme de nos Articles separés, il est prêt de signer ou donner les pouvoirs de signer le projet même selon les

venient Exchange for Burgundy, or to have it restored in the condition it was taken; or else find means to repair the Towns demolish'd. In case you will not be persuaded to give him these Assurances, we must endeavour to finish it all together at Aix, whether I shall begin my Journey as soon as we shall have received the Suspension of Arms. And I shall not fail to pursue as effectually as I can, both there and at other Places, the Accomplishment of this great Affair; and shall be glad to receive your Advice from time to time, upon the Conduct of this Negotiation.

Before I go, I must tell you freely, that the less of Business you leave between the Marquis and your Deputies here, I think it will be so much the better for the general Affair: For, in one word, they are not Persons made for each other, the Marquis being of a humour rather to die than be governed in the Management of Business: And he says, Monsieur Bourgersdycke is a Man not to be employ'd but where you absolutely give the Law. I have already hinted something of this to you; but now I think it necessary you should be informed of it, that you may do thereupon as you shall find convenient: For I have not observed one thing in the course of this Affair, which you and I could not have compassed without the least Heat or Discontent: And I will not tell you the Pain and Cares I have been at to manage Matters between them, and prevent their breaking out into Violences upon so many Occasions; which I endeavoured by all means to avoid; because I know the Dispositions of Ministers are often infused into their Masters. I see nothing in the World that can hinder the Peace at present, unless France finds some Misunderstandings between us and Spain. To tell you the Truth, many People would persuade me, that you have changed your Measures since I left Holland: But I answer every body, that I trust so much to the Sincerity of your Proceedings, that I do not doubt, but if it were so, your self
would

les termes de Monsieur de Lionne, comme servant de fondement au traité: Qu'il s'en remettra à nos soins & à nos bons offices pour la negotiation de quelque échange commode à l'égard de la Bourgogne, ou bien d'une restitution en l'état où elle a été prise, ou pour trouver les moyens de reparer les villes demolies. En cas que vous luy refusiez à tous ces égards les assurances qu'il demande, il faudra que nous tâchions de reprendre & d'achever le tout ensemble, & d'un même filet à Aix la Chapelle; où je commenceray à m'acheminer des que nous aurons reçu nouvelle de la suspension d'armes, & je ne manquerai pas là, non plus qu'ailleurs, de poursuivre de tout mon pouvoir la conclusion de cette grande affaire. Je seray bien aise de recevoir de tems en tems vos avis sur la maniere dont cette negotiation sera conduite.

*Avant que je parte, il faut que je vous dise franchement, que le moins d'affaires que vous donnerez à discuter avec le Marquis à vos Deputez, sera le meilleur pour la cause commune; car en un mot, ce ne sont point des gens faits les uns pour les autres. Le Marquis est d'un humeur à braver plutôt la mort, que de souffrir d'être matrisé dans la conduite & le maniement des affaires. Il dit, que Monsieur Bourgersdycke n'est propre à être employé, que dans les lieux où vous donnez souverainement la loy. Je vous en avois déjà touché quelque chose, mais je croy à cette heure qu'il est nécessaire de vous le dire, afin que sur cela vous en usiez comme vous le jugerez à propos. Je n'ay encore rien remarqué dans le cours de cette affaire dont je ne fusse venu à bout avec vous sans le moindre chagrin, mais même avec agrement: Et je ne vous diray point les peines & les soucis que j'ay eus à ménager toutes choses entr'eux, & à prévenir des eclats & les reparties piquantes qu'ils estoient prêts de se faire à tout bout de champ; j'ay employé pour cela toute mon adresse; car je faisois cette reflexion, que les dispositions, ou, si vous voulez, les passions des Ministres ont une grande influence sur celles du Maître. A cette heure je ne vois plus rien qui puisse empêcher la paix, si ce n'est que la France vit la dissension se glisser entre l'Espagne & nous. A ne vous rien celer, il y a icy beaucoup de gens qui voudroient bien me persuader que vous avez changé de mesures depuis mon depart d'Hollande; mais je leur repons
E c à tous*

would be the first to inform me.

à tous, que je me repose si fort sur votre sincérité, & à la candeur de votre proceder, que supposé que ce qu'ils disent fust, vous auriez été le premier à m'en instruire.

You see what Confidence I have in your Person, and you may safely have the same in that of,

Voilà qu'elle est la confiance que j'ay en vous, & vous pouvez avoir la même en,

S I R,

Monsieur,

Your, &c.

Votre, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Aix, April 28. N. S. 1668.

I Never writ to your Lordship in worse Health, nor in worse Humour, and therefore you could never receive a worse Letter than this is like to be. The Ceremonies of my Journey your Lordship shall find in a Letter to Mr. *Williamson*, so soon as a Fever which is now upon me, gives me leave to say one Word more, than what I think of absolute Necessity; for so I conceive, all I have now written to the Marquis is. The Despight of seeing the Baron *de Bergeyck* yet refuse to sign the Project of the Treaty, without another Dispatch from the Marquis, after that I brought him, is enough to lose all Patience; my ill Humour I confess is not lessened, by seeing my self here, with equal Character to other Ministers, and without possibility in this Place, of putting my self in an Equipage suitable to them, which I could not think possible neither to provide my self before my Journey, considering the Uncertainty of it, almost to the very last, and the Assurance I came with from the Marquis, of the Treaty's being signed the first Moment. I assured the Marquis *de Bergayck*, that I thought it necessary, so that I hoped three Days would end our Business, which I believed his Majesty would unwillingly see done without his Intervention, and would be content to have all Men think as they have done here, ever since the Convention began (and perhaps every where else) that nothing could be done, till the King's Minister came, and that would immediately close the Affair. The rest I must refer to the inclosed Copy of my Letter this Night, to the *Marquis*, by an Express; and beg your Lordship to give me leave to rest a very weary distempered Head, which yet can never forget how much I am,

My Lord, &c.

To the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo.

Au Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo.

My Lord,

Aix, April. 28.
N. S. 1668.

Monsieur,

A Aix le 28. Avr.
S. N. 1668.

I Arrived yesterday in this City. This Afternoon I received a Visit from the Baron *de Bergeyck*, and another from Monsieur *Colbert*. I treated them both equally; upon a Mes- sage by a Gentleman sent from the Baron

J' Arrivay hier en cette ville. J'ay reçu cette après-dinée une visite de la part du Baron *de Bergeyck*. & une autre de la part de Monsieur *Colbert*. Je les ay traitez tous deux egale- ment, sur la parole que le gentilhomme envoyé

Baron to inform me, that he was already qualified Ambassador of Spain, by the Letters and Powers of the Queen her self. Monsieur Beverning visited me this Morning *incognito*; and all that a great Indisposition will suffer me to tell you at present, is this; that it is not possible to make any other Paces for saving the *Netherlands*, but by immediately signing the Project sent to the Baron de Bergeyck: For every body expected the signing of it upon my arrival. The French Ambassador declares every where, as he has already done to me, that he is ready to sign this very Evening, and in all Points as they have been couched by our own Ministers at *Paris*. And if the Baron makes any Exceptions or Difficulties, he is ready to give answer thereupon, according to his Instructions, and as he shall think convenient: But, that *Spain* must impute to it self whatever may happen by this loss of Time. I see plainly, he is ready to second and assist the Baron de Bergeyck in any Delays that may be given to the Affair; and foreseeing that it must at length pass in the words of this Project, since we and *Holland* are already engaged about it at *Paris*; he hopes either to see the Affair break, or to have the Honour to make *Spain* yield at last upon all Difficulties they first raised. In the mean while, Monsieur Beverning pretends to think, that after the Orders given to the Baron de Bergeyck, and the Copies of them sent into *Holland*, no Difficulties can arise upon the signing: And for me, I cannot refuse to carry the Orders, and am in the greatest pain imaginable, to see the Baron still make a Difficulty to sign without another Order from your Excellency. Therefore I desire you in the name of all those who wish well to the Affairs of *Spain* and of *Christendom*, to dispatch an express Command to the Baron, to sign without farther trifling, and to send him Instructions for any thing that your Excellency shall find convenient to have negotiated afterwards; in which I shall have Monsieur Beverning's Assistance, but not at all before the Project is signed.

envoyé de la part du Baron m'a donnée, que son Maître étoit déjà revêtu du titre d'Ambassadeur, & qu'il étoit muni des lettres & de pleins pouvoirs de la Reine elle même. Monsieur Beverning m'a aussi visité incognito ce matin; & tout ce qu'une grande indisposition qui me retient à présent permet que je dise à V. E. c'est, qu'il ne reste plus d'autre démarche à faire pour sauver les Païs-Bas, que de signer incessamment le projet envoyé au Baron de Bergeyck; cela est si vrai que même à mon arrivée tout le monde en attendoit la signature. Celui de France declare par tout après avoir déclaré à moy même, qu'il est prêt de signer des ce soir même tous les points, tels qu'ils ont été couchez par nos Ministres à Paris. Que si le Baron de Bergeyck fait ou des difficultez, ou des exceptions, il donnera ses réponses conformément à ses instructions, & selon l'exigence des choses; & qu'après tout, l'Espagne ne doit attribuer qu'à elle seule les malheurs qui peuvent naitre de tant de delais & de tems perdu. Je vois fort bien, qu'il est prêt à suivre & à aider le Baron de Bergeyck dans tous les retardemens qu'on pourra apporter à la conclusion de cette affaire; & que prevoyant que l'Espagne doit enfin s'accommoder des conditions & des termes du traité, veu l'engagement où la Hollande & nous sommes déjà entrés par nos Ministres à Paris; il se promet ou de voir l'affaire se rompre, ou d'avoir la gloire de faire ceder l'Espagne sur toutes les difficultez qu'elle aura mises en avant: Cependant, Monsieur Beverning ne s'attend point à voir susciter de nouveaux obstacles, & de nouvelles difficultez touchant cette signature, après des ordres donnez au Baron de Bergeyck, & dont les copies ont été envoyées en Hollande. Pour moy, après l'avoir promis, je n'ay pu reculer à porter les ordres, & je suis dans la plus grande peine du monde de voir que le Baron de Bergeyck fait difficulté de signer avant que d'avoir reçu un autre ordre de V. E. C'est pourquoy, je la supplie au nom de tous ceux qui souhaitent le bien des Affaires d'Espagne, & de la Chretienté, d'ordonner par un commandement exprés, que l'ordre soit signé, & qu'on n'y marchande plus. V. E. donnera aussi ses avis au Baron de Bergeyck touchant ce qu'elle trouvera bon qui soit négocié dans la suite; cela fait, je pourray conter sur le secours & l'aide de Monsieur Beverning,

If your Excellency will not think fit to comply with this, I discharge *my self* at least of all the fatal Effects that may arrive upon it. I desire your Excellency yet once more, to grant this Dispatch to the Instances of one who had founded the Bottom of this Affair with all possible Attention, and all the Reflections I am capable of making; and who forms a Judgment of it, without other Passion than that I have for the Preservation of *Flanders*.

I am, &c.

ning, du quel je n'attens rien, tandis que la chose sera comme elle est.

En cas que V. E. suive d'autres voyes, je me discharge par avance de toutes les suites funestes qui en pourront arriver. Je supplie encore une fois V. E. de donner cela aux instances d'une personne qui a approfondi cette affaire, avec toute l'attention & la reflexion dont je suis capable; & qui en porte un jugement exempt de Passion, excepté celle qu'il a pour la conservation des *Pais-Bas*.

Je suis, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Aix, April 30. N. S. 1668.

IN the Hurry of these Expresses to *Brussels*, all that I can possibly do, is to give your Lordship the Account of the State of our Business here, in the Copy of those Letters I am forced to write to the Marquis. To which end the Ambassadors of *Spain* and *Holland* have been very often with me already, though I have not yet stirr'd out of Doors, and they are but now gone successively from my Bed-side. The Fruits of our Conferences your Lordship will find in the enclosed, and will pardon me for doing nothing more at this time, than barely acknowledging, and that in extreme haste, yours of the 10th and 13th, which are come here to my Hands: The torn Paper is the Original of a Postscript I received just now in a Letter from Monsieur de *Witt*, which I send in Answer to one I had lately from your Lordship. The enclosed from my Secretary to Mr. *Williamson*, gives Account of all the Ceremonies that have been hitherto past.

I am ever, &c.

To the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo.

My Lord,

Aix, April 30.
N. S. 1668.

I AM very much indisposed, and God keep me from those Accidents, which the Despight I have upon the present Course of Affairs may cause in my Illness. All I have to say is, that the Ambassador of *France* has Orders not to change a Word in the Project as prepared by our Ministers at *Paris*: The *Dutch* Ambassador has the same Orders from his Masters: The *Nuncio* presses also the Signing without any Change; and all the German Ministers are of the same Opinion.

Au Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo.

Monsieur,

Aix le 30 Avr.
S. N. 1668.

JE trouve ma santé fort ebranlée, & à Dieu ne plaise que les accidens, qu'est capable de me causer le depot que je ressens du train que prennent les affaires, viennent se joindre à mon indisposition. Tout ce que j'ay à dire c'est, que l'Ambassadeur de *France* a ordre de ne changer pas un seul mot au projet de nos Ministres qui sont à *Paris*. Celuy d'*Hollande* a les mêmes ordres; le Nonce du Pape presse la signature, & insiste sur le même point: enfin, tous les Ministres d'*Allemagne* sont dans le même sentiment.

The Baron refuses to sign without another Order from *Brussels*: Upon which the *French* Ambassador presses both me and Monsieur *Beverning* to give him an Act, wherein we are to witness, that he has been ready to sign ever since the Arrival of the Project. The *Dutch* Ambassador protests he cannot refuse it; and besides, that if the Baron will not sign to Morrow, he will depart, and return for *Holland*. The *Most Christian* King has sent all his Officers into the Field, and intends to follow them in Person; so that our Ministers at *Paris* apprehend some new Accidents, unless they are prevented by signing the Treaty. For my self, I have Instructions to use all Means for advancing the Peace in Concert with the *Dutch* Ambassadors; and can by no means disagree with his Resolutions. I bear with what Patience I can the Mortification, to see that I must pass for a Person whom your Excellency has imposed on, by giving me an Order which your Minister was not to obey: But I cannot bear with Patience to see that the Affairs of all *Christendom* must be absolutely ruined by a Caprice of the Baron de *Bergeyck*. For I will not, as others do, impute to your Excellency such a Feint as that of drawing from us all Assurances you demanded, upon your Promise of immediately signing the Treaty, and then of giving me a sort of Order to the Baron, contradicted before by a counter Order in secret.

I should not have left *Brussels*, had not your Excellency assured me, that the Baron should sign without Delay, whenever I judged it necessary. I now find it so; and have told him it is so very necessary, that, I believe, *France* would not have carried greater Advantages, nor triumph'd more upon the winning of a Battel, than on the Advantages they have made in this Affair.

For my self, I was never in my Life in greater Mortification, than what I have born in this Affair.

I am, &c.

Le Baron de Bergeyck refuse à signer sans un nouvel ordre de Bruxelles: Là dessus l'Ambassadeur de France presse & moy & Monsieur Beverning de luy donner un acte, dans lequel nous témoignons, que depuis l'arrivée du projet, il a été tous les jours prêt à signer. L'Ambassadeur d'Hollande proteste qu'il ne peut pas le luy refuser; & que même, si le Baron de Bergeyck ne signe pas dans la journée de demain, il partira d'icy pour s'en retourner en Hollande. Le Roy tres Chretien a fait partir tous ses Officiers pour aller ouvrir la campagne, & il pretend les suivre en personne: De sorte que nos Ministres à Paris apprehendent de nouveaux desordres, si on n'arrête tout ce grand mouvement par la signature du traité. Pour moy, les instructions que j'ay reçues, portent que je n'épargne rien pour avancer la paix, & que je fasse toutes choses de concert avec l'Ambassadeur d'Hollande, & je ne puis en aucune sorte me departir de ses résolutions. Je porte le plus patiemment que je puis, la mortification de passer pour un homme dont V. E. s'est jouée, lors qu'elle m'a fait expedier un ordre auquel on ne devoit pas obeir, & que Votre Ministre a en effet eludé; mais je ne puis voir qu'avec la dernière inquietude, que toutes les affaires de la Chretienté se brouillent & se perdent par le seul caprice du Baron de Bergeyck. Car je me garde bien de supposer comme les autres, une feinte en V. E. & de luy attribuer de nous avoir tendu un piège, en tirant de nous les assurances demandées, sur la promesse de faire aussitôt signer le traité; & ensuite de m'avoir chargé d'un ordre pour le Baron de Bergeyck, qui par avance étoit détruit par une instruction secrète.

Je n'aurois jamais parti de Bruxelles, si V. E. ne m'avoit assuré de bouche, que la Baron signeroit sans y manquer tout aussitôt que je jugerois la chose absolument nécessaire. Nous nous sommes vus, & je luy ay représenté la chose si pressée, si nécessaire, que je croy que la France n'a pas remporté plus d'avantage, ni ne se soit erigée à elle même un plus grand triomphe par le gain d'une bataille que par les avances qu'elle a faites en cette occasion.

Pour moy, je n'ay eu de ma vie une plus grande mortification que celle que j'ay essuyée en cette rencontre.

Je suis, &c.

To Mr. Williamfon.

S I R,

Aix, April 30. N. S. 1668.

MY Master being kept in his Bed by an Illness that seized him the first Night of his Arrival here, and since encreased upon him by the Constraints he was forced to the next Day in the Reception of the several Ambassadors, hath commanded me to give you the Account of his Journey hither, and desires you will help it to pass with my Lord *Arlington* for that Promise which he made in his last, of doing it himself to his Lordship upon the next Occasion.

He parted from *Brussels* upon the 24th of this Month, with nine and twenty Persons in his Company, of which, ten in his own Livery. Besides those who belonged to him, my Lord *Stafford*, Captain *Brumidge*, and Captain *Wesely*, did him the Favour to accompany him in his Journey, and twenty of the Marquis's Guard for his Security, till he came the second Night into the Land of *Liege*. The first Night at *Louvain* passed without any Ceremony, not taking upon him any new Character in the *Spanish* Dominions: The second Night he lodged at *Hirkinraedt*, a very rich Abby of *Bernardin* Nuns, where he was received as the King of *England's* Ambassador. The next Morning the Magistrates of the Town of *Hassel* sent to inform whether he passed by their Town of *Hassel* in his way to *Mastricht*, to the end they might do him the Honour due to his Character: But my Master desiring to avoid those Ceremonies chose to pass a private way about a Mile from the Town; however, he found all the Road where it lay over against the Town crouded with People, and among them the Magistrates of the Town, who in the High-way entertain'd him with a Speech, a Banquet, great store of Wine, and all the great Guns of the Town at the same time.

The same Night he arrived at *Mastricht*, having only sent an ordinary Servant before to take up his Lodgings: Near the Town he was met by a Gentleman from the *Rhingrave*, to tell him, that if the Hour of his Arrival had been known, he would himself have met him on the way, but however would not fail to do it at his coming to Town. He was received there by all the great Guns of the Town, the Garrison ranged through the Streets as he pass'd, and at the end of them a Volly of their small Shot. At his Inn he was immediately visited by the *Rhingrave*, and after him by the Magistrates of the Town. The next Morning he returned a Visit to the *Rhingrave*, who would by Force accompany him back to his Inn. As he went out, he had all the great Guns of the Town thrice round, and greater Volleys of Shot than the Night before, and the *Rhingrave* met him in his Coach about half a Mile out of Town, to perform his last Complement, having told my Lord *Stafford* that he had express Orders from the *States*, to do all the Honour that was possible both to his Character and his Person.

From *Mastricht* he sent a Letter to the Baron de *Fraisheim* here, to give him Notice of his intended Arrival upon *Friday* the 27th, but withal, to desire him to keep it private, that so he might enter with little Noise or Ceremony, in regard he came upon a sudden Journey and a very short Stay, and therefore with the Train of the King's Resident at *Brussels*, rather than of his Ambassador. The Baron de *Fraisheim* did his part in suppressing the Knowledge of it, but the Town having Notice by Orders they had given at *Mastricht* to that Purpose, sent one to meet him in the Midway with a Complement, and desire that they might receive him as they had done other Ambassadors. My Master referred it to them to do as they pleased, and the rather because he heard that the *French* Ambassador had made a solemn Entry about six Days before, with a very great Train and Ceremony; and he thought by this more private Entry, to avoid the Expectation of any other: So he was received in the Town with all the Guns, and the *Burghers* in Arms, and complemented immediately at his Arrival both from the Magistrates of the Town, and a Commander of the Duke of *Nieuburg's*, to assure him that the Duke had given him Orders for

two hundred Horse to attend him upon the Confines, and to accompany him into the Town, as he had done the *French* Ambassador at his solemn Entry, and that the Baron of *Fraisheim's* Assurance of his desiring to enter privately, had only prevented that Attendance.

The Night of his Arrival, my Master went about ten a Clock *Incognito* to the *Dutch* Ambassador's House, resolving to tell him, that upon his Arrival here, he intended to live after another sort with him than with any of the other Ambassadors, as well in respect of the near Alliance between their Masters, as of their Mediation. The *Dutch* Ambassador happened to be in Bed, but having heard of my Master's Intentions, came and visited him early the next Morning without Train or Ceremony, and gave him full Information of all that had passed here, which made good what we met with every where upon the Road, that nothing in the Peace could be done till the Arrival of the King's Ambassador here.

My Master's Indisposition that Morning delayed his sending to give the several publick Ministers Advice of his Arrival till about ten a Clock, and then he was prevented by Complements; first from the *French*, and then from the *Spanish* Ambassadors, which were returned that Morning, and succeeded in the Afternoon by Visits from them both in the same Order.

My Master upon his first Interview with the *Holland* Ambassador, enquired of him what Intercourse had passed between him and the Pope's Nuncio; and finding that after some Offices by third Persons between them, it had stopped upon some Difficulties without coming to any Visits or formal Complements: He spake to my Lord *Stafford* when he made a Visit of himself to the Nuncio, to let him know in common Conversation, that my Master finding by what had pass'd between him and the *Dutch* Ambassador, that the same Difficulties were like to befall him, had omitted to give him any Advice of his Arrival, but to tell him at the same time, that he was very much a Servant to the Merits of the Cardinal *Padrone*, upon his Acquaintance with him at *Brussels*, and was very glad to hear of the Continuance of his Health since his last Recovery; and so that Matter ended, as I suppose; my Master having no Instruction in that Point, and therefore desiring as civilly as he could, to take this Occasion of avoiding farther Commerce with him. I have nothing else worth giving you the Trouble of, but am,

S I R,

Your most obedient Servant,

Tho. Downton.

To the Elector of Mentz.

A l'Electeur de Mayence.

S I R,

Aix, May 2.
S. N. 1668.

THO' my own Indisposition, and Monsieur *Schouborne's* Affairs, deprived me of the Happiness of seeing him since my Arrival in this City, I would not however delay any longer to acknowledge the Honour of your Highness's Letter of the 12th past, and to make you the Offers of my Services (since, of the King my Master's Affection, your Highness wants no Testimonies.) In the mean while I send your Highness the agreeable News of the Peace, the Treaties whereof I have at present in my Hands;

Monfieur,

Aix le 2 May,
S. N. 1668.

QUOY que mon indisposition, & les affaires de Monsieur *Schouborne* m'ayent empêché de le voir depuis mon arrivée en cette ville; je n'ay pourtant pas voulu differer plus long tems sans me servir de cette voye pour reconnoître l'honneur que V. A. m'a fait par sa lettre du 12. du passé, & sans luy envoyer dans une des miennes les offres de mes services; je dis de mes services, car pour l'affection du Roy mon Maitre elle est assez connue à V. A. & n'a pas besoin de mon temoignage. Et même tems je donneray à V. A. une nouvelle bien agreable,

Hands; one signed in Presence of the Dutch Ambassador, and t'other in mine; which I was glad to obtain by Precaution, so to surmount the Difficulties raised upon delivering the Instruments to the Nuncio. I give your Highness Joy of an Affair so important to the Happiness of Germany; and your Highness may justly do the same to the King my Master, who though at distance, and out of danger of this Flame, has however contributed more to the extinguishing of it, than all those who were most interested in the Neighbourhood. And since this Peace, as well as that of Portugal, has so justly given his Majesty a Rank so high among the *Pacifici*; your Highness will join your Prayers to mine, that God Almighty will please to add also to his Character, the *Beati*. And as your Highness has all Reason to believe the King my Master your Friend, so I beg your Highness to esteem me always,

greable, puisque je luy apprendray que la paix est conclue, & qu'à l'heure que je luy écris, les traités en sont entre mes mains; l'un signé, en présence de l'Ambassadeur d'Hollande, & l'autre en la mienne, ce que j'ay été bien aise d'obtenir par precaution, & afin de surmonter les difficultez survenues lors qu'on a livré les Instruments à Monsieur le Nonce. Je donne à V. A. toute la joye d'une affaire qui importoit au bonheur de l'Allemagne, comme elle la donnera avec justice au Roy mon maitre; car, quoy qu'eloigné & à couvert des flammes qui devoroient tant de pais, on dira pourtant avec justice qu'il a seul plus contribué à éteindre cet embrasement, que tous ceux qui en étoient & les plus voisins & les plus alarmez. Et puisque cette paix, aussi bien que celle de Portugal a si légitimement placé sa Majesté dans le plus haut rang entre les Pacifiques. V. A. joindra ses prieres aux miennes, afin que le bon Dieu y ajoute aussi les Beati. Et comme elle a tout lieu de croire le Roy mon Maitre de ses amis, je la prie aussi de m'estimer toujours,

S I R,

Monsieur, &c.

Your Highness's most, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Aix, May 8. S. N. 1668.

Since my last I have received your Lordship's of the 17th and 20th, which both complain of the ill State wherein the *Swedish* Treaty then stood, and command my Applications to the Marquis for a Remedy. I have infused it all I could possibly into the *Baron de Bergeyck* at his return from hence to *Brussels*, which was in haste, and immediately after the signing and dispatching away the Instruments of the Treaty. Some here attribute his Haste to an Intention of avoiding any Speech of a general Guarranty for the Peace, which with so many Difficulties and Delays before the signing, as well as so many Declamations against the Violence and Injustice in pressing him to it, are Evidence enough of the Force by which the *Spaniards* have been compelled to it; though I doubt of their being this Age in a Condition of making better use of it. For my part, I was of Opinion, that since *Don John* was neither arrived with Supplies, nor hardly expected in any Time. Since *Holland* was so desperately bent upon the Peace, without any Respect to the *Spanish* Honour or Interest, farther than joined immediately with their own; since *Spain* had not been able to find means to engage his Majesty or *Sweden* in their Quarrel by Supplies necessary to both Crowns: And since his Majesty was not in a Condition of entring into the Business single, upon Considerations of Honour, Justice, or a remote Danger: And consequently, since upon the Projects made both at a time in *Paris*, it grew evident to *Spain*, *Qu'il falloit passer par là ou par les fenestres*. Upon all these Considerations, I say, I was

of

of Opinion that the *Spaniards* Business was to end frankly and immediately upon my Arrival here, thereby to have more Time for bringing the Ratifications of the Treaty signed here, from *Spain* within this Month, and so avoid all Pretexts (which I expected) of *France's* breaking the Business, and which I knew they would be strongly tempted to by the *Spaniards* want or neglect of Preparations, and by our Disconcert for their Defence. Upon these Considerations I confess I have press'd as hard upon the Baron *de Bergeyck*, as the *Dutch* Ambassador himself, to finish the Affair, ever since my Arrival, and was at an end of my Patience to see him stop it upon such slight and unreasonable Pretences as his two last; which were, first, not to insert his Powers, because both his and those of *France* were sharp upon the Rise of the War; but Monsieur *Colbert's* were sent in that Style since his arrival here, and only in return of the Marquis's, since those he brought with him were soft and without any Reflections: The Baron had been advised by Monsieur *Beverning* at his first coming, to have them changed, had three Weeks to do it, and yet made no Difficulty upon it till after the Treaty was signed, and the Powers came to be inserted, which he refus'd to suffer, saying, he expected new and softer Powers within two or three Days, and in the mean time would have had the Instruments dispatch'd away without any Transcription of the Powers, though in the Treaty mentioned as inserted: And I believe *France* would not have wish'd a better Occasion to delay the Business beyond a possibility of being ratified within the time. This Difficulty took up a whole Day after the signing; and when the Baron was beaten out of it by main Force, he threw us upon a worse; for, whereas his first Powers, and all he had ever given Copies of, or mentioned to any Minister here, had only run, as deputed from the Marquis with the same Power to treat and conclude as if his Majesty had been here in Person: When he inserted his Powers, after having made Monsieur *Colbert's* Express stay a whole Day, he brings the Instrument with a Power agreeing in all Words with the first, but only those of *Ambassador* and *Plenipotentiary* joined to his Deputation, which put Monsieur *Colbert* into such a Rage, that he was ready to tear all in pieces; and for five Hours Monsieur *Beverning* and I could draw no other Answer from the Baron, but that it was impossible for him to do any otherwise, protesting he had no other Power here, the first having been returned to the Marquis upon the Transmission of this, the Advice of which he said he had received from Monsieur *Beverning*. With Monsieur *Colbert* we had no hopes of prevailing to have his new Style allowed, nor had we indeed any reason to press it, being offered upon a Surprise, and there being no Colour for the Marquis being qualified to send an Ambassador upon this Occasion: I was five Hours upon the Rack with the Opinion the Business would absolutely break by the Delays this would occasion; and indeed out of all Patience with the Baron, not believing it possible he could be without his first Powers by him; and Monsieur *Beverning* and he were at those heights, that they were several times upon the Point of drawing their Swords in my Room, and I believe had done it in any other Place. But after all, the Baron confess'd he had his first Powers, and Order to insert them if he could not make the others pass, but Instructions to endeavour that to the utmost; which to give him his due, he acted to a Height that I could never have done without straining my own Truth as well as my Business. And so upon the 4th at Night all ended. My Dissatisfaction with the Baron *de Bergeyck's* Conduct since I came hither, was, I confess, very great, and my Expressions upon it very free in my several Expresses to the Marquis, who it seems takes part in it, and owns it so far, as to seem most extremely ill satisfied with the Ministers using so much Earnestness here in beating him out of all those Designs. I have had three several Letters from his Excellency since my being here, upon that Subject, but all so ill-humoured and so *Emportées*, that I think they had been better spared, and tho' what was particular to me, civil enough, yet some Expressions concerning the general Proceeding wherein I had the chiefest Part, so *Picquantes*, that I think I have reason to repent, and am sure have not deserved it from any publick Minister either there or here; and having answered them accordingly, I know

not upon what Terms we are like to be upon my Return; and therefore could not forbear giving your Lordship the trouble of this Relation, to justify my self not only to your Lordship, for there I am sure it will not need; but if you think fit, to the Count *Molina*, and the Baron *d' Isola* too, who may perhaps have received Letters from the Marquis upon our Proceedings here, of the same Style that I have done.

I have been the more earnest in bringing this Matter to an Issue here, (which the *Holland* Ambassador says, had never been done without me,) because I conceived by all I have had from your Lordship, as well as from other Hands, not only that you desired it in *England*, but that the Peace was necessary for the Constitution of his Majesty's present Affairs: And since he has had the Glory of making two Peaces so important, we have now nothing to wish but to see him in a Condition to make War as well as Peace, whenever the Honour and Interest of his Crowns shall make it necessary; for that Necessity can, I suppose, be no ways long avoided, but by our being in a Posture to welcome it whenever it comes, and to make Advantage of it. And I think the best time to fall into Counsels tending to this great End, will be after the Conclusion of this general Peace, when no Engagement abroad forces his Majesty to have so much need of Money from his People. For, the Time to repair the Harms that Storms have done a House, is in fair Weather; and, to mend a leaky Ship, she must be brought ashore.

God of Heaven send your Lordship to be an happy Instrument in the Proposal and Application of such Councils, and that we may take warning by the poor *Spaniards* Example, whose ill Conduct of late in the Government has so far subjected them to their Neighbours Disesteem, and Insolence, and Humour, as well as to their Conquests, Violence, and Oppression; which I confess have been enough to put them upon such desperate Councils as your Lordship mentions, of giving up all to the *French* in these Countries, rather than be the bare Guardians of others Frontiers. And yet all these Misfortunes are the natural Consequences of their Conduct, and will never fail befalling any Prince, that follows their Example. I wish *That* might befall the *French*, to temper a little such an over-grown Greatness; but I doubt it much, from the present King's Dispositions, among whose Qualities those of Carelessness or lavishing his Treasures, I am afraid are none: Therefore I wish him engaged in some very charming Pleasures, or else in some more difficult Enterprizes than his last and where we may not have so great a Share: That which they talk on here may possibly prove so, which is drawing or forcing the *Empire* to chuse the *Dauphin* King of the *Romans*; for though his Party be grown strangely powerful in *Germany*, and if *Brandenburgh* be falling into it as is believed, none will be left to the House of *Austria* that I know of, unless *Saxony* and *Triers*; yet such a Body so differently composed as the *Empire*, should methinks very hardly move all one way in any new Course.

Monfieur *Colbert* talks of his Master's sending immediately ten or fifteen thousand Men for the Relief of *Candy*, which were a glorious and Christian Council, and in all ways that can be, to be cherished and applauded: And if any Offices could be done towards engaging the *French* Court in that Design, by us or the *Dutch*, I think they are not ill bestow'd; about which I have entertain'd Monfieur *Beverning*, who is of my Mind, and have insinuated the same Notions among the *German* Ministers here, who swallow it greedily; and I hope it may take effect, and help to free all these Parts of the Jealousie which so great an Army must needs give, as this Peace is like to leave idle upon the *French* Hands.

I intend to begin my Journey to *Brussels* to Morrow, Monfieur *Beverning* being gone to Day; but I doubt I shall be five or six Days upon the Way, any thing now that presses me to more than ordinary Haste.

I received 600 *l.* owing me upon my Employment there before my coming away, and was very sorry to find by a Letter of my Wife's, that the Fear she had of my being disappointed in that Particular, made her draw up a Memorial which it seems the Council was troubled with, about my private Concernments: I may very truly and justly disown it, as I do, and hope she will

be pardoned for too forward a Care and Concernment in that business: For, as to the Charge of my Journey here, when your Lordship thinks fit to command it, I shall send you the exact Account which my Secretary keeps, of all I spend, and leave it in your Lordship's Hands, for his Majesty to do as he pleases in it; which is all the Trouble I shall give you or my self about it.

I am ever with equal

Passion and Truth, &c.

*To the Marquis of Castel-
Rodrigo.*

*Au Marquis de Castel-
Rodrigo.*

My Lord, Aix, May 8.
N. S. 1668.

Monfieur, Aix, 8 May,
S. N. 1668.

I Received yours of the 4th Instant; and am glad your Excellency is so extremely satisfied with the *Moderation*, (as you are pleased to style it) of the Baron de *Bergeyck*; while at the same time you are so much provoked at the Complaints I made of his Conduct here. I shall always openly confess, that seeing *Don Juan's* Arrival with the intended Supplies delay'd, and perhaps wholly frustrated; seeing *Holland* so desperately fond of the Peace, without considering the Interests of *Spain*; seeing the Emperor appear wholly disinterested in the Matter; seeing *Spain* had used no Endeavours to engage the King my Master, or *Sweden*, otherwise than by fair Words; and that his Majesty was not in a condition to enter into the Affair alone, upon pure Considerations of Generosity or of a Danger at distance: Seeing also, that *Spain* approved even the first Project of Peace drawn by Monsieur de *Lionne*: I thought, upon all these Considerations, that it was their interest sincerely to finish the Affair, and gain the most time possible, to get the Ratifications from *Madrid*; and by that means take away from *France* all Hopes or pretext of breaking, without such an Evidence of Falshood and Ambition, as would make *Holland* of necessity engage in your Defence. And upon the same Considerations I urged the Baron de *Bergeyck* all I could, to finish the Affair; as soon I saw, that neither the Ambassador of *France* nor *Holland*, any more than the *Nuncio*, would hearken to Propositions of changing any thing in the Project. And, besides, I thought, all the Difficulties the

J'AY reçu la vôtre du 4. de ce mois; & je suis bien aise que V. E. s'est si fort satisfaite de ce qu'elle appelle la *Moderation* du Baron de *Bergeyck*, pendant qu'elle temoigne être si picquée de l'aigreur que j'ay fait paroître en me plaignant icy de son procédé. J'avoueray tout publiquement, que voyant retarder avec l'arrivée de *Don Juan*, les secours destinez & promis, & voyant qu'on en seroit peut être frustré; voyant l'*Hollande* si eperduement amoureuse de le paix sans égard aux intérêts d'*Espagne*; voyant l'Empereur jouer dans cette affaire le rôle d'un Prince parfaitement desintéressé; voyant que l'*Espagne* n'avoit encore agi auprès du Roy mon Maître, & auprès de la *Suede*, que par de belles paroles; connoissant que sa Majesté n'étoit pas en état d'entrer seule dans cette epineuse negotiation; & que pour la porter à le faire, il falloit autres choses que de purs motifs de generosité; Ensin, voyant l'*Espagne* elle même approuver le Projet de Monsieur de *Lionne*, tel qu'il l'avoit dressé: Faisant attention à toutes ces choses, j'ay crû que leur intérêt demandoit qu'ils achevassent franchement l'affaire; gagnant le plus de tems qu'il seroit possible pour faire venir les ratifications de *Madrid*; & ôtant par là à la *France* tout pretexte, & toute esperance d'en venir à une rupture; à moins qu'elle voulût elle même étaler sa honte, & faire voir si à decouvert sa perfidie & son ambition, que necessairement l'*Hollande* se trouveroit engagée dans votre defense. Ces mêmes considerations ont fait, que j'ay poussé, autant qu'il m'a été possible, à terminer promptement l'affaire, des que j'avois clairement apperçu, que ni l'Ambassadeur

the Baron made upon the Signing very unseasonable, and of ill Consequence to the Affair; and I shewed him how much he was in the wrong to complain of the sharp Powers of Monsieur Colbert, which were drawn up only in Revenge to yours, his former ones having been without any Reflection upon what was past: And the Baron de Bergeyck having had three Weeks time to send for softer Powers, and more proper for treating of a Peace. I was also ill satisfied to see him keep us three or four Days on the Rack till the Affair was just breaking, only to insert a new Power with the Word *Ambassador*, which the Nuncio never heard the Baron once mention before; there being nothing of it in those Powers whereof he had given a Copy. And, as insignificant as these Accidents seem to be, I think they were such, that if Monsieur Colbert, either by his own Disposition, or the Interests of his Brother, had not been very much inclined to the Peace; I am persuaded, that this great Moderation of the Baron de Bergeyck, had wholly ruined the Affair.

I am your, &c.

deur de France, ni celui d'Hollande, non plus que le Nonce, ne vouloient point écouter la proposition de changer quelque chose aux termes du Projet. Et même j'ay regardé toutes les difficultez du Baron de Bergeyck sur la signature, comme faites hors de propos, & d'une facheuse influence pour la conclusion de l'affaire. Je luy ay donné le tort qu'il s'est plaint de la forme en laquelle étoient conçus les pouvoirs de Monsieur Colbert; il y a crû y entrevoir de l'aigreur, sans faire reflexion qu'ils étoient dressés à l'imitation, & peut estre à l'envi des vôtres; les premiers Pouvoirs de Monsieur Colbert ayant été conçus sans aucune relation au passé; & le Baron de Bergeyck ayant eu trois semaines pour faire venir des pouvoirs plus doux & plus sortables à la paix. J'ay été aussi fort indigné de ce qu'il nous a retenu trois ou quatre jours à la gêne; & cela parce qu'il vouloit inserer un nouveau pouvoir avec le mot d'Ambassadeur. Le Nonce n'en avoit jamais ouy parler auparavant au Baron; car la moindre mention n'en avoit pas été faite dans les pouvoirs, dont il avoit donné copie. Quelque legers que puissent paroître de tels incidens je croy pouvoir dire, que si Monsieur Colbert par la situation des affaires & des interêts de son frere, ne s'étoit pas trouvé tout-à-fait porté à la paix, je suis persuadé que cette belle & louable moderation qu'on vante en Monsieur Bergeyck, auroit suffi pour gâter tout.

Je suis, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Brussels, May 22. N. S. 1668.

YOUR Lordship's of the first current, referred me to another I was to expect by the following Post, with particular Directions how to pursue the *Swedish* Affair here; but that being not yet arrived, I have hitherto been only able to make some general Diligences therein, together with the *Holland* Deputy in a joint Audience this Morning. The Marquis's Guard consisted chiefly in these Points; that what he had promised of sending Powers to the Count *Molina*, was in time of War, and with Intention of engaging *Sweden* with us in the Affair. That the Peace has alter'd that Measure; and though he had full Powers to grant what he thought fit in the time of War, whose Accidents admitted not Recourse to *Spain*, yet he had not the same in time of Peace, but had written effectually upon this Subject. That, in the mean time he expected to know the Effect of this League, and see the Form of Guaranty it should produce, with what Concert, and what Advantages for the Affairs of these Countries, of which he had yet received no particular Account from the Count *de Molina*. That he did not understand why *Spain* should satisfy the Expence of those Months which the *Swedes* had kept up their Troops on-

ly at the Desire of *Holland*, and without any Reflections upon the Business of these Countries, which was from the time of the Conclusion at *Breda*, to that of our League at the *Hague*, wherein Count *Dona* enter'd, and which seem'd the first Instance of the *Swedes* concerning themselves in this Countrey or *Spain's* Affairs.

The *Holland* Deputy press'd his Excellency hard upon his Promise, and his declaring to us, that he had sent his Powers to the Count *Molina*, pursuing him with *Res non est integra*, and, *Mandatum non potest revocari*, and such Civil Law Arguments, till it grew warm, and so not very proper for a Man in ill Health, nor in my Opinion, for the Business as it stands; so that I was fain to divert it upon my Expectation of new Powers and particular Instructions, by which I hoped to be able to give the Marquis Satisfaction in the Project of the intended Guarranty.

This Morning arriv'd Sir *John Trevor's* Secretary, with Directions to bring the Business of the Ratifications to a Period, by carrying one from hence for Sureties sake, in case that from *Spain* should fail, which is expected upon the very Treaty signed at *Aix*; and withal to concert other Circumstances in the manner of the Exchange, which is made very imperfect in the Treaty; that is, one to be delivered at *St. Germain's*, and the other at *Brussels*. I carried the Secretary this Afternoon to the Marquis, and we have fallen upon this Agreement; That to Morrow he shall return for *Paris* with a Ratification upon the Treaty at *Aix*, and with Insertion of the same Powers; a Blank now in the Marquis's Hands being to be filled up in that Form, and to be dated the 16th current, which will answer a Possibility of a Post going to *Maurid* after the 2^d, when the Treaty was signed at *Aix*, receiving this Ratification there, and returning to *Paris* by the 24th, the Day this Gentleman expects to arrive there.

For the Exchange it shall be made at *Paris*, and by the Hands of our Ministers there, who shall deliver the *Spanish* Ratifications, and at the same time receive the *French*, with which the Marquis is content, and will proceed to the publishing of the Peace, so soon as our Ministers are possess'd of the *French* Ratifications, which may afterwards be sent hither at leisure. The Day we propose for exchanging the Ratifications is the 26th and the 28th, for publishing the Peace, in case we receive a Courier by that time with Advice of the *French* Concurrence in that Day.

For the manner of executing the Treaty, I confess I was of Opinion, nothing should be mentioned of it till the Exchange and Publication were pass'd, since new Difficulties may arise upon it, which will be easiest overcome when the thing is done, and perhaps the Parties will have begun to disarm: The Marquis was of my Opinion in it, and therefore has propos'd only in that Point, that after the Publication, Commissioners may be appointed on both sides to meet upon it, and the Mediators desired by both Parties to intervene likewise by their Commissioners, for the better composing of any Difference that may arise between the Parties, and to whom the Adjudication of such Difference may be referred: The Place of Meeting to be *Oudenard* or *Courtray*, as most commodious for Adjudication of the Limits which may fall in Dispute. After this Matter thus digested, and Promise of the Ratifications to be in my Hands to Morrow by Noon, I came away with Sir *John Trevor's* Secretary; but the Marquis sent after me, to desire he might speak with me alone; and told me, he was to thank me for sparing him this Morning in Disputes he was falling into with the *Holland* Deputy: That in short, the *Dutch* had cross'd him in an Alliance he was making last Year with *Sweden*, because they would make themselves Masters of the Affair; and now would buy the *Swedes* Dependance at the Cost of *Spain*. That he had all the Reason in the World to be satisfied with his Majesty's Conduct of this Affair, but little in the *Dutch*: That he knew no Reason why they should not pay what they had promised to *Sweden* after the Treaty of *Breda*, nor why all the Money *Spain* could spare should not be given his Majesty upon a nearer League between us, who was the only Prince had proceeded affectionately and generously in the *Spanish* Affairs, and who was the best able to support them in case he were in

Condition to make War without his Peoples Purfes: That he expected the Baron *Ifola* fuddenly here for Conclusion of the Guarranty, and this Affair with *Sweden*: And that at laft, if it muft be paid by *Spain*, it fhould be all laid in his Majefty's Hands to difpofe of as he pleafed. I gave his Excellency Thanks for Expreffions fo obliging in what concerned our Part in this whole Affair; but defired him to take it for a Ground in all the Superftructures to be made upon the prefent Foundations: That *Spain* muft not difoblige *Holland* even to oblige us, but diffemble any Refentments they had given him, and facrifice them to the Advantage both we and *Spain* received by their prefent Separation from *France*. And fo our Difcourfes ended, and we are returned into the fame good Correspondence we were in before I went to *Aix*, which had been interrupted by fome Letters I received from his Excellency there, and fome I returned in the Style I thought they deferved; it being perhaps natural to the fame Men, to be the leaft fubject to do Injuries, and the leaft capable of receiving them: For it is eafy enough to find Morals for the firft, but Chriftianity enough for the laft, I doubt is difficult.

I am ever, &c.

To Monsieur de Witt.

S I R,

*Bruffels, May 27.
S. N. 1668.*

BY my laft from *Aix* I gave you Account of the Signing of the Peace, and was in hopes by this, to have given you alfo an Account of the Ratification, which is not yet arrived from *Paris*. Mean while the Ravages made by the *French* Troops over all the Countrey, and their Approaches to this City, alarm us here, as if they had a Defign to wrangle upon fome Formalities, and in the mean time put themfelves in a Condition to carry the greateft Advantages upon Expiration of the Truce. I will not have the leaft Suspicion of fuch a Proceeding; the moft Chriftian King having already given Notice of the Peace to the Pope and other Chriftian Princes: And (which is of greater Weight) knowing that *Sweden* has already enter'd into the *Triple Alliance*. Therefore the Bu-finefs that gives me moft Pain, is to draw from *Spain* the Satisfaction ftipulated to *Sweden*, upon which your Deputies here have without doubt already given you the Marquis's Answers, tho' indeed fomewhat cold and uncertain. I have fince given him a very preffing Letter from the King my Mafter upon the fame Subject, but have had yet no Answer, farther than that he has not yet feen our *Triple Alliance*, nor knows the Advantages given to *Spain* by it, or whether they are equal to *Spain* and *France*. He makes Difficulties alfo upon

A Monsieur de Witt.

Monsieur,

*Bruffelles, le 27 May,
S. N. 1668.*

PAR ma derniere lettre d' *Aix la Chappelle*, je vous ay appris la fignature de la paix, & j'efperois par celle-cy vous apprendre la ratification; mais elle n'eft pas encore arrivée de *Paris*. Cependant, les ravages faits par les Troupes *Françoifes* dans toute la *Flandre*, & leurs approches de cette ville, caufent encore de l'alarme icy, comme s'ils avoient deffein de chicaner fur quelques formalitez, & en attendant, fe mettre en état de remporter les plus grands avantages au moment dez l'expiration de la Treve. Je ne veux point former le moindre foupçon d'un tel procedé dans les *François*; le Roy tres Chrétien ayant déjà donné avis de la paix, tant au Pape qu'aux autres Princes: Et (ce qui eft de plus grand poids) fachant que la *Suede* a déjà entré dans le *Triple Alliance*. C'eft pourquoy, la chofe dont je me mets le plus en peine, eft de tirer de l'*Efpagne* la fatisfaction ftipulée pour la *Suede*. Vos Deputez icy vous ont fans doute déjà communiqué fur cet article les réponfes du Marquis, à la verité un peu froides & incertaines. Je luy ay remis depuis, une lettre de la part du Roy mon Maître fur ce fujet, fort preffante, mais je n'en ay jufqu' icy pu tirer d'autre réponfe, fi non qu'il n'a pas encore vu le traité de nôtre *Triple Alliance*, & qu'il ignore quels avantages y font contenus pour l'*Efpagne*; & s'ils font balances également entre la *France* & l'*Efpagne*. Il forme auffi des diffi-

cultez

on the Subsidies of these Months past between the Treaty at *Breda*, and ours at the *Hague*, which was (as he says) the first Day that *Sweden* began to consider the Affairs of *Spain*; and he adds, that he has writ into *Spain* upon this Matter, and waits an Answer; his Powers being more ample in time of War than of Peace.

By the Thread of his Discourse I imagine, that he is sufficiently convinced of the Necessity of the Affair, and that he will agree to it; but knowing that he has time till the Ratification comes from *Sweden*, he makes use of it, either first to see the Supplies of Money expected with *Don John*, or perhaps, because there are some Natures in the World who never can proceed sincerely in Business, but are always for *gaining Time*, which they will do if they were going to their Wedding, as much as if they were going to their Execution.

Mean while the King my Master has thought good to order another Letter to be writ to the Queen of *Spain* her self upon this Subject, and to come to an end of this Affair, notwithstanding the Difficulties that may arise here: And I think it will not be amiss if the *States* observe the same Order, writing a Letter to the Marquis, and at the same time another to the Queen, to press the Affair, and both in civil Terms, without sharpening the matter, or seeming to make Difficulties upon the Ratifications of the Guarranty, at least, not to make them appear greater than they are. I have told my Opinion in this Affair, and I have dealt with the *Spaniards* long enough to know a little of their Genius; nor do I doubt coming to an end of this matter, as well as I have done of others more difficult, provided we go the same way, as having to do with the same People.

I doubt not but you will be of my Opinion, that it will be necessary after the Peace is made, to endeavour at coming to some Exchange of Places, as well to remove the *French* from your Frontiers, as to leave the *Spaniards* in a better Condition of defending themselves against any new Surprise or Attack :

cultez sur les subsides des Mois ecoulez entre la conclusion du traité à Breda, & la date du nôtre à la Haye, qui étoit, dit il, le premier jour que la Suede a commence d'examiner les affaires d'Espagne, & d'y faire attention. Enfin il ajoute qu'il a écrit en Espagne sur cette matiere, & qu'il en attend la réponse, ses Pouvoirs étant plus amples en tems de guerre qu'en tems de paix.

Par la suite de son discours j'ay cru appercevoir, qu'il est assez persuadé de la nécessité de l'affaire, & qu'il y veut venir; mais comme il sait, qu'il a du tems jusqu'à la ratification venue de Suede, il tâche de s'en servir, dans l'esperance que les secours d'argent arriveront avec Don Juan. Mais peut être que ce temporisement a un autre principe, & qu'il y a des esprits dans le monde faits de telle sorte, qu'ils ne sauroient jamais aller rondement en besogne, & qui songent toujours à gagner du tems, lors même qu'il s'agit d'aller aux nôces, comme lors qu'il est question d'aller à la mort.

En attendant, le Roy mon Maître a trouvé bon de faire écrire une autre lettre à la Reyne d'Espagne elle même sur ce sujet, pour venir à bout de cette affaire, malgré les difficultez qui se pourrout rencontrer icy. Il me semble qu'il ne seroit mal à propos que Messieurs les Etats suivissent la même voye, & qu'ils fissent écrire au Marquis & en même tems à la Reine, afin de presser l'affaire. Ces deux lettres étant conçues en termes obligeans, & au lieu d'aigrir le différent, & de grossir les difficultez, paroissant avoir pour but de pacifier toutes choses, & de tendre à une prompte conclusion touchant les Ratifications de la Garantie, pourroient produire un tres bon effet. Voilà mon opinion sur cette affaire: J'ay eu un assez long commerce avec les Espagnols pour connoître un peu leur genie; & je ne doute point que je ne vienne à bout de ce que j'ay entrepris, ainsi que je suis déjà venu à bout de choses plus difficiles, pourvu que nous marchions tous d'un même train, ayant affaire à mêmes gens.

Je ne doute pas que vous ne soyez comme moy du sentiment, qu'après la paix faite, il sera nécessaire de faire nos efforts pour amener les choses à un échange des places, tant pour éloigner les François de vos frontieres, que pour laisser les Espagnols en état de se mieux défendre contre de nouvelles surprises & de nouvel-
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tack: And this will deserve your Thoughts upon it; I mean, the manner by which you must begin and carry on this Affair. And, I think, the best Occasion of entering into the Business will be upon the Execution of the Peace; and to represent that the Restitution of *Burgundy* in the Condition it is in at present, is an Offer not agreeable to the Promises of the most Christian King.

I have desired Monsieur *Beverning* to discourse you about a small Particular in our last Instrument of the *Marine*, which does not seem to me of any Importance, but by which some of your good Friends have undertook to reflect particularly upon me: But having had no News of Monsieur *Beverning* since his Departure, I should be glad to know that he spoke to you of it, and what you think.

I am, &c.

les invasions. Cecy merite vos reflexions. Vous penserez aussi à la maniere dont il faudra s'y prendre pour entamer & pour-suivre cette affaire. Il me semble que l'occasion la plus propre d'entrer en matiere sur cela, sera sur l'execution de la paix; & de représenter, que la restitution de Bourgogne dans l'état ou il est à present, est une offre peu convenable aux promesses du Roy tres Chrétien.

J'ay prié Monsieur Beverning de vous entretenir sur une petite particularité touchant nôtre dernier memoire sur la marine; la chose ne me paroît pas importante, mais parce que quelques uns de vos bons amis ont pris à tâche de me blâmer moy seul en particulier: Comme je n'ay point eu de nouvelles de Monsieur Beverning depuis son depart, je seray bien aise de savoir s'il vous en a parlé, & ce qui vous en semble.

Je suis, &c.

To Monsieur de Witt.

S I R,

*London, July 3.
1668.*

HAVING taken so much part in your good Fortunes, and the Applauses given you by the Word, it's but reasonable I should also take part in your Losses, and tell you with equal Displeasure and Truth, how much I am concerned at your late Misfortune. I have long observed, that your Fatigues for the Publick were eas'd by your domestick Entertainments; and instead of those Diversions which others seek in Vice and Extravagance, you always placed yours in the innocent Pleasures of Conjugal and Paternal Affection. I have observed also, how happily you discharged your self of all Affairs of your Family upon a Lady who now lives no more but in the Memory and Esteem of all those that knew her; and therefore I am but too sensible how nearly this Loss must afflict you; and that it is neither just nor decent to give you Consolation upon it so soon. Therefore I will only say, that if it were not for this sad Occasion, you would have wanted one great enough to shew the Strength of your Mind, which is often apter to sink under Domestick Accidents, than those

A Monsieur de Witt.

Monfieur,

*De Londres le 3
Juill. 1668.*

AYANT pris tant de part dans vos prosperitez, & dans les applaudissemens que vous recevez de tout le monde; il est bien juste que j'en prenne dans vos disgraces & dans vos pertes; & que je vous dise avec autant de douleur que de verité, que j'ay été vivement touché de la dernière perte que vous venez de faire. Il y a long tems que j'ay remarqué que vôtre domestique vous a toujours servi d'unique relachement dans les fatigues que vous causent les affaires publiques, & qu'au lieu de recourir à ces divertissemens qui approchent si souvent de l'extravagance & du crime, vous faisiez toujours consister les vôtres à cultiver les fruits de l'amitié conjugale, & de la tendresse paternelle. J'avois remarqué aussi, avec quelle joye & quelle confiance vous vous étiez dechargé de tous les soins de ménage sur cette vertueuse épouse, qui ne vit plus à present que dans l'estime & le souvenir de toutes les personnes qui l'ont connue; & par là je ne sens que trop combien sa perte vous doit sensiblement toucher: ni la bienveillance, ni la raison ne souffrent point que j'entreprenne de vous consoler si subitement. C'est pourquoy je vous diray seulement,

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those of Court, or of a War: For by these a Man is only harden'd every Day, but he is soften'd and made more tender by the others. I beg you therefore not to neglect this Occasion of your Glory; nor to forget, in the midst of your Grief, that you have this long time espoused the Good of your Countrey, and of *Christendom* itself, in these last Conjunctions, to which you owe all your Applications and Caresses. I hope these will be at present some Comfort to you, or at least a Diversion, as they have formerly been a Fatigue and a Pain.

Having begun this Letter only to condole with you upon this sad Occasion, I will not intermix any thing of Business, only to tell you, that the King my Master presses me every Day to prepare for my Voyage, which I shall delay no longer than my Domestic Affairs have made it necessary after so long an Absence. In the mean while I assure you, I find nothing here that can any way change or slacken the Pursuit of our true and common Interests, which consist in the Firmness of our last Alliance. But of this I shall tell you more when I see you.

I am, Sir, your, &c.

lement, que sans une si triste occasion, vous n'auriez pas eu celle d'étaler toute la force de votre ame, qui succombe quelque fois plus promptement & plus absolument sous les afflictions domestiques que sous le revers de la Republique, ou les disgraces de la guerre: On se familiarise avec ces dernieres, & on s'y endurecit avec le tems; mais les premieres conservent toujours le droit de nous attendrir & de nous toucher infiniment. Je vous prieray donc de ne pas negliger cette occasion de votre gloire, & au plus fort de votre douleur, de ne point oublier avec quel devoiement, & depuis quel tems vous avez epouse le bien de votre Patrie, & avec le sien, celui de la Chrétienneté, dans ces dernieres conjonctures; votre attachement, vos soins, votre tendresse même luy sont dûs, puisque vous devez vous même tout entier à elle. J'espere qu'à l'avenir vos veilles & vos fatigues pour la Republique vous procureront quelque soulagement, ou du moins apporteront quelque diversion à vos ennuis, au lieu des travaux & des sueurs qu'elles vous ont coûté autrefois.

Ayant commencé cette lettre uniquement dans la vue de me consoler avec vous, je ne veux point la finir en y mêlant quelque chose qui soit étranger à votre douleur. Je ne vous parleray donc point d'affaires, & je vous diray seulement que le Roy mon Maître me presse tous les jours sur les preparatifs de mon depart; je n'y apporteray d'autres retardements que ceux que mes affaires domestiques rendent indispensables après une si longue absence. En attendant, je puis vous assurer que je n'ay rien apperçu icy qui puisse tant soit peu alterer ou rallentir les soins de nos veritables & communs interets, que je fais consister dans la fermeté & la durée de notre dernière Alliance: vous verrez cela plus au long à mon arrivée.

Je suis, &c.

To Sir John Temple.

S I R,

Sheen, July 22. 1668.

THO' I doubt our late Motions may have lost or delay'd some of your Letters, which we have now been some time in want of; yet I presume ours have had their constant Course to you, though from several Parts: And though mine have not been frequent, upon the Permission you give me to spare my own Eyes and Time when they are otherwise taken up, and trust to my Sister's entertaining you: Yet upon my return home after three Years Absence,

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I could not but give you some Account of my coming and Stay here; and of what I can foresee is like to follow it, both as to my own Particular, and to the publick Affairs, in which *that* seems at present to be so much involved.

After the Conclusion of the *Triple Alliance* and the Peace of *Aix*, I was at an end of my Ambition; having seen *Flanders* saved, as if it had been by one of the Miracles the House of *Austria* has, they say, been used to; and the general Interests of *Christendom* secured against the Power and Attempts of *France*; and at the same time the Consideration and Honour of his Majesty and his Crown abroad, raised to a Degree it has not been in for some Ages past, and we had no reason to expect it should be in some Ages to come, upon the Decline it felt after the Business of *Chattam*, and the Peace of *Breda* that succeeded it. I returned from *Aix* to *Brussels* without other Thoughts than of continuing in that Station, till I grew wearier of it than I was like to do very suddenly, of a Place, I confess I love: But immediately upon my Arrival there, I met with Letters from my Lord *Arlington*, which brought me the King's Orders to continue the Equipage of an Ambassador, that I was in, upon my *Aix* Journey, in order to my serving his Majesty in the same Character at the *Hague*, whither he was resolved to send me, and to renew upon occasion of our late Alliances, a Character which the Crown of *England* had discontinued in that Countrey since King *James's* Time. In order hereunto I was left at liberty to take my Leave of the Marquis, and to return into *England* as soon as I pleased, which I did by the way of *Holland*, and left most of my Servants and Horses at *Utrecht*.

Upon my Arrival here, I was received both by the King and Court a great deal better than I could deserve or pretend; but People seem generally pleased with the Councils and Negotiations, in which I have had so much part since *Christmas* last; and I understand not Courts so ill (how little soever I have been used to them) as not to know that one ought not to lose the Advantage of coming home with the common Opinion of some Merits or good Hits at one's Back, if one's Business be *de pousser sa Fortune*: And I am put enough in mind of it upon this Occasion, by several of those many new Friends one would think I had at this time of Day, as well as by some of my old ones: But I cannot imagine why I should pretend to have deserved more than my Pay of the King, for which I served him in my late Employments; and if I got Honour by them, 'twas so much more than I had to reckon upon. Besides, I should be sorrow to ask Money of him at a time when for ought I can judge by the Cry of the Court, he wants it more than I do. The *Spanish* Ambassador and Baron *d'Isola*, as well as others of my Friends, would needs be asking a Title for me, and 'tis with Difficulty enough that I have prevented it; but 'tis that I am sure I never can have a mind to, and if it should ever be offered me, I resolve it shall either begin with you, if you desire it; or if not, with my Son, which I had much rather. But I suppose, nothing of this can happen in our Court without Pursuit; and so I reckon my self in all these Points just where I was about six Months ago, but only designed for another Embassy, and no Man knows how that will end. I am very much press'd to dispatch my Preparations for it, by my Lord Keeper and Lord *Arlington*, who are extreme kind to me, as well as to the Measures lately taken by their Ministry, and seem to value themselves a great deal upon them. They say, all the Business the King now has, both at home and abroad, will turn upon my Hand in *Holland*, by keeping the *French* from breaking in upon our late Alliances, and the Confidence between us; and by drawing the *Emperor* and Princes of the *Empire* into a common Guarranty of the Peace; and thereupon they are mighty earnest with me to hasten away. On t'other side, the Commissioners of the Treasury seem to have more mind to my Company here, than I could expect: For after some of them had tryed to hinder the King's Resolution, of sending either an Ambassador at all into *Holland*, (upon Pretence of so long Disuse of that Character) or me in particular; when *that* could not be carried, they prepared my way by entring upon new Regulations in the Exchequer, among which, those concerning foreign Employments, brought down the Equipage Money of Ambassadors from three thousand Pounds as it has been

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since the King came in, to 1500 Pounds in *France* and *Spain*, and to 1000 Pounds in all other Courts; and their Allowance from 100 Pounds a Week to 10 Pounds a Day in *France* and *Spain*, and to 7 in other Places. Though this be pretended by the Commissioners as only a Piece of a general Scheme of Parsimony they find necessary in the present Condition of the Revenue; yet I understand it as calculated just at this Time particularly for me; and my Lord *Arlington* confesses he thinks it so too, and takes part in it as a piece of Envy or Malice to himself as well as to me, from some who are spighted at all, that has lately passed between us and *Holland*, and at the Persons who have been at the Head of those Councils. For my part, I resent it not only as a thing I have not deserved, upon an Employment cast wholly upon me by the King's Choice, and, as he seems to think, by the Necessity of his Affairs; but as that which I find plainly by the short Experience of my last Ambassy, will not defray the Expence of another, with any Honour to the King or my self abroad; and though I do not pretend to make my Fortune by these Employments, yet I confess I do not pretend to ruin it neither. I have therefore been resolved several times absolutely to refuse this Ambassy, unless it be upon the Terms all others have had; but my Lord *Arlington* puts so much weight upon my going, that he will not hear of it: He says, 'tis *That* our good Friends would have, and intend by this Usage; and that I can no way disappoint them so much as by going, and that this Rule will be broken in three Months time: That I should not consider small matters of Money in the course of my Fortune, and that the King cannot fail of making mine at a Lump one time or other: That there is nothing I may not expect from him upon my return from this Ambassy, and that if his Majesty had not thought me of absolute Necessity to him in *Holland* upon this Conjunction, he had brought me now into Secretary *Moris's* Place, which upon my going abroad is designed for Sir *John Trevor*. My Lord Keeper is of the same Mind, to have me by no means refuse it (as he says) neither for the King's sake nor my own; and your old Friend Sir *Robert Long* agrees with them both; and says, after a Year or two of this Ambassy, I cannot fail of either being Secretary of State, or sent Ambassador into *Spain*; which are both certain ways of making any Man's Fortune.

With all this, I confess I find it not very easy to resolve, and very much desire yours and my Brother's Opinion upon it: And that you may the better give it me, I shall tell you one Circumstance which weighs a little with me, though not at all with my Friends here. They are all of Opinion, the Measures the King has lately taken cannot be broken nor altered, however they may be snarled at by some Persons, upon particular Envy or Interest; but I see plainly there are others of another Mind. Sir *Thomas Clifford* said to a Friend of mine in Confidence, upon all the Joy that was here at the Conclusion of the *Triple Alliance*; *Well, for all this Noise, we must yet have another War with the Dutch before it be long*. And I see plainly already, that he and Sir *George Downing* are endeavouring with all the Industry that can be, to engage the *East-India* Company here in such Demands and Pretensions upon the *Dutch*, as will never be yielded to on that Side, and will encrease a Jealousy, they will ever have, of our unsteady Councils, and of our leaving still a Door open for some new Offences when we shall have a Mind to take them. On t'other Side, the *French* will leave no Stone unturned, to break this Confidence between us and *Holland*, which spoils all their Measures, and without which they had the World before them. If they can, they will undermine it in *Holland* by Jealousies of the Prince of *Orange*, or any other Artifice, and will spare neither Promises nor Threats. If I should be able to keep that Side staunch, they will spare none of the same Endeavours here, and will have some good Helps that I see already, and may have others that do not yet appear. If by any of these Ways, or other Accidents, our present Measures come to change; I am left in *Holland* to a certain Loss, upon the Terms they would send me, though I should be paid, but to a certain Ruin if I should not; which I may well expect from the good Quarter I may reckon upon from some in the Treasury; and when my Ambassy ends, I may find a new World
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here, and all the fine Things I am told of, may prove Castles in the Air: There is I know, a great deal to be said for my going, but on t'other Side, I am well as I am, and cannot be ruined but by such an Adventure as this. I beg of you to let me know your Opinion upon the whole; and if I could have the Confidence, I should beg a great deal more earnestly that I might see you here, since I cannot get loose to wait on you there. Till I hear from you, I shall let the Talk and the Forms of my Ambassy go on, and am confident, however they presume, yet I can spin out the Time of my going till about the End of *August*, in hopes of seeing you here; which will be, I am sure, the greatest Satisfaction that can befall

S I R,

Yours, &c.

LETTERS

TO

Sir William Temple.

From Sir Thomas Clifford.

S I R,

Copenhagen, Octob. 7. 1665.

I Have received your obliging Letter of the $\frac{20}{3}$ th past; And the News of this Countrey is like the Commodities, not of equal Value with the more Southern, and so you are like to be a Loser by the Barter: But your Kindness is the greater. I hope the King of *Spain's* Death will no way alter the State of our Affairs with that Crown. I cannot tell you the effect of my Negotiation here; but shall in my next give you some Hints. The Direction of your Letter brings it safe to me; I shall advise you before I remove. Here came a Report last Night, that a Squadron of the *English* Fleet had taken out of *Fleckery* nine of the *Dutch* Merchant-men, and ran another on Shoar: But I have examin'd it, and find there was no Ground for the Report. Two of their *East-India* Men are still at *Tunsburg*, near *Christiana* in *Norway*, and two more are returned to *Bergen*: But the six Men of War and *East-India-Man* that came here into the *Sound* after the Storm, are put to Sea, and gone toward the *Texel*. The *East-India* Ship that got into the River of *Elve*, is there unlading, and they are sending the Goods home in little small Vessels, under the Convoy only of a little Toy of eight or ten Guns: They go home over the *Watts*; a Privateer lying there would probably make his Market.

Last Night some *Dutch* Ships going for *Dantzick* arrived here, and boasted, that their Fleet of ninety Sail, under *De Ruyter*, failed upon *Sunday* last, the first Instant, towards *England*, and to the Chanel, as they thought, to join with the *French*, but no body gives credit to the Relation.

You see what a shift I make to compleat my Bill of Store; but pray let it not dishearten you from corresponding: For if I have nothing else to say, I shall be glad of Opportunities to express my self,

S I R,

Your most affectionate humble Servant,

Thomas Clifford.

From the Earl of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor.

S I R,

Oxford, December 28, 1665.

I Do confes I have, since we parted, receiv'd three Letters from you, which I should be asham'd to acknowledge now, if I had been faulty in not doing it sooner; as I promise my self you have been informed from my Lord *Arlington's* Justice and Friendship. It is now near three Months, that the Pain of the Gout hath restrained me from the Exercise of writing; and I am hardly yet returned to it, because not able to put my Head out of Doors, or more than to stand, rather than walk in my Chamber: So that I would not have ventur'd to have given you this Trouble; but upon the Absence of my Lord *Arlington*, (who hath transmitted to you constantly what we thought jointly :) But upon the Sight of your last Letter, which came since his Departure; I think it necessary to say a little to you upon a Particular or two.

I do in the first place think and believe the Marquis of *Castel-Rodrigo* to be a very generous Person, and a very useful Friend to the King our Master; and one who will be the best Instrument to contribute to that firm Friendship between the two Crowns, that is necessary for the joint Interest of both; and therefore we must be careful to remove the least Umbrage, which may dispose him to suspect our Prudence with reference to our own Affairs, or our Affection with reference to *Spain*. With reference to our selves, it is not possible we can be without a Sense of the almost insupportable Weight that lies upon us, in the carrying on the War against the *Dutch*, and preparing for a War against *France*: And therefore we cannot but heartily wish to be fairly quit of one of them; and would be very glad that any Advance were made to it by *Holland*. I thought always that the Overture made by the *Spanish* Ambassador, had come from *Don Stephano*, and never heard the Marquis of *Castel-Rodrigo's* Name: But it being the very same in Terms that the *French* Ambassadors had made, there could then be no Proceedings upon it. But we have done all we can to invite the *Dutch* to an Address how privately soever: Nor shall we make any Demands concerning the Prince of *Orange*, lest it should do him hurt. If we can bring them off from a Conjunction with *France* (in which *Spain* is more concerned than *England*) I am confident we shall insist upon very reasonable Conditions. We have great Reason to commend the Proceedings of the Bishop of *Munster*: Nor are we jealous in the least degree of him, or his treating: And as our failing towards him has not proceeded from any Faults of ours, but even from the Hand of God; so we shall out of hand repair those Omissions: And it is but reasonably expected that the Princes of the Empire should (how secretly soever) support him from a Dissolution, lest before many Months past, and the *French* Designs are a little more evident, they would be glad to re-purchase the Advantage of the Bishop's being in such a Post as he now is, at any Price.

There is nothing now ought to be laboured with so much Industry and Dexterity, as the uniting *England*, *Spain* and *Flanders*, which would give, and which only can give Peace to *Christendom*. I am sure our Master is passionately inclined to it, and truly I think *Spain* is well disposed to the main; yet I know not how by the fatal Delay in Dispatch there (and it may be their Expectation, that in the Straits we are, we shall buy their Friendship at a Rate we shall never pay for it) the Haste is not made that the Affair re-

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quired.

quired. My Lord *Sandwich* (who will be gone in twenty Days) I hope will give Life to it.

You see how ill my Hand is, tho' never legible, by Shaking and Weakness somewhat worse than usual. God keep you; and I pray let me know, that this is to come to your Hands from,

S I R,

Your affectionate Servant,

Clarendon.

* Late M.
of Halli-
fax.

From *Sir George Savill.

S I R,

Feb. 5. N.S. 1666.

IT is a Sin against the Publick, and a Trespas upon you, at this time to clog you with such an idle Correspondence as mine: But I find I consider my own Interest before yours; being not able to make you an Expression of my Kindness at so dear a rate as the denying my self the Satisfaction of hearing from you. And therefore I take hold of your Offer, and beg you would sometimes bestow a Letter upon me, which shall be as welcome for telling me you are well, as it can be for the best News it bringeth in relation to the Publick: For which, if I can be concerned, next to what I am for my best Friends, it is the utmost I will pretend to in that matter. I find his Majesty of *France* will be an angry Enemy. He doth not declare War, like an *honnête homme*; and therefore I hope he will not pursue it like a *wise one*.

I do not despair, but that the *English* who use to go into *France* for their Breeding, may have the Honour once to teach *them* better Manners. The League with *Spain* is a good Circumstance to make us able to do it: It is so seasonably and so well done, that I will suppose you had a Hand in it. In the mean time we have great Alarms the *Monsieur* will invade us, which makes every body prepare for their Entertainment. And I hope they will neither find us so little ready, or so divided, as perhaps they expect.

I will not make this longer, when I have assured you I am,

S I R,

Your most faithful humble Servant,

George Savill.

From the Bishop of Munster.

Ab Episcopo Monasterii.

S I R,

Munster, Feb.
12. 1666.

THE Favours you have expressed to me are such, that nothing can add to my Esteem of you: However, it was very acceptable to find from yours of the 25th past, that your Affection to me still continues. In the mean time I am busy in preparing an Army against Spring; nor do I doubt but such Care is taken of the third Payment, that I may have it all together; at least, that you have prepared 30000 Dollars ready at *Brussels*, and

Monasterii, Feb.
12. 1666. Generose Domine,

Dominationem vestram ita meis rebus faventem reipsa semper expertus sum, ut nullâ quidem contestatione meâ desuper conceptæ existimationi plus addi possit; gratissimum tamen fuit, ex ejusdem literis de 25^{to} elapsi mensis Januarii percipere, quod D. V. eundem zelum & affectum continuet. Ego interim non desino instruere & præparare exercitum imminenti jam veri; nec dubito de tertio termino sic provisum, ut integrè à meis sublevari possit, aut certè dispositione

and that 25000 more may be returned with all speed by Exchange to *Cologn*: For it is certain, that by small Sums, and paid by Parcels, nothing can be perform'd worthy of such an Undertaking; and that my Expedition will be as much obstructed by these, as if the Subsidies were wholly delayed. Besides, I shall this Year meet with more Resistance by Enemies unexpected, to whom the Elector of *Brandenburg* will join himself. But that I hope will be recompensed by the Friendship of *Sweden*, and his Majesty's Declaratory Letters communicated to me, and to be kept secret. Nor shall any thing be more unviolably observ'd by me, than the League I have made with his Majesty, from which nothing shall be able to force me. Nor is there any Reason why the Offer of a Mediation from the Emperor and Princes, should raise any Suspicions of the contrary, since the present Conjunctions would not permit me abruptly to refuse it. And in order to gain time, I have kept that Affair within Preliminaries, relating to the Persons of the Mediators, the Manner of negotiating, and the Means of Security to be proposed, being resolved by any means not to separate myself from his Majesty; from whose Protection I trust to procure Safety and Satisfaction to myself. I am glad of the Peace between *England* and *Spain* being signed at *Madrid*, and that it is sent into *England* to be ratified. I wish the Effects of it be not delayed; and that the *Spaniards* may be ready at the time, against whom I hear the *Hollanders* have also declared War by the Instigation of the *French*.

Your most obliged Servant,

Ch. Bernardus.

tione Dis. Vrae. triginta thalerorum millia Bruxellis in paratis præsto sint, & viginti quinque millia Coloniam cambio quantocius transmittantur. Certum enim est minutis summulis & carptim solutis, vix quicquam pro dignitate tantæ rei effici posse; nec minus ex his, quam dilatis subsidiis expeditionem meam incommodi cepisse. Quæ quidem hoc anno plus resistentiæ & difficultatis à tot inopinatis hostibus, quibus & Elector Brandenburgicus se sociabit, habitura est. Id tamen fiduciâ amicitiae Sueciæ compensatum existimo, accedentibus S. Regiæ Majestatis declaratoriis literis mihi communicatis, & secreto servandis. Nihilque mihi unquam erit antiquius aut magis inviolabile noto fœdere cum S. Regiâ Majestate sancito, à quo nullo modo divelli me patiar. Nec est, quòd oblata Cæsaris & quorundam Principum mediatio umbras aliquas contrariæ suspicionis invehere possit; cum illam præfractè respicere nec temporum horum ratio patiat, nec mihi consultum fuerit, qui lucrando tempori inde occasionem nactus, rem omnem hætenus intra præliminaria de ipsis personis Mediatorum, de modo tractandi, & mediis securitatis proponendis continui, certus non separare me à S. Regiâ Majestate, cujus auspiciis, & satisfactionem, & securitatem me consecuturum confido. Quòd fœdus Anglo-Hispanum Madriti jam tum signatum, & ad ratificandum in Angliam transmissum sit, libenter accepi; optarem sanè hujus effectum non deferri, & Hispanos tempori paratos esse, quibus etiam ab Hollandis bellum Gallorum instigatione denunciandum intelligo: Ac hisce maneo

Dominationis vestræ addictissimus,

Ch. Bernardus.

From Sir George Savill.

S I R,

April 4. 1666.

THIS must carry my Thanks to you for two Letters I received at the same time from you, which giveth me a fair Occasion to say a great deal to you; but that I will not trespass upon our Agreement, to omit Ceremony, or any thing that looketh like it. Yet you must give me leave to tell you, I think myself as much assured of your Kindness, by your letting me stay in your Thoughts (when you might forget me without Breach of Friendship, considering the Weight of Business that lieth upon you) as I could be by any Mark of

of it you can imagine: And if you will suppose my Sense of it answerably, and reckon upon my Service accordingly; if it may ever be of use to you, you will do me but Right. In the mean time you make me sensible of the Inconvenience of living out of the World: Now that I find it impossible for me to write three Lines of Sense in Exchange for your Letters, that are full of every thing which can make them welcome. I am so ashamed you should converse with a dead Man, that I almost wish the *French* landed upon our Coast, thinking it better to write you a sad Story than none. How soon I may be furnished with something of this kind, dependeth upon our Success at Sea, and the Faith of your Bishop, which may well be shaken, if you do not support it with your Bills of Exchange. He is likely to be so over-matched this next Campaign, that I doubt he will be tempted to break Faith with Hereticks, rather than be a Martyr in our Calendar. I should be glad to hear *Spain* would come into our Scales, to help us to weigh down our Enemies; but I fear their ill Luck in the late War hath not left them Spirit enough to fall out with the *French*, though their Interest provoketh them to it. Besides, the Crown is in a Cradle: and a *Spanish* Council I imagine to be as slow an Assembly as a House of Commons. So that we must rely upon the Oak and Courage of *England* to do our Business, there being small Appearance of any thing to help us from abroad.

I believe before this cometh to your Hands, you will be waiting upon Mademoiselle *Beverwaert*, who is a Testimony that this War hath given us no such Antipathy to the *Dutch*, since we chuse one to breed Statesmen for the next Age. The Captain that went upon so peaceable an Errand, and into a Friend's Harbour, had ill Fortune to be so roughly saluted: But it being a single Act of the Officer, without any Order from his Superiors, it is of no more Consequence to us than the Sound of it may amount to.

I direct this as you bid me; and though it should not come to you, I assure my self you would not impute it to the Omission, but to the ill Fortune of,

S I R,

Your most faithful humble Servant,

George Savill.

From the Bishop of Munster.

Ab Episcopo Monasterii.

May 21. 1666.

S I R,

I Doubt not, but by your good Offices, the Reception of my Envoy the Baron *de Rosenback* at Court will be so prepared, as that his Majesty may have an Account of my Designs: And I hope you will continue your Favour so far, as the King may be persuaded that the Necessity which forced me to accept the Peace, has not taken any thing from the Profession of that Honour, Duty and Service, I shall ever pay him. To which end I have ordered my Agent *Rentorf* to cultivate a strict Friendship in my Name, as well as to communicate to you my most secret Affairs, resolving to watch all Occasions for the Service of his Majesty; in order to which,

Lugderio, Maii

Generose Domini,

21. 1666.

NON dubito Officiis Dis. Vrae. aditum in Aula Regis ablegato meo Baroni *de Rosenback* ita præparatum, ut S. Regiæ Majestati ratio consilii mei præbeatur; quod Dom. Vram. ita continuaturam spero, ut Rex persuasum omnino habeat istam necessitatem quæ mihi pacis leges imposuit, nihil prorsus detraxisse de animo quo S. Majestatis observantiæ, gloriæ, & utilitati, æternum devotus sum. Eumque in finem mandavi Agenti meo *Rentorf* intimam meo nomine cum Dne. Vra. Communicationem mearum rerum, & amicitiam colere, intentus semper in occasiones omnes futuras pro servitio S. Majestatis; quem in finem copias *Brabanticas*, & in circulo *Burgundico* conscriptas, Domino *Marchioni*

which, I have sent back to the Marquis of *Castel-Rodrigo* the *Brabant Troops*, as well as those raised in the *Circle of Burgundy*, all entire. And now some *German Regiments* well armed and exercised, are preparing for their March into *Flanders*, of whose Valour the *Hollanders* themselves are Witnesses, as I believe you know already from the said Marquis. Now since it concerns me very much that his Majesty should know these Soldiers are kept in his Service; I should be extremely satisfied if you would inform the King of it, at the same time that the said Baron de *Rosenback* will be arrived at *London*. And that it be represented as a Mark of my eternal Devotion to his Majesty. In which you will highly oblige me: And in Confidence whereof I remain,

S I R,

Your most obliged Servant,

Chr. Bernardus.

Marchioni de Castel Rodrigo integras remisi: & jam itineri in Belgium Hispanicum accinguntur legiones aliquot Germanorum; fortis sanè & exercitatus miles de quorum virtute ipsi fœderati Belgæ testari poterunt: uti Dom. Vram. jam ex prædicto domino gubernatore latius cognovisse arbitror. Cum autem meâ plurimum interfit, ut Regiæ Majestati suæ constet militem hunc in suo servitio conservari; pergratum mihi foret, si Dio. Vra. de eo, facilitandæ intentioni meæ, quamprimum & sine morâ hoc ipso tempore quo dictus Baro de Rosenback Londinum appulerit, S. Majestatem certiore faciat, & tanquam indicium ratum æternæ meæ in Regem fidei contestetur: Quo me Dio. Vra. sibi summopere obligabit: Et hæc fiduciâ maneo,

Dominationi vestræ addiçtissimus,

Chr. Bernardus.

From my Lord Arlington.

S I R,

Whitehall, July 30. 1666.

WHAT I received in yours of the 2^d was written to me at large, from him whom I suppose to be the Author of it, but not exactly with the same Circumstances: Whether his Meaning or his Imagination fail him, is a great Question here. His Name, to speak freely with you, is able to discredit any Truth; and against the Grain I employ'd him in *Holland*, not to make him the Instrument of a Peace, but to send us News: However, I do not yet discourage him from writing, though I wish what he saith came from any Hand rather than his. Accordingly, you shall do well to handle him: And this is enough upon this Subject, when I have so much a better to entertain you upon. Here enclos'd you have the effective Truth of what I sent you the Symptoms in my last. I durst not hazard any of my Acquaintance with the putting it into *French*, because of the Sea-Terms wherewith it abounds: But if you can get it well done, and quickly published, you will do his Majesty a good Service, and may fairly put the Cost of it into your Accounts. Moreover, I have promis'd his Majesty to charge you with the writing of some small Paper, and publishing it in *French*, that may pleasantly and pertinently awaken the good Patriots in *Holland*, not only to Thoughts and Wishes of Peace, but to a reasonable Application for it; assuring them his Majesty continues still to wish it, and would gladly receive any Overtures for it from the *States*, here in his own Kingdom; not expecting less from them in this kind, than they did to the Usurper *Cromwell*. This done in any Form you like best, wou'd certainly operate well in *Holland*, and be a Work worthy of your Pen; which, I know, has Sufficiency very much greater. One thing especially it will be good to mind them of, the considerable Succours and Advantages they have had by the Conjunction with *France*; which hath not been remarkably visible in any thing more than in getting their Narratives to be believed in all the Courts of *Christendom*, and helping them to make their Bonfires for their Successes.

His Majesty is going this Night to visit the Queen at *Tunbridge*; for which he had not Leisure till now. I am,

S I R,

Your most affectionate humble Servant,

Arlington.

P. S. Let your Emiffaries give you a particular Account of the Condition of the *Dutch Fleet* gotten into *Zealand*, and of the Readiness they are in to come out again; with an exact Account of their Strength if it be possible. Monsieur *Nypbo* will help to convey it speedily to us.

From the Earl of Clarendon.

S I R,

Worcester-House, Aug. 2. 1666.

I Have many Excuses to make you for not acknowledging all your Letters punctually when I received them, which I suppose would give you some Trouble: And I am sure all I can say to you by way of Information or Advice, is constantly and abundantly supplied by the Diligence of my good Friend my Lord *Arlington*.

The last Favour I receiv'd from you was of the 23^d of this Month; since which Time it hath pleased God to give a wonderful Improvement to our Affairs: And yet I am perswaded that you there know more of the full Extent of the late great Victory than we do. In all Mens view it is very great and noble, and in one respect very wonderful, that almost the whole Fleet that went from hence, rides now before the Enemies Harbours, without being compelled to send any considerable Number of their Ships to be repaired: And I believe this Success will change the Measures of most of the Councils in *Christendom*. I wish with all my Heart it may work upon them from whom your Court must receive its Orders, to move with a little more Vigour in their Resolutions; the want of which will at some time or other prove fatal to that Monarchy. They have it yet in their Power to secure themselves from ever receiving Prejudice from the *French*; which I take to be the only Blessing they are to pray for in this World: But it will not be always in their Power to do so.

I presume my good Friend *Ogniate* is before this time arrived there with good Satisfaction: And I will not deny to you I always wished well to those Transactions, the Concessions being (in truth) no other than what in Justice ought to be granted; except we would declare to the World, that whilst we have a War with *Holland* we will have no Peace with *Flanders*. I wish with all my Heart that it may be punctually and religiously observed on our Part, by the exemplary Punishment of those Persons who in the least Degree violate the Protection agreed upon. And though there will be, as you say, a great Latitude for them to cover the *Dutch Trade*; yet that cannot be long without Discovery, and they will thereby render themselves infamous to the World, and will suffer accordingly. I know the Marquis of *Castel-Rodrigo* will be as jealous in that Affair as is possible: And *Ogniate*, who was the fittest Person alive to be sent on that Errand, will be vigilant to the utmost; and I am confident will advertise the Marquis upon the least Discovery. I know not whether he be enough known to you: But trust me, he is very worthy of your Friendship, which is due to him from all good *Englishmen*; having expressed the same Veneration to the King, and the same Civility and Kindness to us, who had the Honour at the same time to attend his Majesty, when we were in *Flanders*, as he can do now, when we are at *Whitehall*. And as that Respect of his was then of great Use and Benefit to his Majesty; so it was apparently

ly to his own Prejudice and Disadvantage : So that if we are not all kind to him, we deserve no more such Friends. I am,

S I R,

Your affectionate Servant,
Clarendon.

From Sir William Coventry.

S I R,

Septemb. 21. 1667.

SINCE my last to you, I have acquainted his Majesty and his Royal Highness with your having disposed the blank Passes sent to you; and that the People of those Countries were still desirous of those Passes; though there was another Provision made for their Security, by the Agreement with Monsieur Ognate: Whereupon his Majesty gave Consent to the sending over some more of them. By this Conveyance I send you five of them. More shall be sent hereafter, if you continue to desire them: But I thought not fit to swell this Pacquet too much.

The *French* Fleet hath been in the Chanel, and Prince *Rupert's* Fleet having been driven from their Anchors with a Storm, and by other such Accidents, he did not meet with them at their first coming; and now we are uncertain whether they are not gone back again. To morrow will tell us more of that than I can now affirm. The Storm which drove Prince *Rupert's* Fleet from their Anchors, dispers'd some of the *French* Fleet, and seven of them on the Right fell into our White Squadron: One of them, (a Ship call'd the *Ruby*) of fifty four Guns, and five hundred Men, we took; and some of our Frigats pursued the rest, with what Success I know not as yet. I am apt to believe the Body of their Fleet is gone back again towards *Brest* or *Rochel*. We hear *De Ruyter* is dead, and another Admiral chosen.

This Day the Parliament voted that they will supply his Majesty proportionably to his Occasions; or Words to that Effect: So our Neighbours will see our Hearts do not fail us in all our Misfortunes. I am,

S I R,

Your most affectionate humble Servant,

William Coventry.

From the Duke of Ormond.

S I R,

Kilkenny, Octob. 14. 1666.

I Have more of yours to acknowledge than I have by me to take particular Notice of. They were very pertinent Informations as things then went: And some of them got hither with so much speed, that they out-run any Intelligence I could get out of *England*. To morrow I shall be in your Livery, and perhaps try whether your *Brussels* Camlet will resist *Irish* Rain, as I have known it do that of *Flanders*. I must thank you for the Present, as coming very seasonably, both in respect of the time of the Year, and that for ought I can yet find, my *Michaelmas* Rent would hardly have purchased two Cloaks: And that your Stuff will make me, If I shall be honestly dealt with.

I know both from hence and out of *England*, you are informed of all that passes here. The Commissioners and their Dependents, I mean Lawyers, and the Train belonging to that Court, have all the Business, and will have all the Money; and consequently if they please, much of the Land contended for, and to be distributed. In *England* they are revenging upon us here the falling of their Rents; but I doubt, not repairing themselves: They have us,
and

and perhaps the King, at an Advantage: The King must be supplied, and *England* only can do it. I wish we could hear of some Overtures towards Peace; then would the King be freed from a Necessity of consenting to unreasonable Things; or we should be the better able to bear the Interdicture of our Trade with *England*: For to that upon the Matter, the forbidding us to send our Cattel to their Markets, will amount. I am very really,

S I R,

Your most affectionate Servant,

Ormonde.

From Sir William Coventry.

S I R,

Whitehall, Novemb. 2. 1666.

I Have received the Favour you did me of the 5th, *N. S.* and received with it the Bill of Exchange for Fifty Pounds, which I doubt not, will suddenly be paid. I owe so many of those Advantages to your Care and Kindness, that they become ordinary, and do not leave me any new Expressions for my Thanks.

We have great Expectations what the *Swedes* Army at *Bremen*, and the new Confederation against them will produce. We hear the Duke of *Savoy*, and the State of *Geneva* are falling out, which probably will not want Partners in its Success: So that the Influence of 66, will extend it self farther than the Puritans Allowance for the Revelations to be fulfilled in, which they confine to *England*.

We are debating still in Parliament which way to raise Money, but we draw nearer a Conclusion; and I believe the next Week will bring it to good Maturity. I am,

S I R,

Your most affectionate humble Servant,

W. Coventry.

From the Duke of Ormond.

S I R,

Dublin, Decemb. 18. 1666.

Yours of the 7th past found me on my way hither, where I purpose to spend the rest of the Winter. How the Summer will be spent, seems very doubtful: Our Preparations for the War would make one think we are sure of a Peace; which may be well said without any Reflection on the King and his Ministers.

I am once to thank you for your great Civility to my Nephew *Glancarty*, in whose Consideration you have undertaken to endeavour a Pass for Colonel *Murphy*, and for the Disposition of the Money the Colonel was ordered (if he thought fit) to put into your Hand. I have by this Post written to Sir *John Shaw* to draw it into *England* when he shall find it best: And I am prepared to pay the Colonel here.

I believe you heard as soon of the Suppression, as of the raising of the *Scottish* Commotion; perhaps equal Credit would not be given in *Holland* to both. It made me hasten hither, and prepare my self to have kept *Christmas* in the North, if the Rebellion had lasted. What Discovery will be made, and Justice done upon the Offenders, you will receive sooner Knowledge of out of *England* than from hence. I am very confident they had Well-wishers here; which is a good, or rather a bad Step to Correspondency as that is to Conjunction. Those that think well of *Presbyterians*, distinguish those Fel-

lows, and call them *Remonstrators*. I think the true Difference is, These *thought* they had Power to change the Government, and the other do *wish* they had.

When you are at leisure, I wish to know what kind of Fort is raised at *Charles-Roy*, and what Number of Men, Horse and Foot, it will contain. I am with all Reality,

S I R,

Your most affectionate humble Servant,

Ormonde.

From the Duke of Ormond.

S I R,

Dublin, Jan. 29. 1667.

THE Success of your Negotiation gives no Man greater Satisfaction for the Part you had in it, than to me. The happy Consequences which may reasonably be expected from the Conclusion of that Treaty, may extend farther and last longer, than I have had time since I received yours of the 24th Instant, to consider. I confess, my first Reflections were upon the good Effect it will have at home, and the good Humour it is likely to put the Parliament in at their first Meeting; which I look upon as the Foundation of all other Advantages to be derived from it by Reputation, and all the good Effects of that amongst our Neighbours. I shall be glad to hear where or when you are like to fix, that my Letters may be conveyed to you when I think they may be worth your receiving from,

S I R,

Your most affectionate humble Servant,

Ormonde.

From my Lord Ambassador Coventry.

S I R,

Breda, Aug. 4. N.S. 1667.

YOURS of the 29th July I have received, and thank you for it. I doubt not but by this time you have heard of the several Treaties of Peace signed here the 2^d of July. We were so very busy in dispatching away Sir *John Coventry* for *England* with the Treaties, that I had not leisure till now to give you an Account of it. That betwixt the *States* and us consisteth in an absolute Abolition of all Pretences on either side, each to remain Masters of what they were in Possession of the 1st of May 1667; what since taken, to be restored, as to Lands and Fortresses: Ships are yet liable till after Publication; when all Hostilities are to cease within twelve Days in the Chanel, and so proportionably in other Seas; then the whole Treaty of 1662 renew'd, and we both to make use of the Articles betwixt *France* and this *State* for contraban Goods, till such time as we can agree of one betwixt our selves. The rest is a restoring of the Treaty in 1662, as to all its Articles except the eleventh, wherein our Pretensions are contained. As to the Act of Navigation, you will hear much Noise, that that is repealed. There is no such thing; neither doth the Article about that Matter give the *States* any more Advantage, than as I conceive the Act gave them before. As to the *French*, we restore all to each other that each hath taken, and all things done, put in Oblivion. As to *Denmark*, ——— the Debt he owed the *Hamburg* Company, *France* standing very firm to him upon the Point; and their greatest Argument was, That it was not a Debt contracted by him or his Father; but on the contrary, imposed on

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his

his Father for having assisted the late King: And besides they gave us our Choice, either to agree thus, or to account for what had been taken on each side, and render: The latter was thought the more prejudicial to the King our Master; and so this hath pass'd. And there is, I think, the Substance of the three Treaties.

How or where this Letter will find you, we know not: For we here believe *Brussels* besieged, and that according to the Fashion of this Year's Campaign, is little less than taken.

All publick Ministers have, or will have left this Town within a Day or two, except our selves. To Morrow Fortnight they all meet here again, expecting the Ratification.

I am, Sir, with very great Sincerity,

Your most faithful humble Servant,

Henry Coventry.

From my Lord Hollis.

S I R,

Breda, July 4. N. S. 1667.

I Have received yours by my Lord *Stafford's* Servant, and see you have put off your Journey hither in Expectation we might be removing hence; and for which it seems the Marquis *de Castel-Rodrigo* is pleased to express himself with so much of Civility and Kindness towards us; for which both my Lord Ambassador *Coventry* and my self do return our most humble Thanks. But it will not be possible that we can remove so soon; so as assuredly you will have time enough to do us that Favour, and very gladly we shall receive it from you; when we may at leisure discourse of the present Posture of our Affairs, and make those sad Reflections which they deserve; and which will be much fitter for a Conference, than to be set down in Paper. I shall reserve them till then, and in the mean time, and ever remain,

S I R,

*Your very affectionate, and
most humble Servant,*

HOLLIS.

From my Lord Ambassador Coventry.

S I R,

Breda, Aug. 12. 1667.

I AM very thankful to you for the Buck you sent us; and it came very well, and so seasonably, that I made use of some of it the very Morning it came. We have no News to send you from hence, but that we are now altogether employed in Jollity, and expect our Ships to give us some Sea Physick, to purge the Excesses we make. Your Health is not only what we drink, but what we pray for. The first part hath already been useful to digest our Venison, and the other we reserve for more important Considerations. In Conclusion, we hear more of Drums and Trumpets since the Peace, than we did in the War; though I hope this will not be so fatal a Noise as they make at *Lisle*. I am sorry both for the want of your Company, and the Reason of it. Now our own Peace is done, I could wish with all my Heart *Christendom's* were so to.

Sir, I pray believe me to be, what I very sincerely am,

Your most faithful humble Servant,

Henry Coventry.

From
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From my * Lord Lisle.

* Late
Earl of
Leicester.

S I R,

September 26. 1667.

SINCE I had your last Letter, I have made you no Acknowledgment of it: A Retirement is in several Respects like the Night of one's Life, in the Obscurity and Darknes, and in the Sleepiness and Dofedness; which I mention to put you in mind that I am only by my Posture of Life apt to be failing towards you.

What is of Court or Assemblies near us, is at my Lord Crofts's. Sir Thomas Ingram this Summer hath made no Noife at all. Old Lady Devonshire keeps up her Feasts still; and that hath been of late Mr. Waller's chief Theatre: The Assembly of Wits at Mr. Comptroller's will scarce let him in: And poor Sir John Denham is fallen to the Ladies also. He is at many of the Meetings at Dinners, talks more than ever he did, and is extremely pleased with those that seem willing to hear him; and from that Obligation exceedingly praises the Duchess of Monmouth and my Lady Cavendish: If he had not the Name of being mad, I believe in most Companies he would be thought wittier than ever he was. He seems to have few Extravagancies, besides that of telling Stories of himself, which he is always inclined to. Some of his Acquaintance say, that extreme Vanity was a Cause of his Madnes, as well as it is an Effect.

All Persons of Note hereabouts are going to their Winter-Quarters at London. The burning of the City begins to be talk'd of as a Story like that of the burning of Troy. At Sheen we are like to be bare: Lady Luddal seems uncertain in her Stay; and we hear that when Sir James Sheen and his Lady were ready to come from Ireland, great Cramps took my Lady in her Limbs: And Sir James's Servants doubt whether we shall see him this Winter.

I desire, Sir, your leave to kiss my Lady Temple's Hands, and my Lady Giffard's Hands, by your Letter. My Daughter and I were in Dispute which of us two should write this time to Brussels; and because I was judged to have more Leisure, it fell to me, and my Lady Temple is to have the next from her.

I wish you, Sir, all good Successes in your Business, and am

Your very affectionate Servant,

LISLE.

From the Earl of Sandwich.

S I R,

Madrid, Septemb. 27. 1667.

THIS begs your Pardon for my not writing by the last Post, and presents you my humble Thanks for that Letter I should then have acknowledged, and another of September 7. N. S. which, with many Advices very considerable and desirable to be known, gives me one particular Satisfaction, to hear that one Copy of the Treaty is in so certain a way of getting home. There are two more gone by Sea, one from Calais, August 2. N. S. the other express by a Vessel from Rigo in Galicia, August 31. N. S. designed to set a Gentleman of my Company ashore in Ireland on the South part; which Course I directed as a certain way to avoid the Danger of the Sea, and no very tedious way of Passage, I suppose all these likely to arrive in England much about a time.

This Place affords not much considerable News to return you. Our Portugal Adjustment keeps the Pace of the accustomed Spanish Gravity (if it proceed forward at all.) They have here removed the President of the Hacienda, (or as they call it, jubilar'd him) giving him his Salary still of 6000 Ducats per annum, for his own Life, his Wife's, and his eldest Son's; and also have given him some other considerable Mercedes; and have made Don Lopez de los Rios,

Rios, President de *Hazienda* in his room. This last is *Castillo's* near Kinsman and Creature, the other a near Kinsman of the Duke of *Medina's de las Torres*.

The *Conde de Fwensalida* is lately dead, (a *Grandee* of *Spain*.) My chief Business here is a longing Expectation to hear of the Treaty I have made here to be received in *England*, which now I daily shall hope for; and as any thing thence, or here, occurs worth your Notice, it shall be presented you by,

S I R,

Your most affectionate, and

most humble Servant,

Sandwich.

From the Earl of Sandwich.

S I R,

Madrid, Decemb. $\frac{14}{24}$. 1667.

I HOPE from your Goodness to find Pardon for missing the other Posts, but dare not adventure your Patience to fail this also, though I am now hurried by Business, so that I have not time so largely and considerately to write as I desire. Be pleased then to know that Mr. *Godolphin's* Journey to *Portugal* suffered so much Delay, until it was found necessary that I must go in Person thither; and then he resolved to make use of the King my Master's Leave to return into *England*, and began his Journey for *Bilboa* on *Tuesday* Morning last. You know the Value of Mr. *Godolphin* so well, that it is needless to tell you my Grievances in parting from one of the most accomplish'd, worthy, and generous Friends that ever I met with: And I am heartily glad that your Friendship and mine do also *Convenire in aliquo tertio*.

My Journey for *Portugal* hath almost met with as many or more Calms than Mr. *Godolphin's*; and, in good earnest, I am not able to give you any Light, whether it be likely to proceed or not.

The *Spaniards* have reformed two Regiments of *Germans* at *Badajos*; very good Officers they say, and are resolved never to serve the *Spaniard* more. The King of *Spain* has had the Small-Pox; but is so recovered, as they fear no Danger.

In *Portugal*, *Don Pedro* is made Governour to assist his Brother in the same Nature as his Mother did when she was Regent: And the Addresses are made in the same manner.

The Queen is returned to a Convent, asserting her self to be a Maid; and the King has under his Hand and Oath delivered the same. So the Queen pursues the Cause among the Church-men to have the Marriage declared null. There are *Cortes* to be called there *January* 1. N.S. On the 7th Instant, N.S. the Marquis of *Sande* (the Ambassador that brought the Queen) was shot and kill'd in the Street with a Carabine, and no body knows who did it.

I wish you a very merry *Christmas*, and am most affectionately,

S I R,

Your most faithful, and

most humble Servant,

Sandwich.

P. S. If I go to *Portugal*, pray continue our Correspondence to Mr. *John Werden*, a Gentleman worthy of your Favour, and very able and securely my Friend, who does me the Favour to continue in my House, and manages the King's Business in this Court in my Absence, and will send me your Letters.

From
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From Monsieur Gourville.

De Monsieur Gourville.

S I R,

Luneburg, Jan.
28. 1668.

BY a Copy of the Letter written from the King of *England* to the *States*, I understand you are a peaceable Man: And the Memorial you have given to desire Commissioners in order to examine jointly with you into the Means for a good Peace, makes us believe that you desire in good earnest to give Repose to *Christendom*. You know how I have always desired it; but however it will be the more agreeable to see it done by your Hands. In good earnest, I am glad the King of *England* has made Choice of you for so great and important an Affair: When his Majesty knows your Merits, I assure my self you will be always in the greatest Employments: And I assure you, that I shall always be making Wishes for your Advancement, till I see you made Chancellor of *England*. In the mean time I shall be ever,

S I R,

Your most humble, and
obedient Servant,

Gourville.

P. S. If you have a Desire to make the Peace, I look upon it as very far advanced; the Princes here shew their Desire of it. I did not think to stay in this Countrey above 8 or 10 Days; yet here I am after four Months. Pray let me know whether you think the Assembly will be at *Aix*, and near what time, that I may keep my Lodgings there; and if you will tell me in Confidence the Opinion you have of the Peace, I shall be obliged to you: Mine is, that you may make it if you please; but I am not yet convinced whether you can hinder it, if Monsieur de *Witt* has so much Desire to make it, as many People believe, according to what I am told.

Monsieur,

A Lunebourg, 28
Jan. 1668.

PAR la copie de la Lettre que sa Majesté Britannique a écrit aux *Etats des Provinces Unies*, J'apprens que vous estes un homme pacifique; la memoire que vous avez présentée pour demander des Commissaires pour chercher ensemble les moyens de parvenir à une bonne Paix, doit faire croire que c'est tout de bon que vous voulez donner le repos à la *Chrétienté*. Vous sçavez comme je l'ay toujours souhaitté, mais elle me sera autant plus agreable, de la voir faite de votre main: Tout de bon je me rejouis que sa Majesté Britannique vous ait choisi pour une si grande & si importante affaire. Quand elle connoitra votre merite, Je m'assure que vous aurez toujours les plus grands emplois; & je vous assure de la meilleure foy du monde, que jusqu'à ce que je vous voye Chancelier d'*Angleterre*, je feray toujours des vœux pour votre avancement. Et en attendant, je seray toujours plus veritablement que personne du monde,

Vôtre tres humble, &
tres obeissant Serviteur,

Gourville.

P. S. Si vous avez bien envie de faire la paix je la tiens fort avancée; les Princes icy temoignent la desirer: Je ne croyois demeurer en ce pais icy que huit ou dix jours, & m'y voila au bout de quatre mois. Je vous prie de me mander si vous croyez que l'on s'assemblera à *Aix*, & à peu prez le temps afin que j'y fasse retenir ma chambre: Et si vous voulez confidemment me mander l'opinion que vous avez de la paix, je vous en seray obligé. La mienne est que si vous la voulez que vous la ferez: Mais je ne suis pas si convaincu que vous la puissiez empêcher, si Monsieur de *Witt* à autant d'envie de la faire comme bien des gens le croient, selon ce que l'on m'en mande.

From Monsieur Gourville.

S I R,

Luneburg, Feb.
22. 1668.

ALL your modest Reasoning will not hinder me from believing that any other Minister, the King of *England* could have sent to the *Hague*, would not have finished in many Months what you have done in four Days. Without Flattery, 'tis a thing you ought to be extremely satisfied with. I suspected at first, that you had made this Treaty by some Concert with the Marquis of *Castel-Rodrigo*: For tho' the King my Master has so much Reason to be content to see him grant what his Majesty demanded, nevertheless the bad Council of the *Spaniards* has put them in a Condition to receive your Work as the Safety of what remain'd to them of *Flanders*. I never lamented my Absence from the *Hague*, but since I knew you were there. I cannot yet tell what time I shall be obliged to stay here. Monsieur de *Lionne* having encharged me from the King with some Orders in this Court, which I have Reason to believe will accommodate my Affairs. I am strongly persuaded the King my Master will hold to the *Alternative*, Monsieur de *Lionne* having sent me Word, that his Majesty was content with what you had done at the *Hague*; and that if the Manner of it had been a little more obliging, there were nothing more to be desired. These Princes mightily desire the Peace upon your Conditions; the League of the *Rhine* is extremely satisfied with it; so that in all Appearance *Spain* may do what they please; for this time their Countrey shall be saved, no Thanks to them. I would fain know whether you think of going to *Aix*. I have a great mind to see this Negotiation: And I should have nothing to desire, if I were sure to find you there. I see by this Business here, that the Peace will be made; or else, that there will be a great War; but I rather think the former. And if they will let me come no more to *France*, 'tis there (at *Aix*) I design to reside for the rest of my Life. I doubt not but they will let me take one turn to *Paris* to see if I can make my Peace; but I fear they will raise insupportable Difficulties.

De Monsieur Gourville.

Monsieur,

A Lunebourg, 22
Fevr. 1668.

TOUTE la modestie de vôtre raisonnement ne m'empêchera pas de croire, que tout autre Ministre que sa Majesté Britannique eut envoyé à la Haye, n'auroit pas fait en bien des mois ce que vous avez achevé en quatre jours. Sans flatterie c'est une chose qui vous doit extrêmement satisfaire. J'ai d'abord soupçonné que vous aviez fait ce traité de quelque concert avec Monsieur le Marquis de *Castel-Rodrigo*: Car encore que le Roy mon Maître ait tant sujet d'estre content de le voir accorder ce qu'il a demandé; neantmoins le mechant conseil des *Espagnols* les a mis en état de recevoir vôtre ouvrage comme le salut de ce qui leur restera aux *Pais-bas*. Je n'avois point regretté mon absence de la Haye que depuis que je sçay que vous y estes: Je ne sçaurois encore savoir le temps que je seray obligé de demeurer icy; Monsieur de *Lionne* m'ayant chargé de la part du Roy de quelques ordres en cette cour, tant que j'ay lieu de croire que cela accommodera mes affaires. C'est pourtant un chemin qui me peut conduire à cette fin: Je suis tres fortement persuadé que le Roy mon Maître se tiendra à l'*Alternative*. Monsieur de *Lionne* m'a mandé que sa Majesté estoit contente de ce que vous aviez fait à la Haye; Et que si la façon en eut esté un peu plus obligante, il n'y auroit eu rien à desirer. Ces Princes icy souhaitent fort la Paix aux conditions que vous la voulez faire: La Ligue du *Rhin* en est tres satisfaite, ainsi selon les apparences les *Espagnols* auront beau faire, on sauvera leur pais en dépit d'eux pour cette fois icy. Je voudrois bien savoir si vous croyez aller à *Aix*; J'ay fort envie de voir cette negotiation, Et je n'aurois rien à desirer si je sçavois vous y trouver. Je voy par cette affaire icy, que la paix se fera, ou que ce sera une grande guerre; mais tout me fait croire le premier; Et si on ne veut point de moy en *France*, je m'en vay prendre mon party pour le reste de mes jours. Je ne doute point que l'on ne me laisse faire un tour à *Paris* pour voir si je pourrois m'accommoder; mais je crains que l'on ne me fasse des difficultez insupportables.

I desire you to believe me always,

S I R,

Your most humble and

most obedient Servant,

Gourville.

It may be I shall see you at the Hague sooner than you think.

Je vous supplie de me croire toujours,

Monfieur,

Vôtre tres humble, &

tres obeiffant Serviteur,

Gourville.

Je pourray peut être vous voir à la Haye plutôt que vous ne pensez.

From Monfieur de Witt.

De Monfieur de Witt.

S I R,

Hague, Feb.
25. 1668.

THE Bearer hereof delivered me the Letter you did me the Honour to write to me from *Antwerp* of the 24th Instant; wherein I behold with Pleasure your Zeal and Diligence for the Advancement of our common Affair; as also the good Dispositions that your Offices have already raised in the Mind of the Marquis of *Castel-Rodrigo*, and the Appearance of a more satisfactory Declaration we shall receive upon the common Request to be made him from the King of *Great Britain* and this *State*. I delayed not to communicate and deliberate the Contents of the said Letter, with the *States* Commissioners deputed upon the Subject of our last Negotiations; and we hope you will judge as we do, that it is absolutely necessary for his Excellence to declare himself without farther Delay or Reserve, agreeably to what is concluded between *England* and this *State*, without desiring before-hand any Concert more particular than that which is made, signed and ratified, between us and our Masters: For since the King of *France* has seen by his last Conquests how weak and negligent the *Spaniards* are, 'tis to be feared, that if the Marquis lets the Month of *March* expire, without plainly declaring himself as we desire, the King of *France* may be very glad, after the Expiration of the said Term, not to be obliged by virtue of his Word given, to make the Peace upon the *Alternative*, but may make use of the Time and Disorder of the *Spaniards*, to surprize *Luxenburg*, and a great part of what remains to the King of *Spain* in the *Netherlands*; and to order

Monfieur,

A la Haye, 25
Fevr. 1668.

LE porteur de celle-cy m'a bien delivré la Lettre qu'il vous a plu me faire l'honneur de m'écrire d'*Anvers* le 24^{me} de ce mois; & j'y ay veu avec agrément le zele & la diligence que vous avez apporté pour l'avancement de nôtre affaire commune; comme aussi les bonnes dispositions que vos offices ont déjà fait naître dans l'esprit de Monfieur le Marquis de *Castel-Rodrigo*, & l'apparence d'une declaration plus satisfaisante que nous recevrons sur la priere commune qu'on luy va faire de la part du Roy de la *Grand Bretagne* & de cet Etat. Je n'ay pas tardé de communiquer & deliberer le contenu de la dite lettre avec les Commissaires des Etats, deputez sur le sujet de nos dernieres negotiations; & nous esperons que vous jugerez avec nous qu'il est absolument necessaire que son Excellence se declare sans plus de delay & sans aucune reserve conformement à la disposition de ce qui est conclu entre l'*Angleterre* & cet Etat, sans desirer au preallable aucun concert plus particulier que celui qui est fait, signé & ratifié entre nous & par nos Maîtres. Car puisque le Roy de *France* a veu par les dernieres progres, comme les *Espagnols* sont foibles & negligents; il est à apprehender que si Monfieur le Marquis laisse ecouler le mois de *Mars* sans s'estre déclaré nettement comme nous le desirons, le Roy de *France* ne soit tres aise de n'être pas obligé apres l'expiration en vertu de sa parole donnée, de faire la Paix sur l'*Alternative*; & qu'il ne se serve encore du temps & du desordre des *Espagnols* pour surprendre en même façon le *Luxenburg*, & une grande partie de ce qui reste au Roy d'*Espagne* dans le *Pais-bas*; & pour se regler par après selon les occurrences.

order his Affairs afterwards as Occurrences shall happen. The *States General* are obliged, and entirely resolved, in case of Refusal from the King of *France*, or any Evasions from that side, after it has been insinuated to him that the Marquis has accepted either part of the *Alternative*; to execute, in the most vigorous manner possible, what is contained in our third Separate Article; and by consequence, jointly with *England*, to break into open War against *France*, to act in concert, not only for Defence of the *Netherlands*, but also, and above all, to attack and infest *France* by Sea, by Descents, Invasions into the Country, and all other ways. But because it must be presupposed in publick, that the King of *France* after having given his Word to the *States*, and afterwards by a circular Letter, not only to the King of *Great Britain* and the said *States*, but also to many Princes of *Germany*; will not break a Promise so solemnly made; we cannot by any means enter into Concert and League with *Spain*, before this Case effectually arrives: And we think that such a League and Concert made before the Season, would be likely indeed to produce the Effect the Marquis desires; but which is far from his Majesty of *England's* Aim, or that of the *States*; for you cannot but know, that his *Excellence* would prefer the Continuance of the War with our Assistance, to the Conclusion of the Peace upon the *Alternative*; and his Majesty, as well as the *States*, prefers this Peace before the Continuance of a War, whereof they must bear all the Costs, and all the Profit be to the King of *Spain*. Now we comprehend very well, that such a Concert and such a League as his *Excellence* desires, would put the King of *France* upon an absolute Necessity of continuing the War; because if he should comply after such a League made with his Enemies, it would appear publickly, that he was obliged to it by this Bond, and consequently by his Enemies themselves. And therefore the Matter is judiciously enough proposed by his *Excellence* for arriving at his End; but since it would make us miss of ours, we hope you will put the Marquis off it, and make him quit all Hopes of engaging us by the Force of his great Genius,

to

rences. *Les Etats Generaux se trouvent obligez & entierement resolu, au cas de refus du Roy de France, ou des echappatoires recherchés de son côté, apres qu'on luy aura insinué que Monsieur le Marquis ait accepté l'une ou l'autre partie de l'Alternative, d'exécuter en la maniere la plus vigoureuse que faire se pourra, le contenu au troisieme de nos Articles separez; par consequent de rompre conjointement avec l'Angleterre en guerre ouverte contre la France, d'agir de concert non seulement pour la defense du Pais-bas; mais aussi & sur tout d'attaquer & incommoder la France de leurs Forces maritimes; & même par des descentes, ou invasions dans le Pais, & en toute autre maniere: mais d'autant qu'il faut presupposer publiquement, que le Roy de France, après avoir donné sa parole par une lettre circulaire, non seulement au Roy de la Grande Bretagne & aux dits Etats, mais aussi à plusieurs Princes d'Allemagne, ne voudra pas manquer à une messe si solennellement donnés; nous ne pourrions en aucune façon entrer en concert & ligue avec l'Espagne, avant que ce cas soit effectivement arrivé: Et nous jugeons qu'un tel concert & une telle ligue faite devant la saison, seroit fort capable de produire l'effet que Monsieur le Marquis souhaite, mais qui est tout à fait éloigné du but de sa Majesté de la Grande Bretagne, & de leurs Hautes Puissances: car il ne peut vous estre inconnu que son Excellence prefereroit la continuation de la guerre avec nos secours, à la conclusion de la Paix sur l'Alternative. Et sa Majesté aussi bien que leurs Hautes Puissances preferent cette paix à la continuation d'une guerre dont ils seroient obligés de porter toutes les depenses, & dont tout le profit seroit pour le Roy d'Espagne. Or, nous comprenons fort bien qu'un tel concert & une telle ligue que son Excellence desire, mettroit le Roy de France, dans une necessité absolue de continuer la guerre; d'autant que se rendant après une telle ligue faite avec ses ennemis, il paroitroit publiquement qu'il y fût obligé par cette liaison, & par consequent par ses ennemis mêmes: Et partant l'affaire est judicieusement proposée par son Excellence pour parvenir à son but; mais puisque elle nous feroit perdre le nôtre, nous esperons que vous en detournerez Monsieur le Marquis, & que vous luy ferez perdre toute esperance de ne pouvoir pas par son grand genie même nous engager comme par gayeté de coeur, ou*

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to enter of our own accord, where we have no mind to come but upon a fatal Necessity. I think his Excellence does wrong to the King of Great Britain and the States, in not trusting their Affection and their Honour, which are concern'd, as well as their Interest, after the Alliance and the Peace they have already made together: But if after his Excellence has accepted our Propositions, the King of France shall happen to draw back or seek Evasions, then the King of Great Britain and the States General entring into the Party, and even into a Rupture with France, it will be very just and proper to concert with his Excellence after what manner to act in the Territory of the King his Master; and yet in the mean while not omit entring into Action without the least loss of time. Therefore it will be no way necessary for me to be upon our Frontiers towards the End proposed by his Excellence, which besides will be wholly impossible for me; much less to send any body from hence to Brussels, since the States Deputies, who are there at present, are the same we should chuse for the End desired: For I assure you I can name no body in whom the States as well as I in particular can have greater Confidence, whereof I do not doubt but they will give you Proofs, as well as of their Sincerity and good Conduct. I desire you therefore, Sir, to use them with as much Freedom as me, and I will engage they shall do the same by you. And if you have been at all satisfied with my manner of transacting, as I have been extremely with yours, that you will be also satisfied with that of the said Deputies. For the rest we approve extremely the Diligence you make on all sides in sending to the Ministers of the King of England, and the States now at Paris: And from your common Offices we promise to our selves an universal Peace in Christendom, to the great Advantage of the Publick, and the eternal Glory of your selves, which no Man desires more than he who is,

S I R,

Your most humble, and
most affectionate Servant,
Jo. de Witt.

nous ne voulons venir qu'au cas d'une fatale necessité. Il me semble que son Excellence feroit tort au Roy de la Grande Bretagne, & aux Etats Generaux, de ne se fier pas à leur affection & à leur honneur, dont il y va si bien que de leur intérêt, après la liaison & le pas qu'ils ont fait déjà ensemble. Mais si après qu'elle aura accepté nos propositions, le Roy de France vient à reculer, ou à chercher des echappatoires; alors le Roy de la Grande Bretagne, & les Etats Generaux, entrans dans le party, & même en rupture avec la France, il sera tres à propos que l'on concerte avec son Excellence la maniere dont on agira dans le territoire du Roy son Maître; & que pourtant l'on ne laisse pas cependant d'entrer en action sans la moindre perte de temps. Il ne sera donc nullement necessaire que je me trouve sur nos frontieres pour la fin proposée par son Excellence, ce que d'ailleurs me seroit tout à fait impossible; & encore bien moins l'on envoie quelqu'un d'icy à Brusselles, d'autant que les Deputéz des Etats qui s'y trouvent presentement, sont ceux-la même que l'on pourroit choisir pour la fin désirée; vous pouvant assurer que je ne pouvois nommer personne, en qui l'Etat aussi bien que moy en particulier, puissent avoir plus de confiance, dont ils vous donneront sans doute des preuves aussi bien que de leur integrité & de leur bonne conduite. Je vous supplie donc, Monsieur, d'user avec eux de la même franchise, dont vous avez usé envers moy, & je vous demeure garand qu'eux de leur côté en useront de même: Et si vous avez esté en quelque façon satisfait de ma maniere d'agir, comme je l'ay esté de la vôtre, que vous le ferez tout à fait de celle desdits Deputés de l'Etat. Au reste, nous approuvons fort les diligences que vous ferez de part & d'autre directement aux Ministres du Roy de la Grande Bretagne & de cet Etat à Paris; & nous nous promettons de vos Offices communs la paix universelle de la Chrétienté, au grand profit du public, & à la gloire eternelle de vos personnes: Laquelle vous souhaite avec autant d'affection que personne du monde, celui qui est, & qui demeurera à jamais,

Monsieur,

Vôtre tres humble, &
tres affectionné Serviteur,
Joan. de Witt.
From

From Monsieur de Witt.

S I R,

*Hague, March
5. 1668.*

TIS with great Satisfaction that I have learn'd from your Dispatch of the 2^d Instant, and by that of the Deputies of this *State*, the provisional Success it has pleas'd God to grant to your Cares and Application to the Marquis of *Castel-Rodrigo*; And I doubt not but the Conduct you have us'd to dispose those of the Council of State of this Countrey to conform to his Excellence's Opinion, will be applauded by them. I hope, before the Receipt of this, you will have receiv'd from his Excellence a Declaration in Form, and in Writing, couched in clear and satisfactory Terms, without any Ambiguity or Obscurity; and, in short, such as will leave no Occasion or Pretext to *France* to find any thing to object against, but what shall put them to a Necessity of declaring themselves plainly on their side, upon the Conditions and Articles of our Convention, and shall put us out of Doubt and Trouble of what we have to do. For my self, I shall endeavour all I can, that this *State* shall be put in a Posture of entring vigorously and effectually upon the Defence of *Flanders*, in case, after a plain and satisfactory Answer from his Excellence, the King of *France* shall leave us any Apprehensions of his endeavouring to make farther Progresses in this Country, which we cannot suppose without the Prejudice of suspecting that the said King will falsify his Word given, and the Promise so solemnly made by his publick and circular Letters; which God forbid, and which however common Prudence should make us suppose to be possible, that we might not neglect the Means, whereof we have so often discoursed, and upon which the States have given Order to their Ambassadors in *Holland*, to concert more particularly with the King of *Great Britain* and his Ministers.

You have farther obliged me by not giving a Copy of my foregoing Dispatch to the Marquis, since in my Opinion he might have made use of it to provoke and anger the King of *France*, and oblige him as it were, in
point

De Monsieur de Witt.

Monsieur,

*A la Haye, 5
Mars, 1668.*

C'A esté avec beaucoup de satisfaction que j'ay appris par votre dépêche du 2^d de ce mois, & par celle de Messieurs les Deputez de l'Etat, le succès provisionnel qu'il a plu au bon Dieu d'octroyer à vos soins & à votre direction auprez du Marquis de *Castel-Rodrigo*; & je ne doute point que la conduite que vous avez tenue pour disposer ceux du conseil d'Etat de ce pais à se conformer au sentiment de son Excellence ne produise leur applaudissement. J'espere que devant que celle-cy vous sera rendue, vous aurez receu de son Excellence une declaration, dans les formes & par escrit, couchée en termes clairs & satisfaisants, sans aucune ambiguité ou obscurité; & enfin telle qui ne laisse aucune occasion ni même aucun pretexte à la *France* d'y trouver quelque chose à redire; mais qui la mette en necessité de se declarer aussi de son côté nettement sur les conditions & articles de nôtre convention, & nous hors de doute & d'embarras de ce que nous avons à faire. Quant à moy, je ne manqueray pas de tenir la main à ce que l'Etat se mette tout à fait en posture de pouvoir accourir vigoureusement & efficacement à la desence du Pais-bas en cas qu'après une declaration nette & satisfaisante de son Excellence, le Roy de *France* nous laisse encore de l'apprehension des plus grands progresz que sa Majesté voudroit tâcher de faire dans le même pais, ce que nous ne pouvons pas presupposer sans estre preoccupé d'un soupçon que ledit Roy voudroit bien fausser sa parole donnée, & sa promesse si solennellement faite par des lettres publiques & circulaires: ce qu'à Dieu ne plaise; & ce que pourtant la prudence veut que nous nous figurions comme possible, pour ne negliger pas les moyens dont nous nous sommes bien souvent entretenus, & sur lesquels les Etats ont donné ordre à leurs Ambassadeurs en *Angleterre* de concerter plus particulièrement avec le Roy de la *Grande Bretagne* & ses Ministres.

Vous m'avez encore obligé de n'avoir point donné copie de ma precedente dépêche au Marquis; puisque à mon jugement, on auroit pu s'en servir pour aigrir & picquer le Roy de *France*, & pour l'obliger en quelque façon par point
d'hon-

point of Honour, to be obstinate in the War against the Desire and Intention of the King of *England* and the *States*; but by giving his Excellence so much part therein, as to read to him our separate Articles; that is, what I cannot but entirely approve, as being wholly agreeable to my manner of proceeding, as well as your Precaution, wherewith you kept the common Cause from the Danger above-mentioned, in not giving him a Copy. For the rest, I refer my self to what the Deputies of the *States* shall have already told you upon the Contents of your former Dispatch, and to what they shall communicate to you from time to time, of the Intentions of *their High and Mightinesses*, and shall ever remain what I am with Passion,

S I R,

Your most affectionate
and humble Servant,
Jo. de Witt.

d'honneur, à s'opiniâtrer dans la guerre contre le but & souhait du Roy de la Grande Bretagne, & des Etats Generaux. Mais que vous ayez donné part à son Excellence par lecture de nos articles separez, c'est ce que je ne puis qu'approuver entierement, comme estant fort conforme à ma maniere d'agir & de proceder; aussi bien que la precaution dont vous avez garanti la cause commune du sudit danger, en ne luy en ayant point donné copie. Au reste je me remets à ce que Messieurs les Deputez de l'Etat vous auront déjà dit & temoigné sur le contenu de votre depêche precedente, & à ce qu'ils vous communniqueront de temps en temps de l'intention de leurs Hautes Puissances: Et demeureray à jamais celuy qui suis avec passion,

Monsieur,

Vôtre tres affectionné &
tres humble Serviteur,
Johan. de Witt.

From Monsieur de Witt.

De Monsieur de Witt.

S I R,

Hague, March
16. 1668.

YOUR Dispatch of the 11th Instant did not come to my Hands till the 14th at Noon, the Courier who brought it having not been dismissed from *Brussels* till the 13th.

I was very glad to see you had at last disposed the Marquis to dispatch the Baron of *Bergeyck* for *Aix la Chapelle*, being very much persuaded that it imports us mightily to have a quick Conclusion of the Peace, or else to see clearly into the most inward Dispositions of the King of *France*, as well as those of the *Spanish* Court; and that all Delay is very prejudicial to our Intentions, and to the Interests of *Spain*. And that we may be neither surprized nor abused on either side, I think in the present Conjunction two things are absolutely necessary: The first is, that *England* and this State be well furnished by Sea and Land; and the other, that we take away, not only all lawful Cause, but also as much as possible, all Pretext from *France* to delay

or

Monsieur,

A la Haye, 16
Mars, 1668.

VOTRE depêche du 11^{me} de ce mois ne m'a esté rendue que le 14^{me} apres midy; le courier qui l'a apportée, n'ayant esté expédié & parti de *Brussels* que le 13^{me}.

J'ay esté fort aise de voir que vous aviez enfin disposé Monsieur le Marquis de *Castel-Rodrigo*, à depêcher le Baron de *Bergeyck* promptement vers *Aix la Chapelle*; estant tres persuadé qu'il nous importe d'avoir une prompte conclusion de la paix, ou de voir clair dans les intentions les plus interieures du Roy de *France*, aussi bien que dans celle de la cour d'*Espagne*; & que tout delai est fort prejudiciable à nos intentions & aux interêts de l'*Espagne*: Et afin que nous ne puissions pas estre surpris ou abuses de côté ou d'autre; je juge qu'en la conjuncture presente deux choses nous sont absolument necessaires: dont la premiere est que l'*Angleterre* & cet Etat soient bien armés par mer & par terre; & l'autre qu'on ôte non seulement toute cause legitime, mais aussi tant que faire se pourra, tout

or avoid the concluding and signing the Treaty of Peace.

To satisfy on our side for the first Point, we are resolved, as soon as the Season will permit, to send into the Field all our Cavalry, which consists of 7300 Horse, and provisionally 25 Regiments of our Foot, for which the chief Rendezvous shall be at *Bergopzoom*, or thereabouts; from whence there will be a convenient March in a few Days into most part of the King of Spain's Places in the Netherlands.

We have also given Order for equipping 48 Ships of War, above the Number commonly used for Guard and Convoy: And the States have already given Order to their Ambassadors in *England*, to concert with the King of *Great Britain* and his Ministers, upon the Number of Ships and Men that each Party shall be obliged to have ready, and in what time. Besides, the Deputies of the State have this Day finally agreed with the Ministers of the Dukes of *Brunswick* and *Lunebourg*, to bring into the Service of this State three Regiments of Horse, and 3000 Foot; and I hope the Treaty will be signed to Morrow, or the next Day. And farther, they are going here to augment the old Militia by new Levies, to the Number of 12000 Men, with the Troops of the said Dukes, which are to enter into the Service of the State: And I will not fail of helping what I can to the accomplishing of all this, as soon as it can be done by the Constitution of the Government. And if you approve all these Preparations and Diligences, as I hope you will since they seem very necessary, and no way offensive, since he who really desires the Peace, will find in it his Support and Advantage; and that these Forces shall not be employ'd till the last Necessity against him, that by his Wilfulness would disappoint *Christendom* of the Benefit of it; I desire you by your Letters to make the Exhortations necessary to the King of *England* and his Ministers, that they may not fail on that side to make the like Preparations and Diligences.

As to the second Point, I think it imports much that the Marquis of *Castel-*

tout pretexte à la France de delayer ou d'esquiver la conclusion & la signature du traité de paix.

Pour satisfaire de notre côté au premier point, nous sommes résolus de mettre en campagne, aussitôt que la saison le pourra permettre, toute notre cavallerie, qui consiste en sept mille & trois cens chevaux, & provisionnellement vingt cinq regimens de notre infanterie, pour lequel le principal rendezvous sera à Bergopzoom & aux environs; place fort commode pour pouvoir de là nous jeter en peu de tems dans la plupart des places du Roy d'Espagne au Pais-bas.

Aussi avons nous donné ordre pour l'équipage de quarante & huit vaisseaux de guerre par dessus le nombre qui sert pour la garde & l'escorte ordinaire: Et il y a déjà quelque tems que les Etats ont donné ordre à leurs Ambassadeurs en Angleterre de concerter avec le Roy de la Grande Bretagne & ses Ministres sur le Nombre & la quantité des Vaisseaux & hommes, que chacun s'obligerait d'avoir tout prêts & en quel tems. Outre cela les Deputez de l'Etat sont tombez aujourd'hui finalement d'accord avec les Ministres des Ducs de Brunswick & de Lunebourg, pour faire passer au service de cet Etat trois regimens de Cavallerie, & trois mille hommes à pied; & j'espère que le traité en pourra estre signé demain, ou après demain; & au surplus vat-on icy encore augmenter la vieille milice par des nouvelles levées jusques au nombre de douze mille hommes, y compris les troupes desdits Ducs qui passeront au service de cet Etat: Et je ne manqueray pas de tenir la main, & de presser autant qu'il me sera possible que tout ce que dessus aye son accomplissement le plutôt qu'il se pourra faire selon la constitution de ce gouvernement. Et si vous approuvez toutes ces preparacions & diligences, comme je l'espère, & qu'elles me semblent fort nécessaires & nullement offensantes; d'autant que celui qui voudra la Paix reellement, y trouvera son appuy & son avantage; & que leur emploi sera de la dernière nécessité contre celui qui par son opiniâtreté en voudroit frustrer la Chrétienté: Je vous supplie de faire les exhortations nécessaires par vps lettres au Roy de la Grande Bretagne & à ses Ministres, afin que de ce côté là on ne manque pas de faire des semblables preparatifs & les mêmes diligences.

Quant au second point, Je croy qu'il importe grandement que Monsieur le

Mar-

Castel-Rodrigo should explain himself upon which of the two Conditions proposed by the *Alternative*, he pretends to have accepted; wherein there seems the less Difficulty, since his Excellence will, without doubt, explain himself for the abandoning the Places the King of *France* has conquer'd the last Campaign, with their Dependances. But then I think it will be our Interest and Duty, to endeavour that some reasonable Exchange be made, for Places far in the Heart of *Flanders*, against Places lately taken in the *Franche Comté*, or others that shall be more for the Advantage of *France*, and less for the Inconvenience of *Spain* and us.

Besides, to take all Pretext from *France* which they may pretend to make upon a Defect of Powers in the said Marquis, either in the principal Matter, or by Default of a Clause of Substitution, or otherwise: I think it will be very necessary that the King of *Great Britain* and the *States General* shall be obliged to ratifie and accomplish whatever shall be treated and concluded at *Aix*; and shall promise in the firmest manner the King of *France* can desire, to oblige *Spain* in case of Necessity to the said Ratification and Accomplishment, by all their Forces both by Sea and Land: And in short, that in every Occurrence they will do very judiciously to obviate all Exceptions and Delays which can be brought to the Prejudice of the Peace. But farther, when we shall have brought the King of *France* to an absolute Necessity of either finally concluding, or discovering his Intention contrary to the Peace; in that Case, upon the first Step *France* shall make to frustrate *Christendom* of such a general Good, the King of *Great Britain* and the *States* shall without farther Delay, bring all their Forces by Sea and Land, not only for Defence of the *Spaniards*, but also for the Intent specified in the third of our Separate Articles, and more amply deduced in my Dispatch of the 25th of *February* last.

For the rest, if you have received the King of *Great Britain's* Ratification upon our last Marine Treaty, I shall wait till you think proper to exchange it; upon which I shall endeavour to conform the *States* to your Desire; whether our Ratification shall be

Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo s'explique, laquelle des deux conditions proposées par l'Alternative il entend avoir accepté: En quoy il me semble tant moins de difficulté, que c'est sans contredit que son Excellence s'expliquera pour l'abandonnement des places que le Roy de France a conquis la campagne passée, avec leurs dependances: Mais ce sera ce me semble alors de nôtre intérêt & de nôtre devoir de travailler puissamment afin que quelque échange raisonnable se puisse faire des places les plus avancées en Flandre, contre des places nouvellement occupées dans la Franche Comté, ou autres qui seront plus en la bienfaisance de la France, & moins à l'incommodité de l'Espagne & de nous autres.

De plus; pour ôter à la France tout pretexte dont elle se pourroit servir à raison qu'il pourroit y avoir quelque manquement au pouvoir dudit Marquis, ou en la matiere principale, ou par défaut de la clause de substitution ou autrement; il me semble qu'il sera tres necessaire que le Roy de la Grande Bretagne & les Etats Generaux se fassent fort de la ratification & de l'accomplissement de tout ce qui sera traité & conclu à Aix; & promettent en la maniere la plus forte que le Roy de France le pourra desirer, d'obliger en cas de besoin l'Espagne à ladite Ratification, & au dit accomplissement, de toutes leurs forces par mer & par terre: Et enfin, qu'en toute autre occurrence on fera tres judicieusement d'obvier à toutes les exceptions & delais qui pourroient estre apportéz au prejudice de la paix. Mais aussi quand on aura mis par là le Roy de France dans une necessité absolue de proceder outre à la conclusion finale, ou de decouvrir son intention contraire à la paix; qu'alors à la premiere demarche que la France feroit pour frustrer la Chrétienté d'un bien si salutaire, le Roy de la Grande Bretagne & les Etats Generaux feroient agir incontinent & sans marchander, toutes leurs forces par mer & par terre, non seulement pour la defence des Espagnols, mais aussi pour la fin spécifiée au troisieme de nos articles separés, & plus amplement deduite en ma depêche du 25 Fevrier passé.

Au reste, j'attendray de vos nouvelles si vous avez receu la ratification du Roy de la Grande Bretagne sur nôtre dernier traité de Marine, que vous jugerez à propos que l'on en fasse l'échange; sur quoy je tacheray de disposer les Etats à se conformer à vôtre desir; soit que l'on

be sent to our Commissioners now with you; or whether you will please to send your Secretary or your Brother here to the *Hague*; or whether you know any way will please you better: For in this and every other Occurrence, I shall endeavour to follow your Desires, and second your Intentions, as being not by Form of Complement, but very really,

envoye nôtre ratification es mains de nos commissaires qui se trouvent presentement auprez de vous; soit que vous envoyez vôtre Secretaire, ou bien Monsieur vôtre Frere icy à la Haye; ou que vous scachiez encore quelque autre façon qui soit plus à vôtre goût: Car, & en cela, & en toute autre occurrence, je tacheray de suivre vos desirs, & de seconder vos intentions, comme estant non par forme de compliment, mais fort reellement,

S I R,
Your, &c.

Monsieur,
Vôtre, &c.

From Monsieur de Witt.

De Monsieur de Witt.

S I R,
Hague, Mar.
25. 1668.

Monsieur,
A la Haye, 25
Mars, 1668.

I Received the Honour of yours of the 25th Instant, upon which I will tell you in few Words, that I am wholly of your Opinion; as well for what regards the King of *France's* Disposition to carry on the War, the Insufficiency of his Offer to restore all he may conquer between the first of *April* and the fifteenth of *May*, the strained Exceptions against the Marquis of *Castel-Rodrigo's* Powers, and his Acceptation of the *Alternative*: as chiefly for what regards the Forces to be raised with all possible Readiness, and the manner by which we ought to proceed to the Defence of the *Netherlands*, as soon as the King of *France* shall begin to move against them. The *States* are every Day more confirmed in the same Sentiments, as their Actions declare, by marching an Army with all Diligence to *Bergopzoom*, and by sending an Express to the King of *Great Britain* with Intelligence, that they are of Opinion, that in order to satisfy the King of *France* upon the Scruples proposed in Monsieur de *Lionne's* Paper of the 19th Instant, with Promises and Assurances sufficient, we must let him know discreetly, and yet positively, that we think his Generosity will not suffer him to ruin a State, or a Minister of *Spain*, whom the King of *England* and the *States General* have obliged at his Request, to accept the Conditions prescrib'd, with a formal Assurance, that by that means he should free himself

J'AY bien receu la lettre dont il vous a plu m'honorer du 25^{me} de ce mois, surquoy je vous diray en peu de mots que je suis tout à fait de vôtre opinion, tant à l'égard de la disposition du Roy de *France* à continuer la guerre, l'insuffisance de l'offre de vouloir restituer tout ce qu'il pourroit conquerir entre le premier d'*Avril* & le 15^{me} *May*; les exceptions recherchées contre les pouvoirs du Marquis de *Castel-Rodrigo*, & contre son acceptation de l'*alternative*; que principalement & sur tout à l'égard de l'armement que l'on devoit avancer avec toute la promptitude possible, & de la maniere de laquelle on devra accourir à la defence du *Pais-bas*, des que le Roy de *France* commencera à se remuer pour l'accabler. Les *Etats* ont déjà approuvé & confirmé encore de jour en jour les mêmes sentimens par leurs actions; faisant marcher en toute diligence une armée aux environs de *Bergopzoom*, & ayant envoyé leur avis par un exprez au Roy de la *Grande Bretagne*, qu'ils sont d'opinion qu'aussi bien que de satisfaire au Roy de *France* sur les scrupules proposés dans l'ecrit du *Sieur de Lionne* du 19^{me} de ce mois, avec des assurances & promesses suffisantes, il faudra luy faire savoir discrettement, & neantmoins bien positivement, que nous jugeons que sa generosité ne pourra pas permettre qu'il accable un *Etat* ou un *Ministre d'Espagne*, que le Roy d'*Angleterre* & les *Etats Generaux* ont obligé à sa requisition d'accepter les conditions prescrites, avec une assurance formelle que par là il se deliv-

self from all Danger of the War. And, at least, that the Honour and good Faith of the King of Great Britain and the States cannot suffer such a State or Minister to be injured without lending him their Service and Assistance. And by every body's Disposition here I am assured, that as soon as the Agreement is concluded, we shall march to the Assistance of the Netherlands, upon the first Step France shall make to attack them, if the King of England will do the like. But to acquit our Consciences, and let the World see the Justice of our proceeding, I am entirely of Opinion we must make all Advances, and give all due Assurances to France, to oblige them to the Peace. Upon which, with many other Particulars, I refer you to the Deputies of the States to communicate to you; having not time at present to enlarge farther, but only to repeat in one Word, that I am truly,

S I R,

Your, &c.

Johan. de Witt.

vreroit de tout danger de la guerre: Et qu'au moins l'honneur & la bonne foy du Roy de la Grande Bretagne & des Etats, ne pourra pas souffrir qu'on accable un tel Etat ou un tel Ministre, sans luy prêter leurs services & assistances: Et je ne vois point de disposition icy, qui ne m'assure que l'oppignoration estant conclue, on marchera au secours des Pais-bas dès la premiere demarche que le Roy de France fera pour l'attaquer, si le Roy de la Grande Bretagne en veut faire autant. Mais pour nous satisfaire en bonne conscience; & pour faire voir à tout le monde la justice de notre procedé, Je suis entierement d'opinion qu'il faudra faire toutes les avances, & donner toutes les assurances requises à la France, pour parvenir, & pour l'obliger à la paix. Surquoy, comme aussi sur plusieurs autres particularitez, je me remets à ce que les Deputez de l'Etat vous communiqueront plus en detail, n'ayant pas de tems de m'etendre icy plus amplement, mais seulement pour repeter en un mot que je suis tres veritablement,

Monsieur,

Vôtre, &c.

Johan. de Witt.

From Monsieur de Witt.

De Monsieur de Witt.

S I R,

Hague, April
4. 1668.

I Could not immediately answer yours of the 2^d Instant, by reason of a Fever I got by a great Cold last Night; but towards Noon the Fever lessening, gives me leave at present to tell you, that tho' it is now some Days since Monsieur Beverning's Departure for Aix la Chapelle, yet I do not see how in the present Conjunction of Affairs it should be more necessary for you to reside in that City than at Brussels; but on the contrary, that the Affair is now reduced to such a Point, that the Business which carried you to Aix, ought to be treated and finish'd in a few Days, in the Place where you are, and in the Netherlands; and I think the King of England's Ministers, and those of the States at Paris, have negotiated with Address in procuring us an Instrument, which

Monsieur,

A la Haye, 4
Mars. 1668.

UN grand rheume qui m'a suscité une fièvre la nuit passée, a esté cause que je n'ay pas pu vous repondre d'abord à votre lettre du 2^d de ce mois: Mais vers le midi la fièvre estant beaucoup diminuée, me laisse presentement la faculté de vous dire, que quoy qu'il y a déjà quelque jours que Monsieur de Beverning est parti pour se rendre à Aix la Chapelle, je ne voy pas pourtant que dans la conjoncture presente des affaires, votre séjour soit plus necessaire au dit lieu qu'à Bruxelles; mais que tout au contraire, l'affaire est presentement reduite à un point, que ce pour quoy vous vous fussiez transporté à Aix, se pourra & se devra traiter & achever en peu de jours au lieu où vous estes & au Pais-bas: Et il me semble que Messieurs les Ministres du Roy de la Grande Bretagne & des Etats à Paris, ont négocié adroitement de nous avoir

which in a few Days will put us in a clear Light upon what we are finally to resolve and to do; if the Marquis of *Castel-Rodrigo* seconds us, as we hope and expect from his Prudence, and from the visible Interest of his Master, which obliges him to it. I speak of the Project of the Treaty drawn upon the Foot of the *Alternative*, and concerted between the said Ministers of our Masters at *Paris*, and the Commissioners of the King of *France*, whereof I am sure you have received a Copy from Sir *John Trevor*. I think this Project gives us a certain way of obtaining the Peace; or else a War, wherein all the *Princes* and *States* of *Christendom* will support us, or at least, commend our Conduct and Proceeding. And I think we must proceed in it after this manner: I suppose before-hand that you and our Deputies with you, will not be at much pains to dispose the Marquis to send immediately a Power to Monsieur *Beverning* and Sir *John Trevor*, to sign in his (the Marquis's) Name, and from the King his Master, the Treaty with the King of *France*'s Commissioners, agreeable to the Project above-mention'd, which I find entirely conformable to our Agreement and secret Articles, as Monsieur *Beverning* tells us, that he and Sir *John Trevor* made the same Judgment of it. Unless his Excellency would rather sign the said Treaty himself, and receive the Exchange of it signed by the King of *France*. In which Case I think there may be only writ on the Top of the Project, *A Treaty of Peace*

between the Kings of
 * And in the other Instrument, Of *Spain and France to prevent disputing upon the Terms of the Preface; and beneath, to add the Date.*

This being done, the aforesaid Ministers at *Paris* must, in my Opinion, offer the King of *France* to sign in the King of *Spain*'s Name, or (in case his Excellency thinks fit to sign himself) to exchange the Treaty signed; on condition that *France* will consent to a reasonable time to procure the Ratification from the Queen of *Spain*; and above all, the Continuance of the Cessation of Arms during the time agreed. I see that for granting this Term a little more to the Humour of *France*, you will be more liberal and complai-

sant
 avoir sceu procurer un instrument qui nous mettra en peu de jours dans une clarté entiere pour resoudre finalement ce que nous aurons à faire; si le Marquis de *Castel-Rodrigo* nous y seconde comme nous l'esperons & l'attendons de sa prudence & de l'interêt visible de son Maître qui l'y oblige. Je parle du projet de traité dressé sur le pié de l'*alternative* & concerté entre les dits Ministres de nos Maîtres à *Paris* & les Commissaires du Roy de *France*, dont je m'assure que vous aurez reçu copie de la part de Monsieur *Trevor*. Il me semble que ce projet nous donne en main un moyen assuré pour avoir la paix, ou une guerre dans laquelle tous les *Princes* & *Etats* de la *Chrétienté* nous appuieront, ou au moins loueront notre procédé & notre conduite. Et voicy comme quoy, à mon avis, nous y pourrions proceder. Je presuppose que vous & Messieurs nos Deputez qui se trouvent auprez de vous, n'auront pas beaucoup de peine à disposer Monsieur le Marquis d'envoyer incontinent un pouvoir à Messieurs van *Beuningen* & *Trevor*, pour signer en son nom & de la part du Roy son maître, le traité avec les Commissaires du Roy de *France*, conformément au projet susdit que je trouve entièrement conforme à notre convention & à nos articles secrets; ainsi que le Sieur van *Beuningen* nous mande aussi, que luy & Monsieur *Trevor* en ont rendu ce même jugement. Si ce n'est que son Excellence ayme mieux de signer luy même ledit traité, & d'en recevoir un en échange signé de la part du Roy de *France*, au quel cas il me semble que l'on n'auroit qu'à mettre dessus le projet, *Traité de paix entre les Roys* * d'*Espagne* & de *France*; pour ne disputer pas sur les termes de la preface; & au bas d'ajouter la date. Cela estant fait, il faudra à mon jugement que lesdits Ministres à *Paris* offrent au Roy de *France* de signer au nom du Roy d'*Espagne*, ou bien d'échanger le traité signé, si son Excellence ayt trouvé bon de signer luy même; moyennant que la *France* accorde un terme raisonnable pour procurer la ratification de la Reyne d'*Espagne*, & sur tout la continuation de la cessation d'armes pendant ce terme un peu au gré de la *France*, vous seriez plus liberal ou complaisant que moy; car au lieu que vous vous contenteriez du terme de 15^{me} de *May* cy-devant proposé par

* Et en l'autre Instrument, De *France* & d'*Espagne*.

fant than I: For whereas you are satisfied with the Term till the 15th of May already proposed by Monsieur de Ruvigny, I think Reason and Decency should oblige to take till the End of May. And if the King of France refuses either to sign on his side; or to grant the said Term with the Cessation of Arms, I should not stick to declare immediately for Spain, and act by Sea and Land in Conformity to our third Separate Article.

And since it cannot enter into a reasonable Man's Mind, that the Queen of Spain can be so blind as not to ratify the said Treaty, by

* The Country of Burgundy.

which a * whole Province is restored, and a Minor King delivered

from being engaged in a second War with us and Spain; I should not be hard at granting the King of France whatever he can demand with any Appearance of Reason, in a Case that will never arrive; chiefly, because many Princes of Germany will then declare on our Side, who might else (blinded by the Appearances of Reason in Monsieur de Lionne's Letter of the 19th past) abandon us entirely. The King of Sweden or his Minister at London, do, I think, stretch the Cord too far, and he will break it if he does not yield a little. However, we have last Wednesday sent such Orders to our Ambassadors, that I doubt not a good Success of this Negotiation.

For the other Points of your Letter, I must refer my self to what you can learn from our Deputies and his Excellency, by Advices from the Ambassador Don Estevan de Gamarra. Therefore I shall conclude remaining,

S I R,

Your, &c.

Johan. de Witt.

par Monsieur de Ruvigny, il me semble que la raison & la bienfaisance nous obligeroient bien de prendre jusques au dernier jour de May: Et si le Roy de France vient à refuser ou la signature de son côté, ou le terme avec la cessation d'armes, je ne hesiterois point à nous declarer d'abord sans marchander, pour l'Espagne, & agir par mer & par terre en conformité du 3^{me} de nos articles separéz.

Et comme il ne peut tomber dans l'esprit d'un homme raisonnable, que la Reyne d'Espagne pourroit estre si aveugle que de ne ratifier point le dit traité qui luy fait rendre une

* Province entiere, & qui * La Comté de Bourgogne. delivre un Roy mineur d'un second accablément de

l'Angleterre & de cet Etat; je ne serois nullement chiche à accorder au Roy de France tout ce qu'il pourroit demander avec quelque apparence de raison, dans un cas qui n'echerra pas. Principalement parceque plusieurs Princes d'Allemagne alors se declareront de nostre parti, qui sans cela, aveugles par les apparences du raisonnement compris dans la lettre de Monsieur de Lionne du 19^{me} du mois passé, nous abandonneroient entierelement. Le Roy de Suede, ou son Ministre à Londres me semble trop tendre la corde; & il la rompra s'il ne se met un peu à la raison: Neantmoins nous avons encore Vendredy passé envoyé tels ordres à nos Ambassadeurs que je ne doute d'un bon succès de cette negotiation.

Quant aux autres points de votre lettre, je suis obligé de me remettre à ce que vous pourrez entendre de nos Deputéz & de son Excellence par les avis de l'Ambassadeur Don Estevan de Gamarra. C'est pourquoy en finissant je demeureray comme je suis veritablement,

Monsieur,

Vôtre, &c.

Johan. de Witt.

From the Elector of Mentz.

De l'Electeur de Mayence.

My Lord,

Mentz, April
12. 1668.

HAVING heard of your Excellency's Arrival at Aix la Chapelle, to assist in his Majesty of Great Britain's Name

Monsieur,

A Mayence 12
Avril, 1668.

ANT sceu l'arrivée de votre Excellence à Aix la Chapelle pour y assister au nom de sa Majesté de la Grande Bretagne

Q q

Name at a Negotiation of Peace between the two Crowns, I could not forbear expressing my Joy, and the Confidence I have that the Intervention and Authority of so great a King, will give much Weight to the Affair, and very much facilitate the Peace; which employing all my Thoughts at present, I have dispatch'd to the said Town of *Aix*, the Baron of *Schonborn* my Nephew, with Orders to render all Offices from me to your Excellency, and to contribute all he can towards a Peace so necessary to the Repose of all *Christendom*. In the mean time I desire your Excellency to be assured, that, as I shall always reckon it an Honour to serve the King your Master, so I shall never let pass any Occasion of shewing in particular that I am,

My Lord,

*Your Excellency's most humble,
and affectionate Servant,
J. Ph. El. de Mayence.*

*Bretagne à la negotiation de la paix entre les deux Couronnes; Je n'ay pu m'empêcher de luy temoigner ma joye, & la confiance que j'ay que l'intervention & l'autorité d'un Roy si puissant donnera un poids tres grand à l'affaire, & facilitera de beaucoup la conciliation & le retablissement de cette paix: Laquelle faisant aujourd'hui tous mes soins, j'ay depêché à ladite ville d'*Aix* le Baron de *Schonborn* mon neveu avec ordre d'offrir & de rendre à vôtre Excellence de ma part, tous les offices, & de contribuer de son possible pour parvenir à la fin que l'on s'est proposée, pour obtenir une paix si nécessaire au repos de toute la Chrétienté. Cependant je prie vôtre Excellence d'estre assurée que comme je feray toujours gloire de servir le Roy son maître; de même je ne perdray jamais l'occasion où je pourray temoigner en mon particulier que je suis,*

Monfieur,

*De vôtre Excellence, le tres humble,
& tres affectionné Serviteur,
J. Ph. E. de Mayence.*

From Monsieur de Witt.

S I R,

*Hague, April
16. 1668.*

AFTER having writ to you on the 4th, I find my self honour'd by two of yours of the 9th and 14th Instant. The Marquis of *Castel-Rodrigo*'s manner of transacting does infinitely displease us; and we believe we have enter'd enough into his Designs, to conclude, that his Aim is to delay the signing of the Project, and the sending of the Powers till the *French* begin to be in Motion; and in the mean while to sign or send the Power desired, and summon us by virtue of a former Promise, to oppose our Arms against those of *France*, which will then begin to enter into Action, and by that means set us into an open War by Advance. However, to give the said Marquis the amplest Assurance, and to convince him he is in the wrong, we were willing entirely to agree to your Advice, and to authorize our Deputies to pass a Promise with you in due Form by Writing, inserting in it the same

5 Words

De Monsieur de Witt.

Monfieur,

*A la Haye, 16
Mars, 1668.*

APRÈS que je vous ay écrit le 4^{me} je me trouve honoré de vos deux dépêches du 19^{me} & 14^{me} de ce mois. La maniere d'agir de Monsieur le Marquis de *Castel-Rodrigo* nous deplaît infiniment; & nous croyons penetrer assez ses visées, pour conclurre que son but est de delayer la signature du projet & l'envoy du pouvoir jusques à ce que les *François* commencent à se remuer; & de signer en même temps ou d'envoyer le pouvoir désiré, & de nous sommer en vertu d'une promesse préalable d'opposer nos armes contre celles de *France* qui commenceront alors d'entrer en action, & par ainsi nous mettre en guerre ouverte par provision. Neantmoins pour donner au dit Marquis une assurance plus ample, & pour achever de le mettre dans le tort, nous avons bien voulu nous conformer entièrement à vôtre avis, & autoriser nos Deputez à passer avec vous la promesse en bonne & deûe forme par écrit; y inserant les mêmes paroles du troisieme de nos articles

Words of our third Separate Article. And I think you have very judiciously considered, that the Condition of the Promise ought to be, not only the Signing of the Project and Powers; but if after the Signing, &c. France refuses either to consent to it, or to continue the Suspension of Arms, we believe we have great Cause to complain of the Marquis, that notwithstanding the solemn Promise made by the *States General*, and delivered to *Don Estevan de Gamarra* in their Resolution of the 5th of this Month, he has delay'd to sign and dispatch the Power; so that if this had been done at first, we had been already out of all Doubt; for either the Conclusion of it would have been pursued at *Paris* with the Suspension of Arms; or, in case of Refusal, *England* and this *State* would already act in earnest, and with a good Conscience for *Spain*. And I desire you to let his Excellency see as plainly as possible, that if now after the signing and sending the Power to *Paris*, and before the King of *France* can be inform'd of it, he shall receive any Disgrace, it is himself he ought to impute it to; for *England* and this *State* will not put into his Hands the Power of involving them in an open War with *France*, unseasonably, and against their Intention clearly express'd in the Agreement of the 25th Instant; which would have happen'd if we had left him the liberty to delay the signing or sending his Power, till he had provoked the *French* to move; or if then signing or sending the Power, he had the Right of employing our Troops against those of *France*, before the King of *France* could have had Intelligence of the said signing or sending of the said Power, and by consequence before the said King could have finished the Treaty, and continued the Suspension of Arms. I hope, and am assured, that after this Pace, which is the last the *States* are capable of making in this Conjunction, the Marquis will not delay a Moment the signing and sending of the Peace to *Paris*; but if, contrary to all Appearance, he should be capable of doing so, I desire you to let him know, that neither *England* nor the *States* can assist one who manifestly refuses, and consequently that he will be abandoned on all Sides; and also that we shall find our selves under

cles séparés; & je juge que vous avez très judicieusement considéré que la condition de la promesse doit estre non seulement la signature du projet & des pouvoirs; mais si après la signature, &c. la France refuse ou d'y consentir, ou de continuer la suspension d'armes: Nous croyons avoir grand sujet de nous plaindre du Sieur Marquis en ce que non obstant la promesse solennelle, faite par les *Etats Generaux*, & delivrée à *Don Estevan de Gamarra* dans leur resolution du 5^{me} de ce mois il a delayé de signer & de dépêcher le pouvoir; d'autant, que si cela eut esté fait d'abord, nous nous trouverions déjà hors de toute obscurité; car ou la conclusion en auroit esté suivie à *Paris*, avec la suspension d'armes; ou en cas de refus, l'Angleterre & cet *Etat* agiroit déjà de bon coeur & en bonne conscience pour l'Espagne. Et je vous supplie de faire voir à son Excellence le plus vivement qu'il se pourra faire, que si à cette heure après la signature ou l'envoy du pouvoir vers *Paris*, & avant qu'on en puisse avoir averti le Roy de *France*, il reçoive quelque disgrâce; que ce sera à soy même à qui il le devra imputer: Car l'Angleterre & cet *Etat* ne peuvent pas luy donner en main un moyen assuré pour les enveloper mal à propos & contre leur intention clairement exprimée dans la convention du 25^{me} de ce mois dans une guerre ouverte avec la *France*; ce qui se feroit si on luy laissoit la faculté de delayer la signature ou l'envoy de son pouvoir jusques à ce qu'il auroit provoqué les François de se remuer; ou qu'alors signant ou envoyant le pouvoir il eut le droit de faire agir nos troupes contre celles de *France* avant que le Roy de *France* eut pû avoir nouvelle de ladite signature ou de l'envoy dudit pouvoir & par consequent avant qu'il eut pû faire achever le traité & continuer la suspension d'armes: J'espere & je me tiens assuré qu'après ce pas qui est le dernier que les *Etats* sont capables de faire en cette conjoncture, Monsieur le Marquis ne delayera plus un moment la signature & l'envoy d'un pouvoir vers *Paris*; mais, si contré toute apparence, il fût capable de le faire, je vous supplie de lui faire voir comme il faut qui ni l'Angleterre ni les *Etats*, ne peuvent pas assister un refusant manifeste; que par consequent il sera abandonné de tous côtés, & qu'aussi nous nous trouverons necessités de le reduire par des moyens plus efficaces à accepter reellement & en effet
par

under a Necessity to reduce him by more effectual Means, to accept really and effectually by signing of the Treaty, the Alternative he has already accepted by a separate Writing. And I even apprehend that by the Delays already pass'd, the Affair is reduced to a Point not to be redress'd; as in truth we shall find our selves embarrassed enough, if the King of France be already gone from *Paris* to his Army, before the Project signed, or the Power be arrived there. I cannot tell by what Politick his Excellency desires his Conduct should be decry'd by all Men, or that his Government should be lost; for, to think us so ill advised, that he can engage us in a War against *France*, when they on their side are earnest for concluding a Peace, is what I cannot suppose; and if he thinks *France* will draw back, or refuse the Suspension, then why he would not let it appear publickly to the World by a ready signing on his side; this is what I cannot comprehend. In the mean time Monsieur Colbert at *Aix*, has loudly made appear the Easiness, and even the Complaisance of his Master, by the Protestation he has publickly made, that he has Order to sign the *Alternative*, without excepting against the Preamble of the Marquis's Power upon the Defect of a Faculty to substitute, or upon any other; whereas on the contrary, the Baron de Bergeyck is not authorized to do any thing at all: And I assure you, the positive Advices we receive of it, make every body's Head turn: Therefore I desire you so much the more to endeavour effectually that the Marquis should finish the Affair without any more Delay: For if this last Compliance of the *States* does not satisfy him, I confess to you I shall think no farther, but of some effectual Means to reduce him to Reason, and of some Expedients by which the King of Great Britain and their High and Mightinesses, may take Measures with *France* for preventing the Miseries of the Neighbourhood; in which I hope you assist with as much Application, according to the Intent of our Agreement, as I believe you will by all means endeavour to prevent a Case so desperate, and so destructive to *Spain*: And for me I shall remain ever with much Passion, Sir,

Your, &c.

par la signature du traité, l'alternative qu'il a déjà accepté par un écrit séparé. Et j'apprehende même que par les délais déjà passés, l'affaire ne soit réduite à un point pour ne pouvoir pas être redressée: Comme en vérité nous nous trouverions bien embarrassés, si le Roy de France fût déjà parti de *Paris* vers son armée, avant que le projet signé ou le pouvoir y fût arrivé. Je ne say pas par quelle politique son Excellence trouve bon de faire decrier sa conduite par tout le monde, & de perdre le pais de son gouvernement; car de nous croire si mal avisés qu'elle nous pourroit engager dans une guerre contre le France, lors qu'elle de son côté veut tout de bon conclurre la paix, c'est que je ne puis pas presupposer: Et si elle juge que la France reculera ou refusera la suspension, pourquoy elle ne l'ayt pas voulu faire paroître publiquement devant tout le monde par une prompte signature de son côté, c'est ce que je ne puis pas comprendre. Cependant Monsieur Colbert à *Aix* a fait paroître hautement la facilité, voire la complaisance du Roy son Maître, par la protestation qu'il fait publiquement, qu'il a ordre de signer l'alternative, sans faire exception sur le preambule du pouvoir du Marquis, sur le defect de la faculté de substituer, ou autres, là où au contraire Monsieur le Baron de Bergeyck ne se trouve autorisé à rien. Et je vous assure que les avis positifs que nous en recevons, font tourner la tête à un chacun: Ce pourquoy je vous supplie d'autant plus de tenir la main efficacement à ce que Monsieur le Marquis acheve l'affaire sans plus de delay: Car si cette dernière complaisance des Etats ne luy satisfait pas, je vous avoue que je ne songeray plus qu'aux moyens efficaces pour le reduire à la raison, & aux expedients, par lesquels le Roy de la Grande Bretagne & leurs Hautes Puissances se puissent entendre avec la France, pour prevenir les malheurs de son voisinage: En quoy j'espere que vous coopererez avec autant d'application selon l'intention de nôtre convention, que je me tiens assuré que vous tacherez par toute sorte des moyens de prevenir ce cas desesperé & ruineux pour l'Espagne. Et moy, je demeureray à jamais avec beaucoup de passion, Monsieur,

Vôtre tres humble Serviteur,

Joan. de Witt.
From

From Monsieur de Witt.

S I R,

Hague, April
27. 1668.

YOU ought to be well satisfied with your whole Conduct, since the Success so well answers your good Intention, and that your Work has so excellent an Agreement with the Foundations you had laid. All *Christendom* owes you the Glory of having first disposed the King of *Great Britain's* Mind to so strict an Alliance between his Majesty and this *State*, for the universal Good and Peace of *Europe*. It is upon this Principle you have continued to labour with so much Application, and so successfully with the Marquis of *Castel-Rodrigo*, that it is chiefly to you we are obliged for the good Disposition he is in at present, and for the Enjoyment of so great an Advantage to *Christendom* as results from it. I speak of it as a thing we possess already, because I see nothing that can hinder us from it; it being likely that the Baron de *Bergeyck* has already executed the Power we have sent him; and that the Court of *Madrid*, in order to deliver *Flanders* from its troublesome Guests, will no longer defer to ratify the Treaty. For the rest, I agree extremely with your Sentiments, and am of Opinion, some Exchange of Places should be negotiated immediately after the signing of the Treaty.

I writ about it before to Monsieur *Beverning*, so that I do not doubt but you have been entertained with it already. I confess also with you, that this Negotiation will be more conveniently managed afterwards at *Paris* than any where else, at least if the Marquis of *Castel-Rodrigo* can resolve to have Confidence enough in the King of *Great Britain's* Ministers, and those of this *State*, to refer to them the Negotiation of an Affair of this Nature: Though, if he considers it well, he will find that we both have the same Interest in it. You have nothing else, but to go on your own way upon the Foundation of the Agreement of *January* the 23^d, to support the Peace made, by a Guarranty of all who are interested in it, either in general or particular; never fearing that

Monsieur,

A la Haye, 27
Avril, 1668.

VOUS devez estre bien satisfait de toute votre conduite, puisque le succès repond si parfaitement à votre bonne intention, & que votre ouvrage à un si excellent rapport aux fondemens que vous en aviez jetté. Toute la *Chrétienté* vous doit la gloire d'avoir donné la premiere disposition dans l'esprit du Roy de la *Grande Bretagne* à une si étroite liaison entre sa Majesté & cet Etat pour le bien & le repos universel de l'*Europe*. Sur ce principe vous avez continué de travailler avec tant d'application & si heureusement auprès de Monsieur le Marquis de *Castel-Rodrigo*, que c'est à vous principalement à qui l'on est obligé de la bonne disposition en laquelle il se trouve presentement, & de la jouissance d'un si grand avantage pour la *Chrétienté* qui en resulte. J'en parle comme d'une chose que nous possedons deja, parceque je ne voy rien qui nous en puisse frustrer, y ayant de l'apparence qui dès à present le Baron de *Bergeyck* aura executé le pouvoir que nous luy avons porté; & que la Cour de *Madrid*, pour delivrer les Pais bas de l'importunité de ses hôtes, ne voudra pas differer de ratifier le traité. Au reste, je donne fort dans vos sentimens, & suis d'avis que l'on fasse negotier quelque échange de places incontinent après la signature du traité.

J'en ay escrit cy-devant à Monsieur *Beverning*, de sorte que je ne doute point que vous ne vous en soyez deja entretenus. J'avoue aussi avec vous que cette negotiation se fera plus commodement dans la suite à *Paris* qu'ailleurs; au moins si Monsieur le Marquis de *Castel-Rodrigo* peut resoudre à prendre assez de confiance aux Ministres du Roy de la *Grande Bretagne* & de cet Etat, pour s'en rapporter à eux de la negotiation d'une affaire de cette nature; quoyque-s'il le considere bien, il trouvera que nous y avons les uns & les autres presque le même intérêt. Vous n'avez que continuer votre route sur le fondement de la convention du 23 *Janvier*, pour soutenir la paix faite par une guarrantie de tous les intéressés en general & en particulier; & ne point craindre que ceux qui travailleront au nom de cet Etat avec vous, deconcertent

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that those who shall negotiate jointly with you in the Name of this *State*, will disorder the Harmony that has appeared in the whole Course of this Negotiation. What they do, is as well from their own Inclination, as in pursuance of their Orders. For me, I shall ever second your Zeal with Joy, and shall take all Occasions to shew with how much Passion and Sincerity I am,

S I R,
Yours, &c.

cette belle harmonie que l'on a veue en toute la suite de cette negotiation. Ils le feront non seulement en execution des ordres qu'ils en ont, mais aussi par inclination. Pour moy, ce sera toujours avec joye que je seconderay v^{otre} zele, & que je rencontreray les occasions où je vous puisse donner des preuves de la passion & sincerité avec laquelle je suis,

Monfieur,

V^{otre} tres humble Serviteur,
Johan. de Witt.

From my Lord Arlington.

S I R,

Whitehall, May 8. 1668.

IF I had written to you last Post, (as I should have done if there had been time for it) you would have heard me complain much of the Pain I was in not to hear from you in fifteen Days in so delicate a Conjunction of Affairs, which was occasion'd by contrary Winds. In the mean time we were a little eased by Sir *John Trevor's* Assurance to us of the Peace having been signed on the 2^d, N. S. which has been since amply confirmed by two of yours brought together, of the 2^d and 8th, N. S. So that now I can with Foundation give you the *Parabien* of this great Work, which you may without Vanity call your own, whatever *Padrinoes* you have had to assist you in it: And with more Satisfaction, considering what Escapes you made betwixt the Marquis's Irresolutions, the Baron *de Bergeyck's* Puntillios, and Monsieur *Colbert's* Emportement. God be thanked, the great Business and you are so well delivered from these Accidents; after which I hope this will find you safely arrived at *Brussels*, and keeping your self still in the same Figure of Equipage to wear the better the Character of his Majesty's Ambassador at the *Hague*; towards which I shall send you with all speed his final Resolution and Instructions. In the mean time you will receive by the enclosed, his Mind to the Marquis, recommending to his Excellence the making good with all speed to the Crown of *Sweden* what we and the *Dutch* Ambassadors have promised to the Count *de Dona*, as you will see by this enclosed Act, which we gave him at the Exchange of our Treaty, engaging him in the *Triple Alliance*; the Performance of which the *Dutch* Ambassadors and I have already bespoken of the Count *de Molina* within six Weeks time, when we hope the Ratification will be come from *Stockholm*; and the said Ambassador observing already that the Count *de Molina* calls to the *Dutch* Ambassadors and us for a Ratification; he admonishes us to delay it till the Conditions be performed with him. This, I say, is offer'd, but not concluded by us to be so observed.

His Majesty had resolv'd the Parliament should adjourn on *Monday* last, but an unhappy Difference falling out betwixt the Lords and Commons upon a great Point of their Privileges, their Sitting hath been spun on to this Day, tho' not without Hopes of our finally rising to Morrow. Our long talk'd of Miscarriages have this Week been finish'd with a very unhappy one in the Queen; after twenty Days going, and raising the dejected Hopes of the whole Nation, which even this Misfortune hath somewhat revived. I leave it to Ambassador *Patrick* to entertain you upon this Subject, who cannot fail of long Letters by this Post. I am with all Truth and Affection,

S I R,

Your very humble Servant,
Arlington.
P. S.

P. S. You never sent us any Copy of the Promise of Guaranty you signed to the Marquis; though you did the Original of that he gave you in exchange of it, with relation to the King our Master. When the Count *de Molina* hath pressed me apart from the *Dutch* Ambassadors for his Majesty's Ratification, I have told him he ought to have ready his Ratification from *Madrid* to exchange with ours; which it will not be amiss for you to take notice of likewise to the Marquis, when he shall give you occasion for it.

From the Elector of Mentz.

My Lord,
Mentz, May
14, 1668.

Monfieur,
De Mayence,
14 May, 1668.

THE Honour of a general Joy upon the Peace concluded and signed between the Crowns, being equally due to the vigorous Interposition of his Majesty of Great Britain, and to the wise Conduct of your Excellency in an Affair of such Importance to *Christendom*; I desire to rejoice with you upon the happy Success of it. I hope, the Ratification of this Treaty will be exchanged in due time on both sides; and shall not fail on my part, of contributing all I can to the Preservation of the publick Peace, and to second his Majesty's Intentions; assuring your Excellency in the mean time, that the Obligations will never be forgot, which an infinite number of good Christians owe you for your Diligences in accomplishing the Peace: And that for my particular, I shall cherish all Occasions of shewing your Excellency the Sincerity of my Affection, and how much I desire to let you know that I am,

Your Excellency's most humble
and most affectionate Servant,

L'Honneur d'une joye generale sur la paix conclue & signée entre les Couronnes, se devant également à la vigoureuse interposition de sa Majesté de la Grande Bretagne, & à la sage maniere dont Vótre Excellence a sceu conduire une affaire de telle importance à toute la Chrétienté; J'ay bien voulu me conjourer avec elle de l'heureux succès qui l'a suivi. J'espere que la Ratification de ce Traité sera échangée à son terme de part & d'autre; & ne manqueray de contribuer de ma part tout ce que je pourray à la conservation du repos public, & pour seconder les intentions de sa Majesté: Assurant cependant vótre Excellence qu'on n'oubliera jamais les obligations que luy doivent une infinité de bons Chrétiens pour les soins qu'elle a apportés à la conciliation de cette paix; & que pour mon particulier je cheriray les occasions par lesquelles je luy pourray temoigner la sincerité de mon affection, & combien je desire luy faire connoître que je suis,

Monfieur,
De Votre Excellencee tres humble
& tres affectionné Serviteur,
Jean Philippe El. de Mayence.

From the Duke de Roanez.

From the Camp of Ruysbrouk,
Monfieur, May 29, 1668.

Au Camp de Ruysbrouk,
Monfieur, 29 May, 1668.

THE Count of Rembourg has informed this Morning (being the 27th instant) at eleven a Clock, from the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo, of the Arrival of the Ratification; to which I sent answer, that I doubted not of

Monsieur le Comte de Rembourg m'a fait sçavoir ce matin 27, à onze heures, de la part de Monsieur le Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo, l'arrivée de la ratification: A qui j'ay fait réponse, que je ne doutois pas de ce qu'il me fai-

soit

what he did me the Honour to write to me, but that I had no News of it from the King: Be pleased that I repeat the same thing to you, and tell you that I wonder extreamly how any one can complain that I have attack'd their Troops out of the City; since these Acts of Hostility are always allowed till the Publication of the Peace; for it is but yesterday that one of their Parties attack'd ours, whereof I sent you the Prisoners back to *Braine le Chateau*; and the same day those of *Braine le Chateau* took 10000 *Francs* from the Equipage of one of our Captains. They might better inform you, how I send your Prisoners back, without suffering them to be dismounted or plunder'd; that I allow no Pillage that comes to my Knowledge, and that they have dismounted and stript even my own *Domesticks*. For what the Marquis of *Castel-Rodrigo* has assured you, that his Troops on the 27th at Noon, and the 28th or 29th at Night, acted only in the defensive: If there be any Action for the future, whereof I see no Appearance, then I shall know by the Issue, whether they have yet acted defensively or offensively. This is all I can answer you upon what is past, or to come. In Expectation of the King's Orders for publishing the Peace at the Camp, as it has been this Day publish'd at *Brussels*, you will do me Justice to believe that no one is more than I,

S I R,

Your most humble Servant,

soit l'honneur de m'ecrire; mais que je n'en avois aucune nouvelle du côté du Roy. Trouvez bon que je vous repete la même chose; Et que je vous dise que je suis extrêmement étonné, que l'on se puisse plaindre de ce que j'ay fait attaquer leurs troupes hors de la Ville: Puisque ces sortes d'actes d'hostilité sont permis jusqu'à la publication de la paix; Et que même hier un de leurs parties attaqua les nôtres, dont je renvoyay les prisonniers à Braine le Chateau; Et le même jour, ceux du même Braine le Chateau prirent près de dix mille francs d'equipage à un de nos capitaines. Ils pourroient encore mieux vous informer comme je renvoye leurs prisonniers, sans permettre qu'on les demonte Et qu'on les depouille; que je ne souffre point de pillage, qui vienne à ma connoissance; Et qu'ils ont demonté Et depouillé jusqu'à nos domestiques. Pour ce que Monsieur le Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo vous a assuré que ses troupes le 27^{me} après midy, Et la nuit du 28^{me} ou 29^{me}, n'avoient agi qu'en se deffendant; c'est un verité dont je tombe d'accord: Si à l'avenir il y a quelque action, à quoy je ne voy point d'apparence, alors je sauray par l'issue s'ils ont encore agi en se deffendant ou en attaquant. Voilà ce que je vous puis repondre pour ce qui est passé, Et ce qui peut arriver, en attendant les ordres du Roy pour faire publier la paix au Camp comme l'on l'a publiée aujourd'hui à Bruxelles; Vous me ferez justice de croire qu'il n'est personne qui soit plus,

Monsieur,

Vôtre tres humble Serviteur,

Le Duc de Roanez.

From Monsieur de Witt.

S I R,

*Hague, July
6, 1668.*

Monsieur,

*A la Haye, 6 Juill.
1668.*

I Could not receive more agreeable News than what you tell me of your return hither with the Character of Ambassador. I am sure you will not doubt the Truth of what I say, when you reflect on the Satisfaction I ought to have, and have already in the Generosity and Sincerity I have observed in all your Proceedings. You have

JE ne pouvois pas recevoir un avis plus agreeable que celui que vous me donnez de vôtre prochain retour avec la qualité d'Ambassadeur: Je m'assure que vous ne douterez point de la verité de ce que je viens de dire; quand vous voudrez faire reflexion sur la satisfaction que je dois avoir, Et ay en effet, de la generosité Et sincerité que j'ay remarquées

have reason, Sir, to say, that it is impossible the King of Great Britain should not design to live in a perfect good Intelligence with this State, when he sends us a Person who ought to be so dear to us upon so many Considerations, honoured with a Character that shews the Esteem and Friendship he has for this State: We shall endeavour the Continuance of both, by doing all his Majesty can expect from his most faithful Allies; and by the same means I shall endeavour to give his Majesty the Marks of that profound Respect I have for his Person, and the Proofs of those Sentiments I have for your Merit. And as you and I desire nothing on both sides, but to preserve eternally the good Intelligence you have help'd to strengthen, with so much Success; I cannot doubt, but we may easily avoid whatever is capable of changing it. Permit me, Sir, to say, that you shall find me always disposed to give all facility to whatever can establish the common Interest of either State; and as I know I shall always find the same disposition in you, I cannot but rejoice when I consider, that I shall have to negotiate with a Minister who possesses all the Qualities that can make him succeed in whatever he undertakes.

This is all I am permitted to say, by an Affliction lately come upon me, having lost a Wife who was indeed the true half of me; whereof I make no difficulty by this occasion to inform you, who have had the Goodness to tell me, that you take part in my Concerns, as on my side I shall ever do in all your Interests, with that Affection and Sincerity wherewith I am and shall remain all my Life,

S I R,

Your most humble Servant,

marqué en tout votre procédé. Vous avez raison de dire, Monsieur, qu'il ne se peut, que l'intention du Roy de la Grande Bretagne ne soit de vivre dans une parfaitement bonne intelligence avec cet Etat, puisque il nous envoie une personne qui nous doit estre chere par tant de considerations, revêtu d'un caractère qui marque l'estime & l'amitié qu'il a pour cet Etat. Nous tacherons d'en meriter la continuation en faisant tout ce que sa Majesté pourra desirer de ses plus fideles Alliez; & par le même moyen je tacheray de luy donner des marques du profond respect que j'ay pour la personne de sa Majesté, & des preuves des sentimens que j'ay de votre merite. Et comme de part & d'autre, nous ne desirons rien, ni vous ni moy, que de conserver eternellement la bonne intelligence que vous avez aidé à affermir avec tant de succès; je ne puis pas douter que nous n'évitons sans peine tout ce qui pourroit estre capable de l'alterer. Permettez moy, Monsieur, que je vous dise encore, que vous me trouverez toujours disposé à donner une dernière facilité à tout ce qui pourra établir l'intérêt commun de l'un & de l'autre Etat; & comme je say que je trouveray toujours la même disposition en vous, il ne se peut que je ne me rejouisse quand je considere que j'auray à negotier avec un Ministre qui possède toutes les qualités qui le peuvent faire reussir en tout ce qu'il entreprendra.

C'est tout ce que me permet de dire presentement l'affliction qui m'est survenue, venant de perdre une femme qui faisoit en effet la veritable moitié de moy même; dont je ne fais point de difficulté de faire part par cette occasion, à celui qui a eu la bonté de me temoigner qu'il en prend beaucoup de part mon à ce qui me touche; comme de côté j'en prendray toujours à tous vos interêts avec toute l'affection & sincerité avec laquelle je suis & demeureray toute ma vie.

Monsieur,

Votre tres humble Serviteur,

Jean de Witt.

S I

From

From Monsieur de Witt.

S I R,

*Hague, July
27, 1668.*

IN your obliging Letter of the 3^d Instant, I find so many Marks of Affection and Tenderness for me, that I cannot defer to return you my most humble Thanks, and to tell you, that of all the Consolations given me in my Affliction, there is none has been more effectual than what I received from you. I there find, it is the Heart that speaks, and that you truly take part in my Affliction, whereof I see you know the greatness, because you so well know the inestimable Loss I have suffered. And I dare to say, that if any remedy be capable of closing the Wound, it will doubtless be what your gentle healing Hand has applied to it. I confess it is somewhat sensible because it searches the Wound, but it afterwards applies a Balm that eases and lessens the Pain. I receive it as I ought, and shall endeavour to profit by all your Consolations, by combating my Weakness with the Strength of your Reasons, which are dictated to you not only by that Christian Philosophy whereof you make Profession, but by that sincere Friendship wherewith you are pleased to honour me. I most humbly entreat you to be persuaded that I perfectly return your Kindness, and am impatient for an Occasion to give you Proofs of it, which as I hope I shall find when we have the Happiness to enjoy you, so I desire with Passion to see you here, to let you judge of the Intention of this State, to preserve faithfully the Alliance that the King of Great Britain has pleased to make with it, but more particularly, to let you judge of the Inclination I have to contribute there-to all in my small Power; and to remain as long as I live,

Sir, your &c.

Monsieur,

*A la Haye, 27
27 Juil. 1668.*

JE trouve dans l'obligeante lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire du 3^{me} de ce mois, siile du lieu, tant de marques d'affection & de tendresse pour moy, que je ne puis pas différer de vous dire que de toutes les consolations que l'on me donne en mon affliction, il n'y en a point qui ait esté plus efficace que celle que je viens de recevoir de vous : J'y reconnois que c'est le coeur qui parle, & que vous prenez veritablement part à mon affliction; dont je voy que vous savez la grandeur puisque vous savez celle de la perte inestimable que j'ay faite: Et j'ose dire que s'il y a un remede capable de fermer la playe, c'est sans doute celuy qui y applique la main benigne & salutaire que vous me prêtez: Elle se fait sentir je l'avoue, parce qu'elle sonde la playe, mais elle y applique ensuite un baume qui l'adoucit & qui en soulage la douleur. Je le reçois comme je dois, & tâcheray de faire mon profit de toutes vos consolations, en combatant une foiblesse avec la force de vos raisons, que vous dicte non seulement la Philosophie Chrétienne, dont vous faites profession, mais aussi la tres sincere amitié, dont il vous plait m'honorer. Je vous supplie tres humblement d'être persuadé que j'y réponds parfaitement, que je suis dans l'impatience de vous en pouvoir donner des preuves; & que comme j'espere que j'en trouveray les occasions, lorsque nous aurons l'avantage de vous posséder, je desire avec passion de vous voir icy, pour vous faire juge de l'intention de l'Etat à entretenir fidèlement l'alliance qu'il a plû au Roy de la Grande Bretagne faire avec luy; mais bien plus particulièrement de l'inclination que j'ay à y contribuer tout ce qui est de mon petit pouvoir, & à demeurer tant que je vivray,

Monsieur,

Vôtre tres affectionné &
tres humble Serviteur,

Johan de Witt.

From

From the Lord Keeper Bridgeman.

S I R,

July 26. 1668.

I Received yours Yesterday Morning after you were gone hence; and am afraid the Letter which I sent you from Mr. *Williamson*, might come unreasonably to discompose you: It not being so intended by me; nor I believe the Message from the King to be otherwise intended than out of Kindness and Respect to you to hasten you away; that you might know how important he held your Negotiations might be for his Service at this critical time. And therefore I should be glad that you would take this by the right Handle.

I had a Letter this Night from Sir *Thomas Clifford*, who writes, that they in the Treasury have a great Desire to accommodate you: And though it be not in the Privy Seal that you shall have three Months Advance besides the 1000 *l.* yet they will be careful that you receive the Money as it is due. The Draught of the Instructions are sent away to my Lord *Arlington*, and expected back on *Tuesday* Night, and the Foreign Committee appointed to sit on *Wednesday* to dispatch them. Really, Sir, I do not think that there is any Intention in pressing your Departure for *Holland*, but just and honourable towards you, and with respect to the Greatness of the Employment and the Urgency of the King's Affairs at this time to have you at the *Hague*: And (if you will take my Opinion) I would not have you take other Measures of it, even for your own sake. In the mean time, while you do stay, you may press on the Business of your Account, tho' I should not advise you to retard your Journey upon that score. It may be as well pressed on by your Lady if she do not accompany you, or else by your Solicitors (among whom I will be one) who, if any Obstructions be, may write to you to remove them: But you will find the Vice-Chamberlain dilatory, and then your Stay at last upon this new Business (for so I may call it) may beget a Misconstruction. You will pardon the Freedom I take in imparting my own Thoughts to you in this Case.

I wish you and my Lady (to whom I recommend my humble Service) a happy Journey, and all other Felicities, as I wish to my self, who am ever,

Your faithful and very

affectionate Servant,

Orl. Bridgeman, C. S.

Sir WILLIAM

Sir *WILLIAM TEMPLE*'s
 First Embassy
 AT THE
 HAGUE,
 Begun *August* 1668.

To the Elector of Mentz.

A l'Electeur de Mayence.

S I R,

*Hague, Aug. 31.
 N.S. 1668.*

I DID not receive the Honour of your Highness's Letter till some time after my Arrival in *England*, with the enclosed for the King my Master, which he received with that Esteem his Majesty always bears to what comes from your Highness; and having promised me an Answer upon my Return for *Holland*, which has been put off from Day to Day, I have deferred my particular Acknowledgments to your Highness till I could value them by the Honour of accompanying a Letter from his Majesty. I send it now enclosed; and desire your Highness to believe, that I resent as I ought, the Honour you have done me; and that I will preserve your Highness's Letter among the greatest Marks of Honour to my Family; and shall not fail upon all Occasions to shew how much I shall cherish the Title I pretend to with so much Justice, of being,

S I R,

Your Highness's, &c.

Monfieur,

*A la Haye, le 31
 Aout. S.N. 1668.*

LA Lettre dont V.A. m'a honoré, & qui est datée du 14 de May, ne m'a été rendue que quelques jours après mon arrivée en Angleterre, avec elle j'ay reçu l'enveloppé pour le Roy mon Maître, que je luy ay porté, & qu'il a reçu avec les mêmes marques d'estime que sa Majesté a toujours fait paroître pour tout ce qui vient de la part de V.A. Le Roy m'ayant promis la réponse pour le tems de mon retour en Hollande, qui a toujours trainé de jour en jour; J'ay differé de marquer à V.A. ma reconnoissance en particulier, jusqu'à ce que j'eusse l'honneur d'être porteur d'un Lettre de sa Majesté. Je l'envoye à cette heur, & je supplie V.A. de croire que je ressens comme je le dois l'honneur qu'elle m'a fait, & que je conserveray sa Lettre, & la conteray parmi les titres & les honneurs qui elevent la gloire de ma famille. Je ne laisseray echaper aucune occasion de témoigner combien je cheris & cheriray toujours la qualité que je prens avec tant de justice de

Monfieur,

De V. A. &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Hague, Sept. 7. N. S. 1668.

SINCE my last I have not stirred out, but had the Favour of several Visits in my Chamber; among the rest, one from Monsieur *Meerman* on Wednesday, and one of three Hours from Monsieur *de Witt* Yesterday. I fell into Talk with the first, upon the matter of the *Guinea* Company; who said, my Lord *Holles*, and as I remember, Mr. Secretary *Morris*, had spoken of it to him before; but only given him a general Relation, upon which he could not sufficiently inform the States: That they had likewise mention'd some other Parts of the Marine Treaty, by which the *East-India* Company thought themselves aggrieved, but remember'd nothing particular besides the Form of Passports, in which we might receive what Satisfaction we pleased, and the better Definition of what was meant by a *Town invested*. I told him, the Business of *Guinea* was distinct from any thing of the Marine Treaty (though he was unwilling to understand it so) that I was very little instructed in the first, because his Majesty's Commands in that Point were only to procure the Reference of it to Commissioners for the proposing Rules by which both Companies should proceed, and thereby preventing the said Company's acting wholly by Rules and Officers of their own, which had been the first Occasions of the unhappy Disputes between us, and might possibly prove so again. For the Marine Treaty, I told him I had yet no Instructions upon that Subject, but might have in a little time; and thereupon took occasion of discoursing to him at large the whole Business of Commerce between us, and the Necessity of giving us some Reason and Ease in those Matters; upon which, tho' he seem'd a little stanch, as his Complexion is, and jealous of our great Growth in Trade, by a more parsimonious and industrious Genius among us of late, than had formerly been; yet I found, what I said had Impression on him: For he parted with great Professions of contributing all he could towards the Success of all Negotiations between us; and went that Night to communicate all to Monsieur *de Witt*, as I found by our Conference next Day. It began with his having perused my Papers about the *Guinea* Company; upon which he desired to know if I had no other Information than those gave me: For by those, the Matter seem'd favourable to them, by the Letters of their Director being particular, and with relation to time, and to the Articles of the *Breda* Treaty, by which the new Settlements there were to be govern'd; whereas what concerned our Pretensions was contained only in some loose Examinations concerning Possession or not Possession formerly by one or the other, without any reference to the Constitutions made by the *Breda* Treaty, and without mentioning in any direct Terms what it was we complained of, or what we desired.

The Truth is, all the Papers concerning that Matter remitted to me by Mr. Secretary *Morris*, were only the *Guinea* Company's Petition, the Examination of Mr. *Thomas Crisp*, Captain *Merbrooke*, and Mr. *Be'ois*, with a Letter and Protest of the Director of the *Dutch West-India* Company. I excused my being so little informed, upon the Reasons I had alledged to Monsieur *Meerman*, and press'd in the same manner the Reference of it to Commissioners. He allowed his Majesty's Consideration of preventing the two Companies proceeding by Rules or Executions of their own, to be very prudent and necessary; and that he knew the *States* would second his Majesty's good Intention in it; and that when he could find the Matter of Fact and Right but alledged in distinct Testimonies of known Persons, he doubted not but he should easily find a Composure for all these Disputes, and agree upon a constant Reglement hereafter. And to this purpose he would send immediately to enquire among the Officers of their Company for any Papers that may have been remitted to them from our Officers to theirs in *Guinea*; for he could not believe but that Letter and Protest of their Director had either been occasioned by some precedent Letters or Demands from some Officers of ours, or at least followed by some Answers, in which our Demands and Rights were asserted, as those of the

Dutch were in those Papers of their Director. I answer'd all, by insisting upon Commissioners according to my Instruction, and argued its being a Matter much more proper for such to debate and determine, as understood the Coasts, Situations, manner of Trade in those Parts, former Possessions, and Matters of Fact past, than for him and me, how willing soever we should be to inform our selves, or to find Expedients; and went so far upon this Subject, that he seem'd inclined it should be so; at least when the Pretensions were stated, so as it might appear what was to be referred to such Commissioners. But upon this he fell into the Discourse of what Monsieur *Meerman* had told him, or I had formerly written to him, concerning some Exceptions to the Marine Treaty; and how willing the *States* would be to alter the Form or Passports, when they knew how we desired it: And if the King wish'd any more particular Definition of what should be esteemed a *Town invested*, he did not doubt we might agree upon that too; having found me always to propose only what I thought reasonable, and to agree to what I found so; and he was made after the same manner, and so I should always find him. I easily perceived, that the Thing he would be at, was, upon occasion of this *Guinea* Matter, to know at once the Bottom of all we pretended, in point of regulating Commerce between us, having, I presume, heard more than was need perhaps, of all the Noise made by the *East-India* Company upon the Subject of the Marine Treaty, or by their Patrons, either out of Zeal to the Good of our Commerce, or out of Envy at the Success of so great a Council and Conduct of his Majesty, in which they had no Hand, and upon which if we had lost a little in Trade by changing the Form of the Articles at *Breda* into a Marine Treaty, (wherein I do not conceive how we lost at all) yet I am sure it was infinitely recompensed by the Necessity, the unexpected Success, and the great Consequences of those other Alliances, to which that Circumstance of the Marine Treaty was made, I thought, but a Sacrifice of Smoak. And this I could not but say for his Majesty's Satisfaction, and your Lordship's Vindication, with those other Ministers, by whose Advice that Council was taken and pursued, finding every Day more how highly it is applauded abroad, while it is maliced by some, and so little esteemed by others at home; though his Majesty has reaped already from it, both the whole Honour of giving Peace to Christendom, and perhaps the only Safety of his own Kingdoms, considering the Conjunctures in which that Council found us.

But to return to my Conference with Monsieur *de Witt*: Finding him lead me so industriously into a Field wherein I had no Intention to enter, I resolv'd however to take the Occasion, and once for all, to say all I had thought, or your Lordship had infused into me, upon that Subject. And so I told him plainly, That I was not yet instructed in that Matter of our Exceptions to the Marine Treaty, but believed I might be in a little time; That the Particulars he mention'd were complain'd of in the Treaty it self, and other Things thought to be admitted, but that I could not enter into any Particulars till I had Instructions; but since he gave me the Occasion, I would enter once for all into the general. I discours'd over to him the common Interest, and indeed Necessity, of preserving perpetual the present Alliances between us, especially on their Side, while the Dangers were so great from the Ambition and Power, as well as Neighbourhood of *France*; The great Overtures would now be made us from thence to the Prejudice of this Alliance, and at all other Times, whenever they could hope we were ready to receive them. That tho' I could give him no Jealousy of them now, but on the contrary assure him he might be at Ease on that Side, and that the King would only have the Honour by it, of setting them an Example of his Sincereness and Constancy, which he would expect they should follow when the Game begun with *them*, as it would after it ended with *him*. Yet I would tell him, that *France* was at all times capable of making us such Offers, and of giving us our present Account so well, though in Exchange perhaps of Danger to come (in case of no new Revolutions) that whenever there should be in *England* a Prince less direct, or less foreseeing than his Majesty, or either a weak or corruptible Ministry, I could not answer what Measures we should take: That, upon this Ground,

Ground, I thought they could not do wiser than to root this Alliance in the very Hearts of the People, and current Genius of the Nation, and not rely wholly upon the present Inclinations or Judgment of his Majesty, or the Dispositions of the Ministers: For if there were any thing that lay cross to it in the common Interest or Humour of the People, it would be upon all Occasions breaking out to disturb it, and whenever *that* should concur with the Dispositions of the Prince, they would be able to make a great Noise in the World. I told him, that many Persons in *England*, either to make way for the *French* Alliance by weakning or breaking this; or else perhaps to discredit the most applauded Councils of the present Ministry, had made a Noise about the Marine Treaty as if it had been a ruining the Nation, and from thence took Occasion to infuse into all People as far as they could, that we should never find any Fairness, or Directness, or Equality, in all we treated with the *Dutch*; but Subtilty, and Hardship, and Injustice, and when Occasion was, Obstinacy and Injury, in all Matters of Commerce between us; while we gave them Reason to believe we thought their Friendship necessary, or very convenient to us. That, I had ever since I knew him, maintained the contrary to his Majesty, assured him of the Sincerity I had found in their Proceedings, and been always made confidently believe by them, that his Majesty should find them ever reasonable and easy in what should be offered in reducing Matters of Commerce to an Equality, and to be reciprocal between us. That it was a small matter, that all my Credit, and perhaps Fortune lay at Stake upon their making this good: But I was sure it was considerable that the very Safety of our Alliance might at one time or other come to lie at Stake upon it too. And therefore for my part, I thought they could not do in the World a wiser thing, than to give us all reasonable Satisfaction in these Points, by consenting to any Reglements of Commerce which might import Equality, and be reciprocal between us. That any Equality it self would be the same Advantage to them, that a long Arm against a short would be between two Men with equal Swords; for considering their Parsimony, Industry, Necessity of turning all their Stock to Trade for want of Land, and Multitude of People; and on the other Side, our native Luxury, want of Order or Application, and our Extent and Cheapness of Land, and Ease of Taxes, which made People chuse to turn their Money that way; they could never fail of Advantage enough in any Equality, and upon it would find the surest, the most commodious Ally, and the best able to protect them that they could have in the World, being without any Ambition or Designs among our Neighbours, farther than to keep the Balance of *Christendom*: And yet on the other Side, the only Power that was feared by *France*, and that were able in Conjunction of our Fleets with theirs, to awe them by what they might suffer from Sea, into some Consideration of what was fit for them to act at Land.

During this Discourse, which I enlarged the most I could to the Purpose, resolving to bend all my Force upon the Effect of it; I found Monsieur *de Witt* very attentive, and willing to let me go on, with Marks in his Countenance of relishing, and, as I thought, approving what I said; which made me resolve to go yet one Point farther, and to the Root of all that could spring into any Jealousies between us. I told him, it was true, that there wanted not some among us that would be so wise to know, that it was impossible for us ever to fall into any firm Confidence with the *States* upon their present Constitution, nor particularly with him, upon the Prince of *Orange's* Occasion: That, for my part, I was not at all of that Mind: That though the King could not lose the Affection he had for his Nephew, yet he was of Opinion he could not express it better than by infusing into him the Belief, that he could make himself no way so happy as in the good Will of the *States*, and trusting wholly to them in the Course of his Fortunes, and not to private Factions, or foreign Intrigues and Applications. That his Majesty was of an Opinion himself, that Princes were not apt to do themselves more Hurt, and make themselves less, any way than by affecting too much Power, or such as was directly contrary to the Stomach and Genius of the Countrey which fell to their Share: And besides this, I knew his Majesty was so just and so reason-

able,

able, that though he should take kindly of the *States* any Respects they should shew his Nephew, yet I did not believe he would offer that to any other King or State, which he should not take well that any other should offer to him; and I did not believe he would ever be put upon any such Designs by his Council, or his People's Inclinations. For they who look'd upon the Prince in a Possibility of one Day coming to be their King; and that loved a Prince who grounded his Power in the Affections of his People, and loved to rule by Laws, had rather perhaps see the Prince of *Orange* happy in the good Will of the *States*, and such moderate Power as they should think consistent with their Government, than of a Humour that aims at any thing that might tend to subvert their Civil Constitutions: So that I saw nothing of Danger to them upon this Chapter, either from the Judgment and Disposition of his Majesty, or the Humour of the Nation: But was confident, in case we could agree upon Matters of Commerce, nothing could ever intervene to break an Alliance that was so useful to our selves, and all *Christendom* besides. And so I left it with him.

Upon this Discourse, Monsieur *de Witt* with very great Signs of Satisfaction told me, That all I said was so reasonable, that he agreed with me perfectly in it: And upon that, said a great deal of the Sympathy he had ever observed between us, and how easy that would ever make any thing we should fall in Treaty of. That he knew from Monsieur *Meerman*, I had been the occasion of giving him any Credit in *England* of an honest sincere Man; and he would never lose mine upon that occasion by giving the King Cause to believe other of him. That he confess'd he had often told me, that the *States* would ever be contented with an Equality with us in Point of Trade; and, that provided they might know what it was we would be at, and that we proposed nothing but what was equal and reciprocal between us; he would give me his Hand (as he did) that he would use all his Endeavours to give us Satisfaction in it; and he thought he knew the Minds of the *States* so well, that he durst almost promise it me in their Names by Advance, and without knowing what it was. That for any thing amiss in the Marine Treaty, he did not see how any Complaint could be made of what I had done in it; but that the Ambassadors at *Breda* ought to answer for that, if there were any thing ill in it, ours being but Word for Word the same with theirs, and both Parties Consent being necessary to alter what was then provisional, as what is now more formally establish'd. That, for the Form of the Passports, let me but bring one drawn up as we desire it, and in Terms current with the Forms of their State, and it shall be immediately agreed to. That, for defining what Towns shall be said to be besieged, he is very willing that should be done too, since it imports the same for one as t'other: And even for any other Matters that were thought necessary to be added to the Marine Treaty, since nothing else was desired to be altered: If his Majesty would instruct me fully in all Points, and that they proved as I said, equal and reciprocal, he would once more undertake we should agree upon them, and desired me to assure his Majesty so much; and he thought, the sooner I was instructed in it, the better: But desired that no Use might be made of this, to encourage either the *East-India* Company or others, to make new Exceptions or Demands, but only I might be instructed in those which had been made already: And that, I said, I durst promise him, for they had been already digested before the Council. From this, he fell to discourse of our Alliance, and the Considerations we had to strengthen and continue it; and how much he was pleased with what I said of the King's Resolution upon that Point, of his shewing them an Example of Constancy, and that I could never doubt their following it. And among other things said, the *States* had suck'd that in like Milk, which was already pass'd into the very Flesh and Substance of their Body: And we might be the more confident of it, since the Minister they employ'd in *France*, and through whose Hands all such Matters must pass, and be represented to the *States* by the Lights he should give them, was as firm and earnest upon it as any Man could be: That he knew *France* would try them as well as us, and would not say but they might possibly gain some one of the little Provinces; but for *Holland* in particular, and the Provinces in general, it was not a thing to be

thought on. From this he fell to speak of the Prince of *Orange*; and seemed very much pleased with what I had said on that Subject, both of the King's Dispositions, and the People's Humours and Thoughts, especially that of the King, of doing as he would be done by: He said, the *States* Intentions were to make him Captain-General of their Forces and Admiral too, tho' it was not mention'd; and to this purpose they would already have brought him into the Council of State, in order to fit him for those Charges; had it not been for some of the Provinces that had hinder'd it upon pretence of more Kindness to him, and designing greater Matters for him. That it was indeed agreed, those Charges were inconsistent with that of *Stadtholder*; which gave as much Authority in the Civil, as the others in the Military Part of the Government. That, considering the Smallness of their State, and Greatness of their Malice, there was an end of their Republick when both was in one Hand. That for his part, if he had been born under a King, he could never have consented to what his Ancestors did towards the King of *Spain*; but being born under a Commonwealth, and sworn to maintain it, he could consent to nothing that should destroy it; and he wonder'd how it had subsisted so long in that Danger, which was to be attributed to their constant Wars abroad, and to the great Moderation of those Princes, among whom none had Thoughts of it but the last, nor would he ever have fallen into them, without having been put upon them by the *French*, who had his Breeding and his Conversation. That, if he had lived, he would have been the ablest of all the Race; and from thence fell into Commendations of this young Prince's Parts and Dispositions: And so this Matter ended.

For the Business of *Spain*, he was scandalized as well as your Lordship, at that Queen's slight Answer, and pleased with his Majesty's Letter upon it. He said, the Talk of *Don John's* coming began to renew; and that in the mean time, the Marquis neither answered upon the *Swedish* Subsidies, nor press'd them upon the Guarranty, because they had refused to give it without the Compliance of *Spain* in the other Point. I pursued that no farther, having not yet heard from the Marquis, nor from the *Spanish* Ambassador here upon it. The Treaty between the Emperor and *Sweden* is not yet ratified, upon a Disagreement in the private Article about Money to be furnish'd them by the Emperor, who stands upon giving but one hundred and eleven thousand Dollars a Year, upon some Calculations made by some certain Quota's upon the several Parts of the Empire; and the *Swede* demanding one hundred and fifty thousand, which would make one imagine the *Spaniards* had not one of their five Senses left, to hazard or delay for such a Sum, a Treaty wherein your Lordship will observe a particular Clause, leaving Room for *Spain* to enter into it as they please.

While I am writing, I receive this enclosed from the *Swedish* Envoy here, by which you will see how unhappily a poor Ambassador is *Embarassé* by the Ceremonies that hinder him from seeing those that have so much mind to it, and with whom he must have so much to do. What Expedients I shall find hereafter, I know not yet; but shall let him know, that being *Incognito* till my Entry, *Et ne faisant pas l'Ambassadeur*, if he pleases to come and be content, that as *Incognito* I neither receive him nor conduct him out of my Chamber, I shall in it give him all the Civilities he expects, as I have hitherto done upon the same Pretence of being yet *Incognito*, to all Persons of Quality that have seen me here. Your Lordship will tell me if I do well or ill; and in Recompence I shall only tell you, that I shall not think I do well longer than you esteem me, what I am so much,

Your, &c.

To the Count de Molina.

Al Sennor Molina.

My Lord,

Hague, Sept. 9.
N. S. 1668.

AFTER a tiresome Passage by Sea, the Pleasure of your Excellency's Letter was not a little necessary to divert and relieve me, renewing with the *Spanish* Language at least the Memory of my past Happiness at *Brussels*. I read the Paper that came with it, and much esteem the Honour the Marquis does me in still preserving me in his Memory and Favour, which I shall not fail myself of acknowledging with the first Occasion.

I am much pleased with what they tell me here, of the good condition of the Army in *Flanders*; and that they begin, with the Money they have received, to recover new Life; if they have too much, I wish it were employed in *Sweden*, to bring that Nation into the *Spanish* Interest.

I pray God to preserve your Excellency many Years, and give me many Occasions of serving you.

I kiss your Excellency's Hands, &c.

Exmo. Senr.

La Haye, Sept. 9.
S. N. 1668.

SEñnor mio, Despues de un passaje de mar muy enfadoso, no me era menester cosa de menor gusto que la carta de V. E. para recrearme, y con la Lengua Espagnola refrescar al menos la memoria de mis passados contentamientos de *Brussellas*. He leydo tan bien el papel adjunto con mucha estima de la honra que me haze el Sennor Marques de no haverme olvidado ny echado menos en sus buenas gracias, lo que le he de agradecer como devo con la primera ocasion.

Mi buelgo mucho di entender loque me dizen aqui delas lindas tropas que se ballan aora en *Flandes*, y que comiençan a cobrar la vida con el dinero lo que ay de sobrado, quifiera mucho que fuesse en *Suecia* para enterar los de esta gente en los intereffes Espanoles.

Guarde de Dios a V. E. los annos que la desseo, y me de muchos Ocasiones de servir le.

Ex^{mo} Sr.

B. L. M. D. V. E.

Su mayor Servidor.

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord,

Hague, Oct. 2. N. S. 1668.

I Received the Honour of two from your Lordship, of the 4th and 10th past together, in one Packet from Mr. *Williamson*, about the time of my last Dispatch into *England*, which was the Reason of my not answering them the same Day; besides that I had written to your Lordship a long one about another Subject by that Post.

For all that touches the Marine Treaty, I must refer to my Lord *Arlington's* Letters by this Ordinary. As to the Point of my treating Envoys, I think it is better to let it rest as it is, than for your Lordship to move any farther in it; and be content we should follow, since we are not at present of a Humour to lead.

I believe I could order it so, as *Spain* and *Sweden*, and this *State*, should alter the Custom by Consent with us; but that which I wish'd was, that his Majesty might have said singly, he would follow no other Prince's Rules but the old ones which he had used, and seemed to approve by Sir *George Downing's* Demands, and so given me Order at my first coming, to give the Hand and Door as all Ambassadors did, till the *French* Caprice changed it about eight Years ago: And this I took to have been of more Honour as well as Advantage to his Majesty; but it seems I did not understand it right; it may be others would have understood it so too, if they had seen both *Spain*, *Sweden*,

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and these *States*, and all others except *France*, follow his Majesty's Example, which I could have held a fair Wager of, and is every Bodies Opinion here, as it is many Peoples, that *France* it self would have fallen in too, upon the Advantage in Commerce with other Ministers which would have followed it; for if I had given it, not one Resident would ever have seen the *French* Ambassador without it, whereas two or three of them now do both him and me. I am sure, if *France* understand it right, they will take an Occasion to change it themselves, and to reap the first Profit, and all the Honour as well as Pleasure of seeing us all dance after them both up and down as our Leaders in a Countrey Dance; and I am sure I had as lieve be lame as do so; and cannot tell why his Majesty should not think of being in the Head both of the Affairs and Forms in *Christendom*, as well as any of his Neighbour Kings.

I acquainted Monsieur de Witt both with the Examinations, and what your Lordship writ about the Prisoners from *Surinam*: He is of Opinion, the Complaint lies still on their side, as it did at first; That Captain *Needham's* Person, who had first left my Lord *Willowby* to come to the *Dutch*, and after them to my Lord *Willowby*, made them expect nothing friendly from him; that his Commission was very extraordinary, and to be executed upon *Indians* who were their Subjects; that he knows not what can be done farther than to send Offenders to be both examin'd and punish'd by their own Prince; that if they were ill used by the way, the *Dutch* were very much to blame in that, and 'tis a Thing he abhors (but we have yet only their own Words for that) and he will enquire as far as he can into the whole Matter. In the mean time, I having no Instructions upon it, either to complain or demand, had nothing more to do than to acquaint him with it, till I should receive any farther Orders. I hear the same here which your Lordship does there, of the Marquis *Castel-Rodrigo's* Intentions to pass through *England* into *Spain*, which I should be glad of: I believe with your Lordship, he will have Credit in the Councils of *Spain*, and since you would have me think of what I judge fit to be proposed to him; I will give you my Opinion concerning our Affairs with *Spain*, though I am likely enough to be prejudiced in it, by so particular Acquaintance with the Weakness of their present Conduct, and Division of their Councils, as well as the Consequences of them; which are, want of Order in their Government, their Armies, their Revenue, and I doubt, at present, even of Genius in their Nation, which ever rises and falls according to that of the Prince or Ministry: For, if Men see the way to rise, is by Worth and virtuous Qualities, the Genius of a Nation will run that way, and produce great Subjects. If they can hope to do it by vicious Humours, by little Arts, by warm Pursuits every Man of his own Interests; the whole Spirit runs into those Courses, and perhaps the faster, from the Propension of our Natures rather to Ill than to Good.

After all, I am of Opinion, that our present Interest, and that of all *Christendom* besides, in some measure, is the Defence of *Spain*, and not only in *Flanders*, but in all other Parts where it shall not be able to defend it self against the Power and Ambition of *France*; from whence alone we have all our present Fears, and shall find our Dangers upon any farther Growth; for if a great Accession should come to them in *Navarre*, *Catalonia*, *Italy*, during the *Spanish* King's Life, or upon his Death, as there will do in *Lorraine* after this old Duke's Life; we should find them more formidable and troublesome even in our Neighbourhood; as Nourishment taken in by one Part increases Strength in all, if it be once digested. 'Tis true, if for want of Heat or Strength of Nature, it be do not digested into the very Substance of the Body, it will grow weaker rather than stronger by it: As we see in *Spain*, the Spirit began to fail by the Weakness of their Kings and Ministers. For this Reason, and all those which formerly engaged us so firmly to bear up *France* and *Holland* against the House of *Austria*, I think it is our common Interest to bear up *Spain* now against *France*, and the more, in respect of their being now lower than ever the others were, by Reason of the King's tender Life, and the Distraction like to ensue his Death, if their Affairs find no steady Support from their Neighbours.

If we were what we have been, what we might be, and God knows why we are not, at home; I think our Interest were to enter singly into a Defensive League with *Spain*, and might either preserve their Peace, or else hope to make a short War, and with such Advantages as might countervail what our Trade will suffer, and the *Dutch* grow, during the Time of our being in War and they in Peace. My Reason for making in that Case the League single, is because we might thereby reap alone all the Advantages which *Spain* would be able to give for their Defence, which would be great, as low as they are, not only in Point of Trade by their Wools and Logwood, but by great Pensions in yearly Quantities of Salt from *Sardinia* and other Parts, which is much beyond any *French* Salts, and would be the same as Money to his Majesty, considering what Quantities his Kingdoms spend: And besides, I doubt not they would offer us constant Payments of ready Money; and if we could make War abroad at their Charge, and without pressing too much the Subject at home, or needing them at every Turn; I know nothing were more glorious, nor perhaps more safe and advantageous for us, than to be in Action abroad, especially if it were in Conjunction of three against one, and not as we were lately, one against three.

This we may be sure of, that the *Spaniard* will give more for our defensive League than for all others; will not much care for any others, so they may have ours, and in short, will give for it whatever they are able: But the Question is, whether we are able to take so vigorous a Council, and I doubt, not: Therefore, the next would be to know, whether we are *so*, to enter into their Defence jointly with *Sweden*, which would either awe the *French* into a Continuance of the Peace, or else without doubt make the Party strong enough for the War: And in this case, we must be content to share with *Sweden* whatever *Spain* can any way give for the Purchase of their Defence; and where our Gains are less, the Consideration will be more, of what we may lose, or the *Dutch* gain in Trade, if a War should break out and last: For there would be no other Reflections, since the *Swede* I believe would enter into the League upon such Terms as *Spain* could make them: And the *Dutch* would ask nothing better, than to see us all in War, and themselves in Peace, without Danger of the War ending in the Growth of the *French* Power.

The third Way, is entering into a Defensive League with *Spain*, *Sweden*, and *Holland*; for in all Cases I suppose, we might reckon upon the Emperor, as far as that would signify. This I think were certainly to be desired in what Case soever we may be, either to accept or decline the other two. But the Ills in this are; First, the unlikelihood of *Holland's* engaging in it; for I could never since my first Acquaintance here, find any Disposition towards it; and then the Incapacity of *Spain* to satisfy the Pretensions of Benefit from them, which we might all three pretend; for *Holland* would resolve to have a Share, if we had any; so that the particular Advantage would grow only to *Sweden*, by certain Subsidies or Benefits in Trade from *Spain*: And we and *Holland*, should content our selves with the Certainty of preventing a War by so powerful a League.

This is all which occurs to me upon this Subject, and which becomes me best, that is, to represent and not to advise. For Matter of proposing to the Marquis, I suppose he will know as well as we, that the Proposals ought to come from him, at least till he desires to know of us, what we demand upon a Defensive League, which is certainly the Desire of *Spain*, either with us singly, or in Conjunction with the rest; and were the more to be wish'd, for the preventing the *Spaniards* from falling into a desperate Council, of agreeing with *France*, and quitting *Flanders* to them, for Advantage on the other Side, and a good deal for Revenge, of their Neighbours pressing so hard upon them, by a disadvantageous Peace, and afterwards Irresolution of maintaining that itself, by a Defensive League.

If the King should think fit to endeavour the disposing of the *Dutch* to enter into it, (which for my part I think they are engaged in by the first, as I remember, or the second Article of the Peace at *Aix*, though they do not conceive

conceive so) I should make some Tryals, and give Account of what I find; for I fear we are not growing fast enough, into a Posture of making these Paces alone, at least by what I could observe or hear during my short stay in *England*, which was but too much entertained with ill Bodings and Complaints: But, *Quid tristes Querimonie si non Supplicio Culpa reciditur? Quid Leges sine Moribus vanæ proficiunt?* Without great Virtue and Steadiness in the Government, and Resolution of going through, with whatsoever is thought fit and just, whereby Men may see, that the only way to rise is to deserve it; all tempering of Factions, taking off Persons, and soothing Parties, is but patching up an ill House: I mean not Virtue, in a peaking, formal *Presbyterian* Sense, but that which the greatest Nations of old, so politickly favoured and renowned, which consisted in those Qualities, that made Men fit for the Service of their Princes and Countries, by strong and healthful Dispositions, both of Bodies and Minds. Your Lordship's Pardon for this once, and you shall have no more such Troubles as these from,

Your Lordship's, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Hague, Oct. 2. N. S. 1668.

SINCE my last I have received your Lordship's of the 14th, and in one Letter from Mr. *Williamson*, an Account of what was resolved at the Foreign Committee, to whom your Lordship's only referred the Determination of what manner, the Amendments of the Marine Treaty should be pursued in; and accordingly I have since fallen into the Debate of that Affair in all its Particulars, with Monsieur *de Witt*: And the Differences between us are not great, and some of his Exceptions seem so reasonable, that I must be furnish'd with Arguments to maintain the Points against him, if they must be insisted on; for I confess I can find none of my own.

Upon the first he consents to the Change of the Form of Certificates, and will accept of such as we shall draw up, so they run equal on both sides *Mutatis Mutandis*: But to that which the *East-India* Company say, of their Desire, that Trade may rather be carried on without any Certificate at all; he says, he does not see how that can be, or to what purpose all the Articles are against counterband Goods; since it is by the Certificate, whereby it is known what the Ship is, and what the Goods are she carries, and thereby all farther Trouble of Search is avoided. He says, He should be content, and the Advantage would be theirs, to have all Trade free, and none to ask at Sea what another Ship was, whither it went, or what it carried; but since that cannot be, there is no way of avoiding Disputes, besides that of Certificates: And indeed I doubt, the Merchants in that considered not the main End of the whole Regulation, which was, to avoid Quarrels between the Nations; but only their own private Interests, in saving the Trouble and Charge of Certificates, which made them likewise desire, it might be from the Magistrates of the Ports, from whence the Ships parted, and not from the Admiralty.

Upon the second, he consents to the Proposal in the Margin, with only the leaving out those two Words [*of India*] so as the Rule may be generally to all Places, and not confined to the *Indies*; which I had nothing to say against, believing those Words fell in, only by the Matter coming from the *East-India* Company, without notice of any other Traders.

Upon these two Points I had given your Lordship the Account formerly of my having at several Discourses gained his Consent: And I do not find that any Thing he excepts at in them, is different from what we mean ourselves.

For the other Points, which are wholly new, and Additions to the Treaty, they cost us a great deal more Debate, which I shall not trouble your Lord-

ship with, but only the Result at least, of the Opinion he gave me leave to write to your Lordship as his, upon them; though the first, second, and fourth, were all of more difficult Digestion, and such as I doubt would have given some Work to Commissioners in pursuance of the *Breda* Treaty so much as to have touch'd: For the Truth is, our Trade in the *Indies* being so little, and theirs so much, all Equalities of this kind are Gains to us, and Loss to them.

For the first of the four Particulars not provided for in the Marine Treaty, he consents to the one half of the Period ending with the word *Government*: But for the other, allowing Liberty to pass any River or Pass leading to any Place of Trade, although the other Company have a Fort or Castle upon the said River or Pass; he says it cannot possibly be, nor would it ever be executed, though the *States* should consent to it; for in those Passes, the very end of either Company's building a Fort or Castle, was, to secure the Trade of such a Countrey to themselves; so as they would by this Article lose all the Benefit of the Expence they had been at: That, if to such Nations, there were any other way found, not under the Reach of their Cannon, that Passage should be free: But under a Fort built to the aforesaid Ends, he did not believe any Orders would compel those in it, either of our Nations or theirs, to see the Trade they had secured to themselves, drawn away to the other Nation, by a free Passage.

The second Particular I got wholly agreed to, tho' with much Difficulty, as importing, I suppose, more Advantage to us than any of the rest, considering how many more Nations the *Dutch* trade with than we, by Virtue of such Agreements.

The third was without Difficulty, importing, as we both conceived, no more, than was before provided, by the Marine Treaty, and more particularly.

For the fourth, he could not consent it should extend farther than to Ships belonging to either Company, or to any Nations or People subject to either Company, and consequently under Protection of the said Company, for the making it run, in the Words of our Article, *To any Nations with whom either Company shall trade, and not in Enmity with the other Company*; would occasion only either Company's selling their Passports to all the Nations that would buy them, leaving it afterward to dispute, upon any Accident should arrive, whether such Nation were in Enmity with the other Company or no; the Natives maintaining the Negative, and perhaps the Company the Affirmative, and it may be upon pretence of some new Injury, which had lately given the occasion of the Enmity: And where such Disputes should be determined, was difficult to find. Besides, he argued from the common use of Nations, that Passports operated, only toward those, who were subject to such who granted the Passports, or else by Alliance and Accord between Nations, to such as were one another's Subjects and under their Protection: But how it should extend to other Nations, because they were not in Enmity with our Ally, he could not see any Reason, nor had heard any Example. But on the other side, it was ever to be supposed, that there would be no need at all of Passports from the one, to such as were not in Enmity with the other: Nations being to be esteemed as just in their Actions, and not likely to disturb or seize another, without at least pretence of Enmity, which would be a sort of Piracy at Sea, or Robbery at Land; but in case such a Thing should happen, no other Nation concerned themselves in it, unless it were offered to their Subjects, and consequently to Persons under their Protection.

I thought his Reasoning seemed good, and besides, I imagined the Thing was not of Weight; for, where one Company found a Nation, not in actual Enmity with the other; and had a mind to protect their Navigation, they might do it by receiving that Nation into their Protection, and then giving them Passports as Subjects to them. Where Nations will not submit to such a Subjection, they must protect themselves. And this was the Result of our Conference, which came to no sort of Agreement on either Side, since I neither had Power to do it from his Majesty, nor he from the *States*: So that

we can only represent on each Side, what pass'd, and attend our Orders upon them; and he in the mean time dispose the *States* to his Opinion, when we meet and conclude formally upon them.

When I receive Instructions, I suppose it will be necessary to know the Manner as well as the Matter we are to agree in; that is, whether a new Marine Treaty to be made, with these Particulars to be digested into the Body of it; or else those to be perfected in an Instrument by themselves, as Additions to the Marine Treaty. For the doing it with or without Commissioners I can say nothing, since so great Authors are on both Sides; but if both seem necessary, one to the Substance, and the other to the Form, I was thinking whether two or more might not be joined in Commission with me, to treat and conclude it with Commissioners of theirs, and those to be acquainted before-hand, with what was to be expected upon this Matter. But I know not how our Expectation of having the Commissioners meet at *London*, would be satisfied by their meeting at the *Hague*; nor how Forms go in joining Commissioners to an Ambassador, for a particular Business; and so I leave it.

I am, &c.

To the Duke of Buckingham.

My Lord,

Hague, Oct. 12. N. S. 1668.

THOUGH I could not think it became me to interrupt your Grace's Business or Entertainment, by empty Letters; and I know you have what Share you please of the constant Troubles my Lord *Arlington* receives upon the Account of my Negotiations here: Yet having this Inclosed sent me to convey to your Grace, I was in hopes a good Letter may keep an ill one a little in Countenance, and bear me out in taking this Occasion of preserving my self in your Grace's Favour and Memory, which I esteem among my best Possessions, and should be glad to find ways of continuing them, rather by serving than by troubling you. Whilst I can do nothing towards the first, I will do the less towards the other, and content my self to assure your Grace in the Language of a plain Man, that none can wish you happier than I do in the Course of your Fortunes and Honours, nor rejoice more in the Prefages I make of both, from those wise and generous Dispositions I left you in, of employing those many great Talents and Advantages given you, towards his Majesty's and the Kingdom's true Service and Happiness. I am still of the Mind, nothing is more necessary to both, than the Continuance and Encrease of that Harmony which we used with so much Reason to wish so well to, and which I think has at this time more Operation than that of the Spheres was thought to have, upon the good Temper and Order of the World. For, I believe the Spring of all the Motions or Quiet we are like to see round about us, lies in that Point and those Councils which proceed from it.

I beg your Grace's Pardon for this Trouble, which I should not have begun, but to end with my being

My Lord,

Your Grace's most obedient

and most humble Servant.

*To the Constable of Castile.**Al Condestable de Castilla.**My Lord,**Hague, Oct. 19.
N.S. 1668.*

HAVING passed so much time, and with so much Satisfaction to my self, in his Majesty's Service at *Brussels*; 'tis impossible for me to lose the Concern I have ever had for the Interest of that Countrey, or to avoid rejoicing with your Excellency upon your succeeding in the Government, wishing you all Honour and Satisfaction, as foreseeing many Advantages to his Catholick Majesty in so prudent a Choice. But, with the Plainness that has been always natural to me, I must confess that it has not been at this time without some Regret that I have lost the Correspondence of a Governour of *Flanders*, with whom I had contracted so great a Friendship, and had so entire a Confidence; finding my self in such a Conjunction (after having so disposed the *States of Holland*) as to be confident of having it in my Power, to do something, if not something very considerable for the common Good and Repose of *Christendom*, as well as for the Interest and Safety of the *Spanish* Monarchy; if there were at present a Governour of *Flanders* that had full Powers joined with his own Desires, and Confidence between us to agree together in the Concert of such a Negotiation. I doubt it will not look prudent to enter farther into such Reasoning with your Excellency, to whom I am so wholly unknown; though perhaps you may have heard at *Brussels* that I am not a Man used to build Castles in the Air, no more than to engage my self unseasonably in Affairs of this kind: But your Excellency may believe me, that at this time nothing is more absolutely necessary, nor that more concerns the Interest of *Spain*, than that absolute Powers should be sent either to your Excellency, or some other Minister, to treat and conclude with the three Allies, and which is likewise as necessary for the pretended Satisfaction of the *Swedes*, as for the Advantage (in so much greater Proportion) that it may be to *Spain* and the common Interest of *Christendom*. The same that I say on one side to your Excellency,

I come

*Ex^{mo} Senr,**De la Haye, Oct. 19.
S.N. 1668.*

SEñnor mio. Haviendo estado tanto tiempo y con tanto gusto a *Brussellas*, de la parte del Rey mi Senñor, no me es possible perder el encarecimiento que he siempre tenido por las cosas y intereses deste pays, ni dexar de dar a V.E. el parabien de su llegada a este govierno desseandole en ello mucha satisfaccion y honra, como augurando a su Magestad Catolica mucho provecho de tan sabia eleccion. Pero con la llaneza que me ha sido siempre natural, es menester confessar, que me pesa mucho en este punto de haver perdido la correspondencia de un Governador de *Flandes*, con quien he tenido tan estrecha amistad, y entera confianza; hallandome aora en una conjuntura, y aviendo dispuesto los Estados de aqui de tal manera que me parece poder obrar algo, sino mucho por el bien comun, y por el reposo de la Christianidad, como por la salud y intereses de la Monarchia de *Espanna*, si estuviera aora Governador o Ministro en *Flandes* que tuviera poderes bastantes y tan bien la voluntad y confianza para concurrir conmigo en el concierto de tal negocio. No pareciera de hombre discreto de entrar mas adelante en estas razones con V.E. a quien soy tan desconocido; aunque bien pudiera aver entendido a *Brussellas* que no soy hombre para dezir disparates, ni para ponerme fuera de tiempo y ocasion en cosas ajenas. Pero crea me V.E. que no sey que no puede aver otra en este tiempo que toca mas a *Espanna*, ny que la sea tan necessaria, que de embiar sin perder punto o a V.E. o a otro Ministro poderes absolutos para tratar y concluir con los tres Aliados, loque fuera menester, tan bien por la satisfaccion pretendida de los *Suedeses*, que por la utilidad que con ella se puede alcanzar mas que proporcionado a la *Espanna*, y al bien comun de la Christianidad. Lo mismo que digo de una parte a V.E. vengo de desir de otra al Ministro de *Suecia*, a qui Residente porque bien hecho de ver, que con las ydas y bueltas en *Espanna* y en *Suecia* sobre estas materias, no se hara jamas sino perder el tiempo y las ocasiones, aunque el primero nunca se le volve a los hombres, y muy raramente las postreras. A lo menos muy claro esta, que si este

+ hivierno

I come from saying on the other, to the *Swedish* Minister Resident here: For 'tis too plain to be seen, that with the Length of the Journies, and Returns from *Spain* and *Sweden*, nothing can be hoped for but the loss of Time and Occasions; the first of which never returns to mortal Man, and very rarely the other: At least, it is certain that if we do not this Winter make our Advantage of the present Posture of Affairs for the common Good, we are never again to hope for the same Occasion.

I beg of your Excellency, that this Advice may be only to your self, or those in *Spain* who are most concerned in it. What is most necessary I have told your Excellency, is, to hasten the Powers, and that needs no Consultation, the rest time will shew; and 'tis not necessary, the *Spanish* Ministers here should concern themselves in it till the Powers come. I engage my self to dispose things so here, that whenever they arrive, your Excellency shall be able to make the Advantage of them, for your Master and the Countries you govern. Your Excellency will not look upon this Letter as coming from an Ambassador, but from a Man extremely desiring the publick Good, and that has been a little enlightned by having so much part in what has been design'd towards it: And I hope will pardon my having entertained you so long in a Language that I begin now to forget, and had never learn'd well: But I had no mind what I have here said to your Excellency should pass through another Hand.

Pray God preserve your Excellency, and give me the Occasions of serving you.

I kiss your Excellency's Hands, &c.

hivierno no nos aprovechamos de las presentes por el bien commun, nunca hemos de esperar las mismas por el venidero.

Supplico a V.E. que este aviso la sirva a solas, si no a los tan bien en Espana qui son los mas intereffados en ellos. Porque lo que es el necessario lo vengo de desir en lo de hazer venir los poderes, en esto no se ha de consultar; por demas los tiempos lo diran, y no se avra di entremeterse a qui, en el entretanto Ministro Espannol antes que vengan los poderes, que yo me encargo de disponer las cosas a qui di manera que llegando los V.E. avra de aprovecharse d'ellos por el bien de su Rey, y de los payfes que gobierna. V.E. no ha de interpretar esto como viniendo di mano de Ambaxador, pero de un hombre muy afficionado al bien comun, y un poco esclarecido en las cosas corrientes, como aviendo tenido tanta parte en ellas; y me pardone averla entretenido en una lengua que y a commienço a olvida, aviendo le nunca bien aprendido; pero no he querido que V.E. en lo que la digo, avria de tercero.

Guarde Dios a V.E. muchos annos, y me de las ocasiones de servirla.

B. L. M. D. V. E.

Su mayor Servidor.

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord,

Hague, Nov. 2. N. S. 1668.

I Have had the Honour of your Lordship's of the 13th past some Days by me, and deferred the Acknowledgment of it till this Post, that I might make it at a little more Leisure. I must first beg so much Favour from your Lordship, (for I shall esteem it a Kindness to me) that you will never constrain your self to write to me in Pain or Trouble; but upon all such Occasions use either any other Hand, or any other's Correspondence with me, to send me your

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Commands:

Commands: And in the next place I shall desire your Lordship's Belief, that I never took any thing ill in the least, from any Hand, that I knew meant me well; and am very well pleased to hear of my Faults from my Friends, as I hope they will ever be to receive my just Excuses, and others I shall never desire to trouble them with. I know your Lordship is satisfied with what I did in shewing that Letter, having given you the Advice of it at the same time I promised it; and I shall make use of the prudent Intimation you please to give me upon that Particular.

Monfieur *de Witt* has several times spoke to me since about the *Pavillon*, applauding your Lordship's Resolution, or at least Inclination, to bring it to some Certainty; and desired me to offer to your Lordship as most advantageous to a good Issue in it, that the Expedients he proposed, you would first mention as your own; because, whatever is offered from the contrary Party, is commonly either suspected, or despised, even for its being *so*. I find, a good End of this Matter is the Point he has much at Heart, believing no Quarrel could ever happen between the Nations, if that Occasion were once out of the way. He says, he has never yet spoken to any Man, about the Offers and Expedients he proposed, and knows, they will be stomach'd by many here; but he will put all the Strength he has upon it to make them pass, or any thing else, that is at all reasonable in the Case, and doubts not to succeed. I suppose, whatever we have by Accord with them, will not be only so much of a gain'd, instead of a disputed Right; but will engage them to further our Pretence, of so much with our Neighbours, and to take part in our Quarrel, if any shall be rais'd by any of them with us, upon that Point: And if so, we should have something very substantial for that which methinks is very airy now, and which serves only for an Occasion of Wars, at a time we have no mind to enter into any; and, I doubt, with some Reason: For if we had a conquering Genius at this time among us, and Force to second it, nothing could be so useful to us as this Pretence: But every Pilot that would be safe and well, must carry Sail as the Weather is abroad, and as the Sides of his Ship are strong or weak to resist it.

I am much pleased to find I have the Honour of agreeing with your Lordship in all Points that fall into Consideration, as well this, as that about Envoys, and about the Benefits of a Quadruple League; concerning which I writ my Opinion freely in one to my Lord *Arlington* by the last Post, being the only thing which can crown the great Work his Majesty has undertaken, of settling the Peace of *Christendom*, and giving a Stop to the *French* Career, which about ten Months since was in a fair way to over-run us all, one after another; and hangs still like a Cloud over all their Neighbour's Heads, leaving every one in doubt when and where it will fall. And till that be compass'd, I shall hardly be secure of *Spain's* not trinkling at one time or other with *France*, for the Remainder of *Flanders*, at least upon such a Revolution, as would arrive at that King's Death, if not before: Nor of the *French* Parties getting Ground enough again in *Sweden* at one time or other, to turn the Bias of that Crown towards the *French* Interests, by the Offers of Money, which can best be made them on that side: Whereas by such a League, *Spain* would find their Account in keeping *Flanders*, and not fear any War which the *French* Pretensions there might engage them in: *Sweden* would find theirs by some certain Subsidies from *Spain*, even in Times of Peace, and by Assurance from them and us, of greater in case of a War: *Holland* would be broken off, from all Return into any new Measures with *France*, and be forced to follow the common Interests and Councils of the Alliance: *Spain* and *Sweden* would be both hinder'd from entering into any separate Concert or Treaty without us and *Holland*: The *Emperor*, and Princes of the *Empire*, and Duke of *Lorrain*, would be glad to be admitted into such an Alliance: And his Majesty would remain Head and Director of a League, which would have the Glory of preserving the Peace of *Christendom*, and checking and bounding the *French* Greatness, at a time when no other Prince durst look it in the Face. And in case of a War breaking out from *France*, in spite of all these Defences; I suppose, considering the Strength of the Alliance, and the Temper of our

People at home, bent wholly upon these Councils, his Majesty would have rather Reason to desire, than to apprehend it.

I conceive the way of effecting such a League must be, to make a Draught of it with Monsieur *de Witt* here, if he can be finally disposed to it; and that with all the Secrecy in the World, and to proceed in it, as near as is possible, with all the Fairness and Equality, in the Consideration and Comprehension of each Party's Interests, which is the only way to facilitate such Negotiations; and whenever we and Monsieur *de Witt* are agreed in it, then for his Majesty to take upon him the proposing it to *Spain*, and trying what private Advantages may be gained from that Crown, in Consideration of his both proposing and effecting a Matter so much to their Advantage.

All that seems to be against such a Council, is his Majesty's present want of Treasure, which renders him in a Condition very unfit, to enter into any Action abroad, by provoking *France*.

As to that: First, the End of this Council is Peace, and not War; and seems indeed the only way to secure it, by letting *France* see, they cannot find their Account in a War; for till they do that, they will never leave the Designs of it. Then, instead of provoking *France*, I should think this would make them much warmer, in their Offers and Applications towards us; when they see, that without gaining us, they are absolutely bound to the Peace: For, to say the Truth, our falling at any time into the *French* Interests, is the ready way to a War abroad, wherein it may be we shall not have any present Share, but shall pay for our present Quiet with dear Interest, of the utmost Danger, after two or three Years time.

Besides, tho' our Condition is ill towards the Support of a War, 'tis the most imprudent thing we can do perhaps, to own it, if we intend to continue any Commerce abroad; whereas, looking our just Debts, both to our Neighbours and our selves, boldly in the Face, will, as it does sometimes with a Merchant, hold up our Credit so high, that with good future Management and the Strength of that, we may help to re-establish our Estate; but, if not, nothing can keep us up so much, as being closely link'd with several other Traders of better Stock, who will by that means become engaged not to let us sink. And in case of Action, to succeed such a Quadruple Alliance, and his Majesty's Necessities keeping him from furnishing his Part towards the Support of it: 'Tis not to be imagined that *Spain* and *Holland* would not do their utmost towards his Supply rather than lose his Assistance, and leave him under the Temptation of falling into any new Measures with *France*.

After all this, I think, let his Majesty make what Paces he please, either bold or tender, in the way he is (for I cannot think of a Change in that with the present Conjunctures) I know nothing will be so necessary, with the Fore-sight either of Peace or War, as for his Majesty not to be found the next Spring without any Money in his Treasury, or Credit to raise it speedily and easily, without relying wholly upon his Parliament's Supplies, by any new Burthens upon the Body of the People; for that can hardly be done without long and perhaps cross Debates in the *House*, which lessen his Majesty's Credit with his Neighbours whenever they happen, more than the Supplies granted can raise it: And besides, after so great Payments as the Kingdom has continued, ever since his Majesty's Restoration, especially during the last three Years, though joined with the great Diminution of Money and Trade during the War; I question whether any thing considerable can be raised in general upon the People, without some reasonable Occasions of Aversion and Complaints.

But nothing they say is more the part of a weak Understanding, and unfit for Business, than to propose and enlarge upon Inconveniencies, without so much as offering Remedies: And therefore I shall say, that first, methinks, two Proposals which have been already a-foot, are very considerable towards this End; as, the selling of small inconsiderable Quit-Rents, where the Sum is hardly worth the Charge of raising, and yet by the reason of the Trouble to the Tenant by them, they will yield five or six, if not ten Years Purchase more than greater Rents: If this Council be tied up to these Circumstances, I

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think it very advantageous, and as prejudicial, if it be suffered to go beyond them.

Secondly, The selling of the Chimney-Money would, I suppose, be easily granted by the Parliament; would take off the Tax, of all others, most distasteful to the Subjects, and if sold at pretty easy and moderate Rates, would be taken kindly of the People, purchased readily, and yield a very great Sum; and the most equally raised that any could be, sparing no Man's Part, and holding an equal Proportion with every Man's Estate: Only this Circumstance should be in it to make it easy, That not only every Man should have the Offer and Pre-emption of his own; but if upon Refusal it should be sold to another Hand, yet it shall be free for the Owner to buy it of him at any time within a certain Space, as of two or three Years; and the present Purchaser to be content with the Profit he shall have made in the mean time, which will prove a great Interest for his Capital.

Thirdly, A reducing of the Interest which the King pays from ten to eight in the hundred, with which the Bankers may very well be contented, and must be, I suppose, if the King pleases, and finds a Course to make them see their Security cannot fail them: For two in the hundred Gain is, of all Reason, enough for them, where the Security they receive is as good as what they give, as it is in this Case: For the King's Security to the Banker, is in effect the Banker's Security to his private Creditors; and whenever one fails, the other must. Now the Bankers pay but six in the hundred at most for In-land Money, and less for some: And I have reason to doubt, a very great Trade is driven with them from *Holland* by *Dutch* Merchants, who turn their Money through their Hands, encouraged by the great Interest they gain there in lieu of so small here, that the *States* have lately refused to take the Value of twenty thousand Pounds *Sterling* of the Duke of *Lunenburg's* Money at two and a half *per Cent.* and three is the utmost that any Man makes. And if the King, by granting good Security, punctual Payments, and the Reputation of good Order in his Revenue, were gotten into Credit, I do not see why he might not upon occasion take up what he pleased at six *per Cent.* as well as the *States* do here at two and a half.

Fourthly, To enable the King upon any Occasion to give better Security, I know nothing would do so much, as if the Parliament could be disposed to settle the Customs upon him for one Year after his Death, as they are already for his Life; but that being an uncertain Term, Money will not be readily, or without Exaction of Interest, lent upon that which may fail next Day: And yet I conceive it to be the largest Branch of the Revenue, and in all other Points the most certain.

Fifthly, If any thing were set on foot in Parliament, towards an Act of Resumption of Grants of Crown-Lands, since a certain time, Use might at least be made of it towards drawing such Grantees to a voluntary Composition, of holding their Grants at the Rent of a fourth or fifth part of the real Value to the Crown, in Consideration of having such Grants confirmed by Act of Parliament, or the King's Engagement to consent to nothing to their Prejudice, after their Consent to such a Rent and Tenure.

Sixthly, A View may be made at least of what has been gained by any Grants from his Majesty, above what were really his Majesty's Intentions to grant: As where the King intended to give five hundred Pounds a Year, and perhaps seven or eight, or a thousand Pounds is made of it: And the same of Sums of Money out of certain Benefits granted, towards the raising them; and what is found to be beyond the Intention of the King's Grant, to be repaid.

Many smaller Particulars might perhaps be thought of; all which, with what has been mention'd, will be made valuable by a good Order in the Management, and a stanch Hand in Grants hereafter, till the King be as much before-hand, as he is behind-hand now. I am,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To Mr. * Mountague.

* Late
Duke of
Monta-
gue.

My Lord,

Hague, Jan. 2. N. S. 1669.

IT is an ill Sign of the Dulness of this Place, that I must have Recourse to the Complements of the Season for the Occasion of a Letter; and that I can find very little to say from hence, besides wishing your Lordship, according to our good old Style, *a merry Christmas*. The *Spaniards* have not yet had so much good Nature as to make ours here the merrier, with their two hundred thousand Crowns: I doubt it has some Enchantment or other upon it; and is not to be delivered but in some fatal Hour, or by some charmed Knight. All is here frozen up; and the Bishop of *Munster* may march if he pleases; but if he do, as has been so much talk'd, will blow his Fingers, unless he receives very great Influences from your warmer Climate: For the good Pay of these *States* is in so much Credit among their Neighbours, that I believe they will not want what Forces they shall have Occasion for, besides what they have a-foot.

I should be very glad to hear what becomes of my Lord and Lady of *Northumberland*, and how long they intend their Pilgrimage, supposing your Lordship keeps some Correspondence with them, of which I am out of the way; but very much in that of being,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's most

obedient humble Servant.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Hague, Jan. 18. N. S. 1669.

THE Baron *d'Isola* arriving here Yesterday, I have this Afternoon had some Discourses with him upon the Subject of his Journey, which he professes to be a Desire of advancing the Treaty of Guaranty, as a thing his Master has more Interest in than *Spain* it self, which will be better able to subsist after the Loss of *Flanders*, than the Empire can. I find he came with Hopes of effecting much by his Eloquence and great Parts, and by making others see more of their own Interests, than they were willing to do. And so the two Themes wherein he came provided, were, to make it evident that *France* would open the War again this Spring, and within six Weeks attack either *Burgundy* or *Luxenburg*; and on the other Side, that the Councils of *Spain*, as they are now compos'd, if they saw not a solid and firm Assistance from their Neighbours, would fall into the easiest way of ending that Matter, by giving up *Flanders* upon the best Terms they could. That they were as a sick Man, that would not or could not help themselves, and were so to be dealt with by those that were so deeply concerned in their Loss, as these *States* in particular seem to be: And that after the Disarming of the Duke of *Lorrain*, which *France* had now resolv'd, and the Seizing of *Burgundy*, which would be their next Work; it would be impossible to maintain a War in what remains of *Flanders*, when they could do it no longer by Diversion, after these two Inlets into *France* stopp'd up. From this we fell into the Story of the *Swedish* Subsidies, and the Hardships put upon *Spain* in that Business; all which I suppose your Lordship has heard a dozen times already, and are obvious enough, and therefore I shall not repeat them, not remembring any thing new in that Discourse: But it ended with *Spain's* having less Reason to pay for that Peace than *France*; since the Guaranty offer'd would be equal to both, and the Gain of the War had been all on the *French* Side. That for his part, he could trust little in any Treaty, where the Obligations were not reciprocal;

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and when the Guaranty was given, he did not know whether these *States* would not be still apt to sacrifice any new Conquests *France* should make, to any unreasonable Peace, provided the Danger grew not nearer them : And he had the more Reason to believe it, by a Resolution he was assured of, among the *States of Holland*, to treat with *France* about diverting their Attempts upon *Flanders*, in case of the King of *Spain's* Death, and leaving all the rest of that Monarchy open to his Pretensions.

This was the Substance of his first Discourse : Upon which I told him, That the friendliest Office I could do him at his Arrival, was to tell him, what Men and what Resolutions he would find here, to the end he might not lose his Paces by their being at first ill directed. That, for their own Interest in the Preservation of *Flanders*, they thought, they understood it as well as any other of their Neighbours, and needed no new Lights in that Prospect, nor new Motions, to engage in its Defence, if they might hope to succeed : That this depended upon *Spain's* good Conduct and Provisions in *Flanders*, and upon their satisfying *Sweden*. That without *Sweden's* Engagement, *Holland* could do nothing considerable in their Defence, lying open to the *French* on one Side, and the Bishop of *Munster* on the other ; and without *Holland* he might assure himself, the King would never interest himself in their Quarrel, but seek his Measures some way else : So that the Strength of their whole Assistance depended upon the engaging of *Sweden*, and that upon Payment of the Subsidies. That I would tell him freely, I thought *Holland* might be induced to give a general Guaranty, according to the Article of the Treaty at *Aix*. That if his Majesty and *Sweden* would be induced to join with them in it, I thought it was the cheapest Bargain that ever any Crown had made. That I believed a Guaranty, without reciprocal Engagements, more to their Advantage, and less to ours, than a Defensive League, which they so much desired : But yet the Conjuncture was such, and the Respects that enter'd into it, as I could assure him he would fail in the Pursuit of the last ; and I believed, might succeed if he would content himself with the other. That, if nothing else were in the way, there was not Time left for it, and therefore I would advise him, to lose none about it. That, for what should happen after the King of *Spain's* Death, I was confident, neither the King nor the *States* would enter into it ; but leave those Considerations to the Season, in which they should arise. That, if *Spain* was resolved to destroy themselves, That was a Thing beyond all our Prevention or Remedy, and so only to be bemoaned, and no more to be thought on : If they would be preserved, they knew the Price, which is, the *Swedish* Subsidies, and could best tell whether it were worth it or no.

This I thought was the best way of dealing with a Person that had more Wit a great deal than I, and so would be sure to have the better in Argument : And besides, I thought it fittest for a Business, which it is necessary to bring to some short Issue : And the Baron seemed not to resent it ill, and said, *Well, If you are certain the Dutch will not be brought to a League with us, we must think of what we can have, and not what we cannot* : And all that remained to be done, was to draw up the Form of a Guaranty, and send it to the Constable ; and let him know, that upon Satisfaction of the *Swedish* Subsidies, that should be ready for him, and without it we had no more to say. I told him I thought he was in the right way, and hoped he would succeed in it, and assured him of our Endeavours to draw *Sweden* to the same Measures, and persuade them, if need were, to some little Ease in the Terms of Payment. He asked me, in case the Subsidies were not paid, and the Guaranty given, and *France* should next March, attack *Burgundy* or *Luxemburg*, what I thought we would do ? I told him, I was ever to think, that the King and his Allies, would do upon all Occasions, what they had engaged. He would have had me join with him, in drawing up an Instrument of Guaranty. But I, that had a Mind to excuse my self, at least, till I received my Instruction, advised him to propose it to Monsieur de *Witt*, with whom he had an Hour assigned upon our parting. And so our first Conference ended.

I am, My Lord, your &c.

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord,

Hague, Apr. 24. N. S. 1669.

UPON a late Conversation with Monsieur *de Witt*, though I had some Reason to be surprized, yet I think I had none to take any notice of it; but am very sure I can have no Reason for doing it, to any other Person, but to your Lordship, of whose Friendship I have had so many Testimonies, and with whom I have lived in so much Confidence ever since our first Acquaintance. The present Subject is so delicate, that I can hardly tell how to touch it my self, or to trust it in any other Hands but your Lordship's, who will better judge whether any Use may be made of it, and I am sure will make no ill one; nor do I expect there can be other, than to gain some Light in a Matter wherein I am wholly ignorant, and perhaps your Lordship may not have been curious enough to observe so near; and which 'tis yet very necessary for us both, to be as well informed as we can.

Monsieur *de Witt* came to me, as he said, upon a particular Visit; and as a Friend, not a Minister: But the Occasion of it at present he would confess; was, to acquaint me with a Conversation he had lately had with Monsieur *Pufendorf*, a Swedish Agent, who passed this way from *Paris* to his own Country: That he had been some time at the French Court since our Measures taken by the Triple Alliance, and the Negotiations set on foot with the Spaniards in Consequence of them. That the Ministers in France had taken much Pains to persuade him, that Sweden would find their Account very ill in pursuing those Measures: That Spain would fail them, in what was pretended from them; and that Holland alone would not be able to support them, or the Measures they had rashly taken: And to make this good, the Ministers there had at length told him (but as a Secret only for the Service and Information of the Court of Sweden) that England would certainly fail them; and was already changed in the Course of all those Councils they had taken with Holland and Sweden, though they did not think fit to let any thing of it appear; and the Secret was yet in very few Hands, either in the French or the English Court. That when this Agent seemed incredulous of all this Story, and to suspect that it was artificial, and only intended to give an Ombrage or false Light to the Court of Sweden, and thereby help them to make the first false Step; Monsieur *Turenne* at last, shewed him a Letter from Monsieur *Colbert* their Ambassador, wherein he gave an Account of the happy Successes he had met with, in his Negotiations at our Court, of the good Dispositions there, and especially those of some of our chief Ministers; upon which he added these Words, * *Et* * *And I*
je leuray enfin fait sentir toute l'Etendue de la Liberalité de sa Majesté. *have at*
last made

Here Monsieur *de Witt* stop'd as if he had no more to say, and with a very equal Countenance; though I found he had observed mine very narrowly, all the while he was talking, as well as when he ended. For my part, though I thought the Story and the Circumstances very odd, and knew not what to make of it, yet I believe I look'd innocent, and thereby as unconcerned as he did. I told him, I had Reason to be surprized at what he had said, but did not know whether we had either of us any, to put much Weight, or draw any great Consequence from all this Story: That there might be Artifice in it, on several Hands; that some of those it had passed through might deceive, and others be deceived; that there might be Mistake in Mens Apprehensions of what passed in Talk, and the Relations too: That Monsieur *Colbert* might say a great deal to value his Services to his Court, and more than he thought himself: That the Swedish Agent might be made partial in France to their Interests, and wish his Crown still in them, as most beneficial to the Ministers there that were so engaged: That it was at least artificial in the French Court, to employ Monsieur *Turenne* to give this notice to the Swedish Agent, and shew him Monsieur *Colbert*'s Letter, which had been more proper for a Secretary of State; but that it was likely Monsieur *Turenne*'s shewing it and believing it, would have more Credit and more Effect in the Court of Sweden.

That

That farther than this I had nothing to say upon it, besides protesting to him upon my Honour and Truth, that I knew nothing of it; nor had I Reason, by any thing I heard from *England*, to suspect any more than I knew. That I had told him, upon the Negotiation of our last Alliance and his Suspicions of our Inconstancy in *England*, what I truly thought of the Dispositions and Intentions both of his Majesty and his Ministers: That I knew, and all Men confessed, their Interests were so deep in it, as well as the Humour of the whole Kingdom, that it was hard to think I could be deceived. That however, I could answer for no Man but my self; and that I would, that if ever these Measures were broken, it should not be by me; nor would I ever have any part in destroying, what I had the Honour of building, so much for the Safety, as I conceived, of both our Nations, and the rest of *Christendom*; and with so much Glory and Applause to his Majesty's Councils upon that Occasion. That I was still of the same Mind, and had no more to say.

Monfieur de Witt smiled, and said, what he had told me was but as a Friend and in Conversation; and left me to make what Use I pleased of it, or none if I thought fit, without drawing it into farther Consequence: That he had been very suspicious when he first enter'd into the Ministry, but had been so often deceived by it, that he had cured himself of that Quality. That he knew very well it had been said among some foreign Ministers here some Months since, * *Qu'il faut avouer qu'il y a eu pour neuf mois du plus grand Ministere du Monde en Angleterre*; as if they believed some Change had befallen our Councils before the last Year ended. That for his part, who went to the substantial as near he could, and the plainest way; he had made but one Reflection, and kept that as much as he could to himself: Which was, that after my Embassy hither had been resolved in *England*, to support and improve the Ends of our last Alliances, and to engage the Emperor and chief Princes of the Empire, as well as *Spain*, in the Support of them; he could not but wonder to find me engaged of late by my Orders from Court, so warmly in a *Chicane* about such a Trifle as that of *Surinam*; and in so many eager Disputes about the Pretensions of our *East-India* Company, which were fitter for Merchants than for Ministers: And look'd as if we had them more at Heart, than the Pursuit of those publick Interests, that were thought so necessary for *Christendom* at my my first coming over. But after all, for his part he would go on constantly upon the Foot of our last Alliance, as the best Ground of our common Safety; and believed the *States* would do so too, till his Majesty or his Ministers should let them plainly see, he had changed his Measures. And with this, rising up, he seemed not to expect any Answer, but to go away in very good Humour: And I was not very desirous to draw our Discourse into more Length, and so it ended.

'Tis time this Letter should do so too, which I desire your Lordship will burn when you have read it; and to forget it, if you find no Occasion to think farther of it; and then I shall endeavour to do so too. I am sure it should never have begun, if it were not to end with the Professions of that Truth and Passion wherewith I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful

and most humble Servant.

To my Lord Cavendish.

My Lord,

Hague, July 18. N.S. 1669.

THO' I had much rather make your Lordship my Complements upon some better Fortunes, and upon your Health rather than your Dangers; yet I could not omit doing it at this time, upon so honourable a part as all Men allow you to have had in your late Adventure at *Paris*; which I do not only

only as a private Person and Servant of your Lordship's, who wishes you all Encrease of Honour that may not be bought too dear; but withal as a Publick Minister, who ought ever to consider above all Things the Honour of our Nation; and knows, that the Complexion of it in Times of Peace, is very much either mended or spoiled in the Eyes of Strangers, by the Actions and Carriage of particular Persons abroad. I can assure your Lordship, all that can be said to your Advantage upon this Occasion, is the common Discourse here; and not disputed by the *French* themselves; who say, you have been as generous in excusing your Enemies, as brave in defending your self: The *Dutch* will have it, that you have been the first in Excess; and say, that such a Thing, as seven or eight falling upon one, would never have been done in any other Place but *France*, nor suffered neither by the rest of the Company. However, I am of Opinion, if Excess may be allowed in any part, it is in that; and therefore rejoice with you in the Honour of both, and with my self in that of my being,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant.

To my Lord Arlington.

My LORD,

Hague, July 1669.

I Am to acknowledge your Lordship's of *July* the Ninth, and have but too much Reason to agree with you in despairing to see this Matter of the Marine Article to be brought to any fair Conclusion, about which I writ at large by last Post to Sir *John Trevor*; and will tell your Lordship more in private, that I very much fear our *East-India* Merchants have some farther meaning in it, than we yet understand, and than they desire we should. For having had this whole Business run through my Head with more Thought and Application, than ever any other did before; I could not but observe many several Inequalities in their Proceedings, and make some Reflections upon them.

As First, That it began immediately upon the finishing our Alliances with the *Dutch*; in which none could detract in the least from the Glory abroad, and popular Applause at home, of the King's Councils, but by declaiming against this Marine Treaty, though at first it was only upon the Inequality of the Passports: When that Point was easily accorded by Monsieur *de Witt*; our Merchants added another, about the Definition of a *besieged Place*, which was all their Exceptions against the Treaty it self, could amount to: But when there were some Hopes given by Monsieur *de Witt* in his Letters to me, that this likewise might be surmounted; they added several other Articles, untouched in the Marine Treaty: And when they saw all were like to be gained here, but that one of a free Trade with People not in Subjection, and of passing Forts (which Sir *George Downing* had found here was an invincible Point) they then declared, That without this, all the rest were worth nothing: And upon this said, they have left our Treaty a-ground, now for about eight Months past. When we begun first to struggle out of it, they said, they only aimed at preventing some Innovations, which had been of late Years practised by the *Dutch*, against the ancient Usages in those Parts, and many others of the same kind, which they had Reason to fear: Whereupon the *Dutch* desired the particular Instances of what they either had felt, or thought they had occasion to fear; that so they might redress us in particular, and understand us in general: Our Merchants instanced in *Cochin* and *Cananor*, and I think one other Place, which Monsieur *de Witt* said, was not at all to the Case, but to another, provided for, by the defining of a *besieged Place*: So that I was forced by them here, to press still for Instances by several Letters, till the Merchants at last sent a long angry Paper, with very many Recapitu-

lations of Things past, and which the *Dutch* said, had been debated and agreed in former Treaties; and therefore still desired to know, which of the Particulars named, we thought applicable to the present Question. Upon which I received Answer, That the Practice of the *Dutch*, against which they desired to provide, was but beginning; that they could not, or that it was to no purpose to give particular Instances, their Apprehensions being general, of what the *Dutch* intended to impose upon us: And that, in short, what we desired, was for Prevention rather than Remedy; which, they said, made it much harder in the *Dutch* to deny us.

After this Monsieur *de Witt* and I concerted an Article between us, to propose to our Principals on either Side, and which I confess I thought comprehended our Meaning, as I understood it by the Letters I received from your Lordship, and the King's other Ministers; which though it was immediately refused at *Amsterdam*, as liable to the Interpretations they so much feared, yet was likewise rejected by our Merchants too, and another sent over, yet stronger than the first, in those Parts wherein the *Dutch* were most sensible; tho' your Lordship seemed to think, the Article I had transmitted, would reach our Aim, till you proposed it to them.

Upon the new Debates we engaged in, arrives the News of what we had suffered at *Macassar*; which our Merchants made to be a formidable Instance in the Business depending, and of far more Consequence than all they apprehended by *Dutch* Forts and Passes; and therefore immediately presented the King with their Demand of Restitution, together with some other Particulars which we were fain to disown immediately, as against an express Article of the Treaty at *Breda*: And I had the Blame of proposing all their Demands to the *Dutch*, though the Paper of them was sent to me without any Distinction.

So soon as the Point of *Macassar* was yielded us, which I thought would prove the most difficult of any, as of most Importance, and was, I am sure, for a great while the most contested; and after the Project of a general Article was gained from the *Dutch* (against all their former Resolutions) which was grounded upon these two Points, That we desire no Innovations, and will make no particular Instances or Complaints, in which they have ever offered us Redress: Our Merchants seeing the Matter draw near a fair Issue, now seem resolved to end all with these two Answers: That their Restitution to *Macassar* (as Sir *John Trevor* writes) will be too dear bought, by such an Article as shall confirm upon us all the Injuries we have complained of by Forts, and Passes, and Treaties too: Whereas the Article as 'tis proposed by the *Dutch* (however defective) does not extend to any Treaties to come, but only to the past; nor do the *Dutch* desire to sell us *Macassar* at the Price of any such Article; but had much rather restore it to us upon concluding the Treaty, without any such Article at all: Nor do I know yet of the Injuries in particular we have already complained of, either by Forts, Passes, or Treaties, beside this of *Macassar*; but contrary, have always been told, what we desired was rather for Prevention than Remedy. But next they say (as your Lordship tells me) They had rather be left as they are, with their Pretensions fair and entire, than have them blasted for ever with a bad Conclusion: Whereas no Conclusion they now make, upon what we have gained, and the Redress of what they complained of in the Marine Treaty, (though without this contested Article) but will leave them and their Pretensions in the same Condition they were before: The same Liberty still remaining upon the last Article of the Marine Treaty, to appoint Commissioners, and alter or add any thing, when both Parties shall agree; and will be but like taking so much by Advance, upon Account of a greater Debt. So that I am apt to conclude from all these Observations, that they who influence our Merchants in this Prosecution, either have no Meaning this Treaty should end fairly, and so they put it obstinately upon that single Point, and in that Form which they know will never be granted; or else they aim at gaining an Occasion of raising new Disputes with the *Dutch*, whenever they find a Conjuncture for it; there seeming some Reason for the *Dutch* Opinion, that agreeing upon an Article as ours
propose

propose it, we may fall into new Contests upon the Extent and Intepretation of it whenever we please. If this last End be in the Bottom of this Business, and it be taken up or countenanced by his Majesty or his Ministers, upon Reason of State, and we make our Provisions, and take all our Measures accordingly, for ought I know it is a wise, and may prove an honourable Council in time, at least if the present State of Affairs in *Christendom* should change by any sudden or unexpected Revolution. But if our Merchants, or those who influence them in this Matter, mean no such thing as a Conclusion of the Treaty; but only by the depending of such Disputes to leave an Unkindness and Weakness in our Alliance, which may in time shake the Foundations of it, and make way for new Measures on one side or other, which will in time prove destructive to both; I cannot but interpret this as the Effect of their Distaste or Envy at the King's present Ministry, and the Course of his Councils, which have not gained greater Honour abroad, nor perhaps Safety and good Will at home, by any thing, than by our late Alliances so renowned here, and thereby the Stop we have given to the Progress of the *French* Greatness. And therefore it must come from the Influence of some, who would be glad to see not only our Alliance shaken or changed abroad, but our Ministry at home too; which I shall be sorry to see, till the King can find better Hands for himself and the Kingdom to place it in: And whenever that happens, as much as I am your Lordship's Servant, I shall be very well contented, and so I dare say will you too. If your Lordship should imagine any particular Envy or Peek at me or my Employment here, may have contributed to the Difficulties which have succeeded in this Business; and that our Merchants or those that influence them, believe it would thrive better in any other Hand; I will beg of you not to be sway'd by Considerations of Kindness to me in a Matter of publick Concernment; nor to fear, that whenever this Employment falls, you shall be troubled with me at home, as great Ministers use to be with Men out of Office: For while the King's Business goes well, 'tis not two Straws matter whether such a Body as I have any Share in it or no.

And there's an end of all the Reflections I have had upon the most troublesome and untoward Business that, I thank God, I ever had in my Life, or I hope shall ever have again: And perhaps I am mistaken in them all. However, if your Lordship can pardon this, you shall be sure not to be troubled in haste with any more of it from,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Hague, Aug. 7. N.S. 1669.

I Was very glad to find your Lordship in your last upon your Journey into the Countrey, because I very much doubt whether the Exercise or Diversions you usually allow your self, are what your Health requires, and what your Cares and Troubles deserve. I am sure, in the Prospect I have of them, I am so far from envying them with all their gay Circumstances, that I think your Lordship has a very hard Bargain of them altogether; unless it be one Day made up to you by the Glory and Satisfaction of some great Success in the Pursuit you intend of his Majesty's and the Kingdoms Honour, Safety and Happiness; which I doubt will need some stronger Councils than Men seem at present disposed to: But this is none of my Business.

I cannot give your Lordship any Account of what you say is made a great matter of by somebody to a private Hand, about the Difficulties intended by *Spain* in the two last *Swedish* Payments, with design of making new Demands: I am only in pain at present to see the first Payment finished, which is not yet arrived, but expected by the first Courier. When that is done, and the Guaranty delivered by *Sweden*, as well as us and *Holland*, I shall be in no great
Fear

Fear besides that of the *Spanish* King's Death, or of *Spain* falling into some Agreement or other with *France* for the Exchange of *Flanders*, by seeing so great a War still entailed upon it, and their Neighbours unwilling to share so far in their Dangers, as perhaps it were our and the *Dutch* Interest to do. I am sure in the present Posture of that Monarchy, if I were of their Council, I should be of Advice to do it whenever *France* would be content upon it, to quit all Pretence to the rest of the *Spanish* Dominions: And perhaps 'twere wise for *France* to get *Flanders* by that or any other quiet Condition: For within two Years after he were well possess'd of that little Spot of Ground, I doubt no Prince or State in *Christendom*, would pretend to dispute any more with him then, than the *Spaniard* does now. But these are Events to be considered by Men in greater Spheres than I am, and perhaps deserve to be a little more thought on than they are.

I have received and returned a Visit with the *French* Ambassador; so that we are upon as good Terms as can be. My Lord *Culpepper* passed this way last Week; and upon that Occasion I cannot but desire your Lordship to let me know more particularly from you, how I am to treat any *English* Lord as to the *Hand* and *Door* in my own House: For though the *French* Example is given me, as to all publick Ministers, yet there is nothing specified as to other Persons; and if I am to follow it in this and other Particulars, I desire to have something from his Majesty's positive Commands to bear me out, as the *French* Ambassadors have, and as methinks the Case deserves: Since I am told, the Innovation began in Monsieur *Cominges*'s time in *England*, and that before the Orders he received in it, he gave the Hand to all Gentlemen of Quality in *England*, and to all Persons of great Quality or Families, though of his own Nation: And that my Lord *St. Albans* ever gave it to all *English* Lords while he was Ambassador at *Paris*: Though it seems my Lord *Hollis* changed it upon the *French* Ambassador's doing so in *England*.

I know not what my Father said to your Lordship concerning the Trifle you mention in the End of your Letter: And I am sure you might very well have spared your self the Trouble of taking Notice of it; as I may do of giving your Lordship any farther Assurances of what will never fail you; which is the hearty Passion and Truth wherewith I am and ever shall be,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's, &c.

To Sir Charles Wolfely.

S I R,

Hague, Aug. 10. N. S. 1669.

I Received some time since the Favour of a Letter from you of May 9th; but hearing by your Son that you had soon after left the Town; and finding how ill Fortune one of mine had met with in lying five or six Months before it came to your Hands: I omitted the acknowledging yours till I might presume on finding you sooner by my Father's Conveyance, to whose Care I have committed this, upon Information of his Journey by your House into *Ireland*. Were it nor for acquitting my Debt, and assuring you of your Son's Health and Welcome here, while it may be any Ease to you or Improvement to him, I should have little to bear me out in giving you this Trouble: For the Return of your Complements would but multiply them between us: And that is a sort of Exercise in which I am soon out of Breath, as having but a small Stock of those more refined Imaginations which are required to make up any great Abilities in that kind. Therefore I shall end an empty ill Letter as soon as I can; but not without the Professions of my being

S I R,

Your most humble Servant,

To the Spanish Ambassador.

A l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne.

My Lord,

Hague, Aug.
13. N. S. 1669.

I Was in hopes the Affair now under Debate could have met with no Reply to what I writ yesterday to your Excellency: But having observed the contrary by yours of this Evening; I am obliged to say, that I thought, upon our last Conference, I had left your Excellency entirely persuaded, that the *Constable* was in the wrong to raise a Difficulty about the first Payment upon the Concert proposed; because there was no mention of it in the Act signed by your Excellency. I shall say farther, that you have reason at present, if in that Act you shall find (either expressed or implied) these Words of the Guaranty, *Y los Instrumentos necesarios dependientes de ella*. If these Words are not there, the Party contracting cannot bring them in by any Interpretation of his own, without Consent of t'other Party, or Sentence of some Arbitrator: Besides, that this of the Concert, does not absolutely or of necessity import any thing to the Security of the Guaranty: For, provided we execute it as the Wants of *Spain* require, it is of no Importance whether it be done with such or such a number of Troops, either of one or t'other Nation, since that is to be concerted according to the different Interests or Conveniences of each Party: And it may happen that the Attack from *France* may be so powerful, that it will be necessary for each of us to assist you with all the Forces we can raise or equip, according to the general Guaranty, and not according to any Concert of Forces specified in the Treaty.

I do not accuse *Spain* of any want of Sincerity in all this Affair, but only of Readiness and Freeness to consent to, and accomplish what was absolutely necessary for engaging *Sweden* in the preservation of the Peace. And on t'other side, your Excellency cannot accuse the Sincerity of the King my Master; who at the lowest of your Affairs, and when *Flanders* was desperate,

Monsieur,

De la Haye, le 13
Aout, S. N. 1669.

J'Avois esperé que l'affaire dont il s'agit à present ne trouveroit plus d'obstacles, & qu'il n'y auroit point de replique à ce que j'ecrivis hier à V. E. Mais comme j'ay vû le contraire par votre Lettre écrite ce soir même, je me crois obligé de dire, qu'il m'avoit paru que le fruit de nôtre derniere conference, avoit été de laisser V. E. pleinement persuadée, que le Connétable de Castille avoit tort de susciter une difficulté touchant le premier payement sur le Concert proposé, puisqu'il n'en est point fait mention dans l'acte signé par V. E. J'ajouteray à cela, que vous auriez aujourd'hui raison, si dans cet Acte vous trouviez ou exprimés ou sousentendus les mots de *Guarantie*, *Y los instrumentos necesarios dependientes de ella*. Si pareils mots n'y sont pas, un des partis contractans ne peut pas les y faire entrer par une interpretation de sa façon, à moins que le consentement de l'autre parti intervienne, ou que de part & d'autre on convienne de s'en rapporter à la decision d'un arbitre: Sans conter que celui de Concert luy même n'importe point absolument ni necessairement à la securité de la Garantie: Car pourvû que nous l'executions selon le besoin des affaires d'Espagne, il importera peu qu'avec un tel ou un tel nombre de troupes, ou que ces troupes appartiennent à une de deux Nations plutôt qu'à l'autre; car si l'on doit agir de concert, c'est selon les divers interêts & les differentes commoditez de chacune des Parties. Et même il peut arriver, que les invasions & les attaques de la France seroient si redoutables, qu'il sera nécessaire que chacun de nous rassemble tout ce qu'il peut de forces sur pied, ayant egard à l'intention de la Garantie en general, & non à quelques cas particuliers spécifiés dans le traité.

Je n'accuse pas l'Espagne d'avoir manqué de sincerité dans tout le cours de cette affaire, mais d'avoir manqué de promptitude & franchise à accomplir ce qui leur étoit absolument nécessaire pour engager la Suede dans la conservation de la Paix; sur cela je diray aussi à V. E. qu'elle ne peut pas accuser la sincerité du Roy mon Maître; lors qu l'état de vos affaires étoit le plus déploré, & que tous

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desperate, gave the first helping Hand (when the Princes nearest allied to the Crown of Spain would have nothing to do in it;) contracted his Alliances last Winter, sent a Fleet to Sea the Summer following, sent Ambassadors to *Aix la Chapelle*, founded the *Triple Alliance*, and solicited other Princes to join in it: And all this, only to begin and procure a Peace, where neither his Dominions nor People were concerned; nor (with permission of great Reasoners) had any Prospect of future Dangers, but what would concern the Empire and all the rest of *Christianity*, before his Majesty or his Kingdoms could be exposed to it.

For what your Excellency desires to know, why, Monsieur *Marechal* having said, there would be no Difficulty in concluding and ratifying the *Concert*, there should notwithstanding prove to be any in doing it at present; I will tell you, That the two Ministers of Sweden, in all that has passed between us, have not only said, but still persist, that they were ready to enter into the said *Concert*, and intended to do so before Monsieur *Marechal* goes from hence (upon which however he is extremely pressed) but that they never intended to enter into it before the Payment of the first Subsidies, which ought to have been made upon the mutual Delivery of the Ratification; saying withal, that they would never allow that this Money ought to pass for Payment of the particular Aids they were to give Spain by virtue of the *Triple Alliance*. I have always found them so stiff upon that Point, that I have been a long time in despair of overcoming their Nicety. It remains therefore to Spain to consider whether the Guaranty of three such Powers be worth giving this little Satisfaction to Sweden; and whether it would not be more to the purpose when the second Term expires, to press us then upon the *Concert*, if you shall not see it finished: But by all means to procure as soon as possible, that the general Guaranty be

les *Pais-bas* étoient comme au desespoir, il a le premier mis la main à l'ouvrage (quand les Princes les plus proches de la Couronne d'Espagne n'y vouloient pas toucher) tout l'hiver dernier sa Majesté a employé à faire traiter ses Alliances, & à faire équiper une flotte qui a paru en mer; L'été suivante il a envoyé ses Ambassadeurs à *Aix la Chapelle*, il a cimenté la *Triple Alliance*, & fait solliciter divers Princes de s'y joindre en plus grand nombre: Tout cela dans la vue d'acheminer & de procurer une paix, qui ne rendoit rien à ses Etats ni à ses Peuples, puisque les uns & les autres étoient à couvert des ravages de la guerre. Car malgré tout ce qu'il plaît aux grands discoureurs d'insinuer, & de publier; les dangers qui menacent l'Angleterre, & que la Politique a dû prévoir, ces dangers regardoient & l'Empire en particulier, & toute la Chrétienté en general de plus près que sa Majesté & ses Royaumes.

V. E. demande, pourquoi Monsieur *Marechal* ayant dit qu'il n'y auroit aucune difficulté à conclure & à ratifier le *Concert*, il s'y en trouve pourtant aujourd'hui; Je vous diray sur cela, que les deux Ministres de Suede sur tous les points discutez entre eux & nous, non seulement nous ont dit, mais ils persistent toujours à dire, qu'ils étoient prêts à entrer dans le dit *Concert*, qu'ils avoient même prétendu le faire avant le départ de Monsieur *Marechal*, quelque pressé qu'il paroisse; que leur pensée n'a jamais été d'attendre à faire cette démarche, que le paiement des premiers subsides, fixé au tems que l'échange de la Ratification seroit délivrée. Ils ajoutent à cela, qu'ils ne consentiront jamais, que cet argent puisse passer pour le prix & la récompense qu'ils s'engageroient de donner à l'Espagne en vertu de la *Triple Alliance*. Je les ay trouvés si roids sur cet Article, que j'ay desespéré il y a long tems de vaincre leur délicatesse. Il reste donc pour l'Espagne à examiner & à bien peser, si la Garantie de trois Puissances telles que celles qui se présentent, ne vaut pas bien qu'on cede à la Suede la legere Satisfaction qu'elle demande. Je voudrois que l'Espagne considerât, s'il ne seroit pas plus à propos d'attendre à nous presser sur le *Concert*, que le terme du second paiement fût échoué, si tout n'étoit entièrement conclu; mais en tout cas de procurer au plutôt que la Garantie generale vous

be put into your Hands: And I do not doubt, but according to the Dispositions I see on all Sides, that the Concert will quickly follow, though your Excellency should no more concern your self with urging us to what we are drawn by the Interest of every particular Party as well as the Publick.

I wish your Excellency Health and Happiness; and am, &c.

vous soit mise en mains. Je ne doute pas, veu les dispositions où je trouve tous les Esprits, que le Concert ne suive immédiatement, & sans que V. E. ait la peine de nous presser d'avantage: En cette rencontre nôtre propre intérêt se trouve joint à celui du publique.

Je souhaite à V. E. la santé & la prospérité qu'elle desire; & suis, &c.

To the Spanish Ambassador.

Al Ambaxador de Espanna.

Hague, Aug. 14.
My Lord, N. S. 1669.

De la Hay, Aug.
Ex^{mo}. Sen^r. 14. S. N. 1669.

I Received your Excellency's Letter last Night, as I was making my Dispatches for England, in which I immediately enclosed it, that the King my Master may see, in what this Affair has ended. For the Complaints your Excellency is pleased to make of me, as having hinder'd instead of advancing an Agreement so much desired; I shall not defend my self with Words, if my Actions have not done it; nor think my self obliged whatever has passed in this Affair, to give account of it to any body but the King my Master. I am not the first Minister, whose Services to Spain have had no Returns but of Reproach and Ingratitude, which I shall not lay to Heart, since our part is only to obey. However, I cannot but think it had been more Prudence in the Spanish Ministers to acknowledge all the King my Master has treated and done for 18 Months past in favour of that Crown, than to accuse his Majesty upon every Occasion, either to have done nothing, or only what he found convenient to himself: Since the true way of engaging a generous Mind in new Obligations, is to be thankful for the old, and rather encrease than lessen what a King and a Friend has done, at least with so much desire of succeeding well.

Since your Excellency is pleased to give so wrong a Turn to what I writ with so good Intentions, I will say nothing to excuse it, but still repeat what I said before; That to me it seems more reasonable that you should press the Swedish Ministers upon this Agreement,

A Noche recebi la de V. E. standome en mis despachos para la Inglaterra, en los quales la he luego encerrado, para que vea el Rey mi Sennor en que punto a parado este negocio. Por lo que se va V. E. quexando de mi, como el que atrasava el concierto tan deseado, en lugar de encaminarlo; Yo ne me voy defendiendo con razones, si las obras no me defienden. Sea lo que fuera de mi, que no tengo de responder a ninguno de lo que hago en esta materia, si no al Rey mi Sennor, y no soy yo el primero Ministro a quien aviendo bien merecido de Espanna, se lo reconoce con desagraderle todos sus officios; Pero no importa, porque no tenemos nos-otros otra parte en los negocios, si no de obediencia. A lo menos me parece que los Ministros de Espanna hizieran mas prudentemente de agradecer al Rey mi Sennor, loque ha negociado y obrado despues de anno y medio passados en favor de las cosas de esta Corona, que no de acusar su Magestad a cada punto, o de no haver hecho nada, o averlo todo hecho por su propria convenientia; porque el verdadero medio para empennar un espiritu generoso en nuevos beneficios, es agradecerle algo de los passados, y mas preste agradecer que no yr siempre disminuyenod, lo que un Rey amigo a hecho a lo menos con buena voluntad.

Puesque V. E. se gusta de tomar a tuerto loque yo he escrito a derecho, yo no le he de impedir, pero me voy rediziendo, que a mi parecer tuviera mas razon de appretar los Ministros de Suecia sobre este concierto, si veyra que no se havra acabado al segundo termino de los Subsidios;

Agreement, if you think the time of the second Subsidies not yet run out: Because 'tis plain, that the first Payment (by your own Act) was to be made upon the signing the Ratifications of the Guaranty, without any other Condition; and there being three distinct Acts from the three Parties, your Excellency has very artificially made mention both of that of the Guaranty, and the other of Concert; whereas that of the Guaranty ought only to be given to *Spain*; and that of Concert, but communicated as an Agreement between the three Parties enter'd into the *Triple Alliance*. With all this, your Excellency may see, that when I said this, I told you at the same time, that there was no doubt, after having given the Guaranty, and that the *Swedes* had received their first Payment, the Agreement would be concerted too: And this I still believe from the Interest the *Swedes* have in it, to secure the other Payments; and *Holland* yet more, either to preserve the Peace, or in case a War should happen, to secure a strong and powerful Defence from *Flanders*, which next to their own Towns, is what they are nearest concerned in. I must repeat again what I said of his Majesty, That if the *Swedes* and the *Dutch* can find the way of agreeing this Affair, it will never be laid to the King my Master's Charge if they do not see a good End of it. But I have enter'd deep enough into the Thoughts of the *Swedes* upon this Point, to be absolutely of Opinion, That they will never consent to the Agreement, till they have received their first Payment. Monsieur *Marechal* having only heard some Expression of your Excellency's upon this Affair, came immediately to desire I would go to you, and inform myself of the Truth of it, and bring a positive Answer from you; swearing, that if this were your Resolution, the *Swedes* could very well content themselves without the Money: And that for his Part, he was resolv'd to leave the *Hague* to morrow; and about four or five Days ago, Monsieur *Appleboom* sent his Secretary to tell me, he had heard something to this purpose, of your Excellency; and to complain of it. But if you can otherwise dispose both the *Swedes* and the *Dutch*, as to

Subsidios; porque es cosa evidente por su propio acto, que el primero pagamiento se ha de cumplir con la extradition de las ratificaciones de la guarentia sin otra condicion; y que siendo tres actos distintos de las tres partes, por esto V. E. a hecho mencion de los actos de guarentia, y otro de concierto como V. E. va concluyendo agora con mucha agudeza, porque el acto de concierto no se devia dar a la *Espanna* como el de la guarentia, si no comunicarla solamente como un acuerdo entre las partes de la *Triple Alianza*. Con todo esto muy bien pudiera ver V. E. que en diciendo esto he dicho tan bien que no havia duda, que despues de haver dado las guarentias, y recebido la *Suecia* el dinero del primero termino, se acabara el concierto, y lo creo tan bien porque veo a la *Suecia* interessada en ello por assegurar de los otros terminos, y tan bien por lo que espera en succediendo la guerra y la *Olanda* sta aun mas interessada para assegurar tanto mas la paz, o en caso de guerra una fuerte y bastante defensa del pays, baxo como tocando les muy apretadamente y mas que otra cosa despues de sus proprias villas. Y lo que he dicho del Rey mi Sennor, lo digo otra vez que accordando se la *Suecia* y la *Olanda* en las particularidades del Concierto, no tendra a su Magestad de no acabarlo. Pero aviendome yo barto escudrinado los sentimientos de los *Suecos* en este negocio, soy enteramente del parecer que nunca han de tocar al Concierto antes de haver recebido el primero termino; porque el Sennor *Marechal* aviendo entendido solamente alguna cosita que V. E. avia dicho a este proposito, me venia luego supplicar de yr me a V. E. di informar me dello, y tirar una respuesta categorica sobre esta materia; jurando tal fuesse la resolution de V. E. que la *Suecia* se passaria muy bien del dinero; y que para el stava determinado de salir la manana de la Haya. Y no ay mas que quatro o cinco dias que el Sennor *Appleboom* me ha empiado su Secretario para quejarse de la misma manera di haver la segunda vez entendido tal cosa de V. E. en ello. Pero si puede disponer y los *Succos* y los *Olandezes* de otra manera (como me parece immaginar en su carta) para mi me huelgare de su successo, y mucho he de alabar sus diligencias, aunque tan poco se contenta de las mias.

me it seems by your Letter, you imagine; I shall extremely rejoice at your Success, and applaud your Diligence, though you are so little pleased with mine.

I cannot tell how I came to engage so far in a Language I know so imperfectly: If you do understand me, 'tis all I desire. God preserve your Excellency many Years. I kiss your Excellency's Hands, and am

No se como me he empennado tan adelante en mi gergonça de E/pannol. V. E. le ba de pardonnar, con que le becha de entender, basta. Guarde Dios a V. E. los annos que la desseo.

Your most humble Servant.

B. L. M. D. V. E. &c.

Augst, 1669.

Sentence donnée sur l'Affaire de Portugal & de la Hollande, par l'Ambassadeur de l'Angleterre, à qui les deux Parties avoient remis la Decision finale de leurs Differences, non pas comme Ambassadeur d'Angleterre, mais comme Chevalier Temple.

Monsieur l'Ambassadeur de Portugal & Monsieur le Pensionnaire de Witt, ayants trouvé à propos de communiquer à l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre les Points qui ont esté si long tems en dispute sur l'Accommodement proposé entre le Portugal & la Hollande;

Le dit Ambassadeur d'Angleterre a trouvé sur la premiere Conference avec les deux Parties, que la principale Difficulté qui restoit à demeler, estoit sur la maniere de faire les deux Millions cinq cent mille Cruzados qui estoient accordés par le Portugal à la Hollande, payables à dix Payements egaux; c'est à dire, deux cent mille Cruzados par an.

Le dit Ambassadeur d'Angleterre avoit aussi remarqué, dans la mesme Conference que les deux Parties estoient d'accord que lesdits Payements se feroient par les Droits du Sel de Setuval, & qu'à cet Effet chacun d'eux avoit proposé son Expedient, par lequel ledit Ambassadeur d'Angleterre voyoit que Monsieur l'Ambassadeur de Portugal se proposoit que lesdits Payements entiers se feroient par l'Assignation desdits Droits du Sel de Setuval pour le terme de dixsept ou dixhuit ans: Et que Monsieur le Pensionnaire de Witt se faisoit fort que ladite debte se pourroit entierement satisfaire selon son Expedient par lesdits Droits du Sel de Setuval dans le terme de vingt & deux, ou vingt & trois ans.

Ledit Ambassadeur d'Angleterre ayant aussi remarqué que l'accommodement sur aucun desdits Expedients estoit desesperé pour les Difficultez sur la maniere de payer les interets, dont les deux Parties ne pouvoient aucunement venir au bout, a trouvé bon de proposer comme un Expedient entre deux: Que le Portugal assigneroit à la Hollande les droits du Sel de Setuval pour l'espace de vingt ans en satisfaction entiere de ladite debte; si le Portugal ne trouvoit pas que la Hollande eut receu sa satisfaction entiere en moindre tems; & qu'en tel cas ledit terme seroit retranché après telle satisfaction achevée.

Ledit Ambassadeur d'Angleterre ayant proposé cet Expedient à chacun des deux Parties, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur de Portugal a pris du tems pour le considerer; & Monsieur le Pensionnaire l'a accepté sur la condition suivante; Sçavoir, si dans aucune année dudit terme, lesdits droits du Sel de Setuval ne monteront pas à la valeur de cent cinquante mille Cruzados, qu'en ce cas le Portugal dans l'année suivante suppléera en Sel la valeur de ce qu'on trouvera avoir manqué à ladite l'année precedente: Et à fin que les Payements se pourroient parachever en

moindre temps, le Portugal s'obligerait de ne hauffer pas le prix du Sel pour les Hollandois, ni de l'abaisser pour les autres.

Ledit Ambassadeur d'Angleterre ayant communiqué le mesme soir à l'Ambassadeur de Portugal ladite Acceptation sous la Condition mentionnée, il s'accorda à l'Expedient de l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre, & aussi à la Condition du Pensionnaire, pour ce qui estoit de ni hauffer ni abaisser le prix du Sel: Mais pour l'autre partie de la Condition, il la refusoit entierement, à cause que la Hollande estant asseurée par là de recevoir en Sel tout ce qui manqueroit chaque année sur les Droits du Sel à l'accomplissement de cent cinquante mille Cruzados, se pouvoit departir de tirer dudit Setuval si grande quantité du Sel, qu'elle estoit accoutumée de tirer chaque année par le passé: Et que par là le Royaume de Portugal se trouveroit appauvri à faut dudit debit ordinaire du Sel, & le Prince se trouveroit chargé d'autant qu'il plairoit à la Hollande sur les manquements des Droits annuels.

Sur ces Entrefaits les deux Parties estant entrées encore dans une Conference avec l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre, & ne s'y pouvant pas accorder non plus que dans la precedente, sur aucun des Expedients proposés; ils ont à la fin trouvé bon de convenir ensemble que la decision finale de toute cette dispute, se feroit par l'Arbitrage absolu dudit Ambassadeur d'Angleterre, pourveu que l'Ambassadeur de Portugal consentiroit que la valeur du Sel se regleroit entierement par les Cruzados, sans aucun egard à la valeur des Reys sur laquelle il y a eu aussi beaucoup de Controverse entre les deux Parties.

En vertu de cette Convention, ledit Ambassadeur d'Angleterre ayant meurement considéré tout ce que dessus, & aussi l'intérêt de ces deux Nations, aussi bien que de leurs Voisins & Alliez, que cette affaire si long tems debattue, se puisse enfin terminer à l'aimable, & ne tirer pas en aigreur entre les deux Nations par des Disputes ulterieures; declare & juge que le premier Expedient proposé par ledit Ambassadeur touchant les vingt années ayant esté déjà accepté par les deux Parties, demeurera ferme & valable avec ces Conditions, que la Hollande sera obligée de tirer de Setuval toutes les années durant ledit terme, autant de Sel qu'elle a tiré dans aucune de dix années dernièrement passées: Mais, qu'en cas que par ledit debit du Sel, les droits à Setuval ne monteront pas pourtant jusques à cent cinquante mille Cruzados dans aucune année dudit terme de vingt ans; que le Portugal suppléera en Sel l'année suivante ce qui aura manqué à ladite somme, pourveu que ledit manquement n'excede pas la valeur de trente mille Cruzados.

Ledit Ambassadeur d'Angleterre juge aussi equitable que la Hollande ne pretendra autre satisfaction de la Dette, hormis lesdits droits du Sel de Setuval pour ledit terme de vingt années.

Que la Valeur du Sel sera contée par Cruzados, sans egard à quelque autre monnoye puisqu'il n'y a eu mention dans le Traitté d'aucun autre espece.

Et qu'en cas que le Portugal trouvera à propos de se decharger de quelque part de la dette par quelque autre moyen; la Hollande retranchera aussi ledit terme en proportion.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Hague, Sept. 2. N.S. 1669.

HAVING received his Majesty's Letter to the Constable from your Lordship's Hands, I thought it was fit for me to return his Answer by the same way: And, that not having Matter enough to furnish two Letters this Ordinary; your Lordship would be content to receive the whole Trouble of what I have to say, since you were of course to have a Part of it.

I received at the same Time with this for his Majesty, the other for myself; and the same Express brought another for the States; I doubt, all in the same Style; by which your Lordship will understand the ill State of our general Business here. Monsieur Marechal came yesterday to visit me, and told me, his Errand was to know, whether I could propose any new way of drawing their Satisfaction from Spain; if not, whether I would give any Hopes of their having it from

his Majesty and the *States*: And if neither of these, what I could propose as the best way * *Pour sortir de cette Affaire de la meilleure Grace, Et sans trop de Bruit*: I told him, For the first, I was at an end of my own Invention, but should not fail however of consulting with the *Dutch* Commissioners, whom I had not seen since our Answer from the *Constable*. For the second, I knew he was so sensible of *Sweden's* having no Right to demand of us more than our good Offices in this Particular, that he would never think fit to press us any farther; and those he should not fail of. For the last, it was a Point I was very loth to think of; but when it was necessary, I would join with him in that Consideration, but would fain believe, the Affair was not yet desperate. He fell into great Complains of the *Spanish* Ministers here, and of their laying several Discourses to his Charge which he never made; particularly, of their being willing to take a verbal Engagement from *Spain* for thirty thousand Crowns a Month in time of War; which he protested was contrary to his Orders, that were, to stand firmly upon having Assurance for the whole sixty thousand pretended from his Majesty and the *States*, and leave us to find our Security from *Spain*, with whom they had not had any thing to do in the whole Business: But he said, he would tell me in Confidence, that they had represented the Impossibility of this Pretension to their Court, and the necessity of taking the Assurances for thirty thousand from *Spain*; and expect Answer upon this Point by the very first Letters: And in case of their Court's consenting to it, he was in hopes all Difficulties would be overcome; for we might finish the Concert before the Payment of the Money, and give the *Spanish* Ministers Assurance of our signing it suddenly after: And though *Holland* had hitherto declared against assuring any part of the sixty thousand Crowns without real Security from *Spain*, yet his Majesty having resolved to assure *Sweden* of his Part, *Holland* could not avoid following his Measure and Example.

* To get out of this Affair, with the best Grace, and without too much Noise.

I easily perceived the first part of this Discourse was brought in, only to usher the last; and to sound me about his Majesty's Intention in this Point: And so I told him, I did not remember to have heard his Majesty had ever declared any such Resolution. That there were indeed several Projects framed by several Hands about that time, some of which contained what he said: But I asked him whether he had ever seen any of them signed? He confessed he had not, but their Court ever look'd upon it as a Thing agreed to by his Majesty. I said I wondered at it, because they could not but consider his Majesty as very little more concerned in this Affair than themselves: And being so, it would be very hard for him to engage in the Defence of *Spain*, without any Hopes of Reimbursement for his own Part; and withal to furnish *Sweden* with so great a Share of the Subsidies they expected upon a bare Promise from *Spain*, of repaying it after the War ended. That, for my Part, having not then been in *England*, I would not affirm, his Majesty had not agreed to it, because he seemed to affirm he had: But if he had not, I thought it would be a very hard Thing to expect it from him. He replied, He would not dispute whether it were hard or no, but was sure, in *Sweden* they made no manner of doubt upon it; and, that in his Instruction, which mentions their soliciting our and *Holland's* assuring the whole Sum, there are these Words, *The King of England having consented to assure one fourth Part*. That if there were a Question upon this, though their Court should consent to accept an Act from *Spain* for thirty thousand, yet he saw there would be another Difficulty less surmountable than all the rest; and so look'd upon the Affair as desperate. But having frankly communicated to me his Instructions whenever I desired it; he entreated me freely to communicate mine to him upon this Particular, that they might know what to trust to. I told him frankly that I had none upon it; that his Majesty, being so near, had only order'd me, that when they and *Holland* should be agreed about the Particulars of the Concert, that I should communicate it to him, and should receive a sudden Answer upon it.

We broke up this Conference very friendly; resolving only that I should discourse with Monsieur de Witt upon the whole State of our Affair, while they

they expected their next Orders from *Sweden*, after which we should all have a Conference together, and take our last Measures.

This Day Monsieur *de Witt* came to me upon the same Occasion; shewing me the *Constable's* Letter to the *States*, which contained nothing more than mine from him, besides desiring them to employ their good Offices towards the Ministers of *England* and *Sweden* for the Accomplishment of this Affair. After having asked me two or three times what I thought was to be done; and I protesting I knew not; at last he said, That though he was never for plaistering upon an ill Wall, and he was confident, if *Sweden* trusted to *Spain* for the thirty thousand Crowns a Month, they would never be paid; and so their Assistance would fail in case of a War, unless *Spain* gave such a Security as might certainly raise the Money: Yet considering that the very Reputation of this Business concluded, might very well prevent a War, might hinder *Spain's* taking their Measures with *France* to our Disadvantage; and in case of a War, *Sweden's* having received the Subsidies already due, would hinder them from taking any Measures with *France*, though they should not furnish their Assistance to *Spain* for want of the future Subsidies: For his Part, he could wish the Thing done; and though it had ever been against his Opinion, yet if his Majesty should think fit to assure *Sweden* of a fourth Part, he believed the *States* would be induced to do the same, rather than endanger the breaking of the Business,

After I had deduced to him the great Differences there were in his Majesty's Concernment and theirs upon this Matter; and how hard it were for his Majesty that had his Seas and Fleets to defend him, to contribute in all Points as much as they who had the *French* Armies at their Gates, so soon as *Flanders* was over-run: And finding him still firm, as I had done so often before, that this State could never go other than even Paces with us in this Matter, nor look upon themselves as nearer concerned in the Greatness of *France* than other Neighbours, till they saw the Danger fall directly this way: I at last told him plainly what I had told Monsieur *Marechal* before, concerning my Instruction: Which he received with his usual Temper, and said, We must refer all to a Conference with the *Swedish* Ministers; and in the mean Time each of us should think what Expedient is to be found in the Case.

Concerning our Business of *Surinam*, I am in great Hope yet to come to some good End of it, though they will not hear of it in Point of Right as to his Majesty's Intercession: But that it is fit to give his Majesty greater Testimonies of their Deference than in such a Matter as this, is already the declared Opinion of Mr. *V. B.* the *Pensioner* of *Harlaem*, and some others I have pursued: And Monsieur *de Witt* promises me, if those two will second him, he will endeavour to bring the Province of *Holland* to it, this Assembly; and then we may deal with *Zeeland* I hope well enough by one way or other. The Paper Mr. *V. B.* has made me expect two or three Posts, upon the account of the Places we have specified in the *Indies*, he promises shall not fail me by the next Post; and should have come sooner, but that he was resolved to be the most exactly informed that could be in all Particulars.

Monsieur *de Witt* has writ to those of the *East-India* Company at *Amsterdam* in pursuit of your Lordship's Letter, and Sir *John Worden's* Desire, concerning one *Cary* coming over to offer an End of a Suit upon the Pretensions of *Courtin's* Heir: Their Answer is, That I might be secure they will give no Money for an End of that Business, since all farther Pretensions are clearly cut off by the Treaty at *Breda*: And I find, Monsieur *de Witt* is of the same Opinion.

Yesterday died Monsieur *Weymenum*, a great Man in this State, but very little bewailed.

I believe your Lordship may hear Reports of Discontents growing, and Parties changing here: But I doubt it is not in Discourse farther than among those that are in the Skirts of Business; which makes me hope there may be no more Ground for all that is so lavishly talk'd of here, and of the same kind among us in *England*: If it should be otherwise, I am at least glad to be ignorant of

of it; being of so much Disreputation abroad to our Councils: And all the Persons in Consideration here, I am sure are sorry for what they hear of it, professing to be as much concerned in our Union as their own; and placing all their Hopes of taking any constant Measures with us, upon the Steadiness of his Majesty's late Councils, and the Dispositions of our present Ministers, before whose time Monsieur de Witt says, * *Que ce n'estoit que Fluctuation dans les* * *That*
Conseils d'Angleterre.

I am,
 Your Lordship's, &c.

*there was
 nothing
 but wa-
 vering in
 the Coun-
 cils of
 England.*

To the Constable of Castile.

Au Connetable de Castille.

My Lord,

Hague, Sept. 4.
 N. S. 1669.

I Sent the other Day in the *Spanish* Ambassador's Pacquet, a Letter from the King my Master to your Excellency in Favour of Monsieur Taaf; and am obliged to second that Affair by all my good Offices, tho' I hope they will not be necessary; and I hope that this Gentleman shall not be reckoned the less capable to serve his Master, for having already well served his Friend.

I cannot let pass this Occasion, without representing to your Excellency the undoubted Necessity there is, to give Order with all speed for the Payment of the 200000 Crowns to the Ministers of *Sweden*, who have expected them with so much Patience, and are ready to deliver into the *Spanish* Ambassadors Hands the Ratifications of the Guaranty, jointly with me and the *States General*. They assure me also, that they are ready to enter into a particular Concert of Forces, as soon as this Affair is finish'd; but are resolv'd not to mix one with t'other; and are so ill satisfied with some Difficulties that the *Spanish* Ambassador has rais'd upon this Matter, that I believe it will not be possible to keep them here two Days longer; if your Excellency sends them an Answer not according to the Act signed by the said Ambassador, and since ratified by the King of *Spain*; that is to say, to order the Payment of the Money upon the mutual Delivery of the Guaranty. This is what they told me two Days since; and may perhaps ruin an Affair that has been so long negotiated, and brought into the Port through so many Difficulties.

Your

De la Haye, le 4 Sept.
 S. N. 1669.

Monsieur,

J'Envoyai l'autre jour dans le Pacquet de Monsieur l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne, une lettre du Roy mon maître à V. E. en faveur de Monsieur Taaf; je me crois obligé de l'aider de tous mes bons offices, mais je croy qu'ils ne luy sont pas nécessaires, & que ce Gentilhomme n'en sera pas jugé moins digne & moins capable de servir son Maître, pour avoir si bien servi son ami.

Je ne puis laisser passer cette occasion sans représenter à V. E. qu'il est d'une nécessité indispensable d'expédier incessamment des ordres pour faire toucher aux Ministres de *Suede* les 200000 écus qu'ils ont jusqu'icy attendus avec tant de patience. Ils sont prêts de délivrer entre les mains de l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne les Ratifications de la Garantie conjointement avec moy & les *Etats Generaux*. Ils m'ont aussi assuré qu'ils étoient tout prêts à entrer dans un Concert particulier pour fournir un secours de Forces, que pour cela ils n'attendoient que de voir finir cette première affaire; & qu'ils étoient résolus de ne point mêler l'une avec l'autre. Ils sont au reste si mal satisfaits de quelques difficultés que Monsieur l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne leur a fait sur ce premier article, que je ne croy pas qu'il soit possible de les retenir deux jours icy après que V. E. se sera expliquée sur cette affaire, & que nous aurons reçu sa réponse, supposé que cette réponse ne s'accorde pas à l'acte signé par le dit Ambassadeur, & depuis ratifié par le Roy d'Espagne, c'est à savoir de faire conter l'argent sur l'Extradition de la Garantie. Voilà ce qu'ils m'ont dit depuis deux jours, & ce qui pourroit bien faire aller en fumée une affaire si longtemps négociée, & menée au port à travers tant de difficultés.

D d d

V. E.

Your Excellency will judge better than any body, how you can answer to the Court of *Spain*, and to all *Christianity*, the Loss of so great an Occasion for establishing the Security of the one, and the Repose of the other. For all this depends upon your Resolutions, to which the three Confederates, as well as so many others, will entirely attribute any Misfortune that shall arrive. And as I have not failed since the Beginning of this Affair to contribute all my Cares to it, so I would not be wanting towards the End, to represent the pressing Necessity of this Conjunction. It is left to your Excellency to make what use of it you please; from whose Conduct every one will form Presages, good or ill, to the Affairs of *Spain*.

V. E. sentira mieux que personne, qu'elle se rend responsable & à la Couronne d'Espagne, & à toute la Chrétienté de la perte d'une si grande occasion, qui établissoit la sûreté de l'une, & le repos de l'autre. Car, c'est de vos résolutions que tout cela va dépendre; & c'est aussi sur elles seules que les trois Confédérés, ainsi que tant d'autres, vont rejeter les malheurs qui suivront du peu de succès de nos négociations. Comme dès le commencement je n'ay épargné ni veilles ni soins pour cette grande affaire, je n'ay pas voulu manquer sur la fin à faire une dernière démarche, qui est, de représenter à V. E. toute l'importance des conjonctures qui s'offrent encore à nous, mais qui sont prêtes à nous échapper. Ce sera à V. E. à en user comme il lui plaira: On tirera des mesures qu'il va prendre, des présages certains pour le bon ou le mauvais état des affaires d'Espagne.

I am your Excellency's, &c.

Je suis de V. E. &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Hague, Oct. 11. N.S. 1669.

I Have this Day received your Lordship's of the 21st past, and having none by me from Mr. Secretary *Trevor*, shall presume to return in an Answer to your Lordship's that little I have to say by this Post: For all at present is here at a stand in our Business of the Alliance; and when it will proceed again, depends wholly upon his Majesty, do what I can. Since the last Post, the *Spanish* Ambassador, the Baron *d'Isola*, Monsieur *Marechal*, and Monsieur *de Witt*, have been severally with me to know what I will propose, or what I will consent to for an Expedient in this Matter. The two first would fain have something from me to work upon; and I entertain them with Complaints of the *Spanish* ill Usage towards us, having proposed at *London* not only to indemnify us, in what they projected there concerning his Majesty's engaging to the *Swede*, but likewise a Share of his own Charge likely to arise upon a War: All which, ever since the Peace they have been content to forget, and now would put us upon a Necessity of engaging to advance the *Swedish* Subsidies. I farther represented to the *Spanish* Ambassador, the Imprudence of their Councils, in raising this Difficulty in the first Payment to the *Swedes*, by the Easiness whereof they might have possessed themselves of the Guaranty, and thereby enter'd into Confidence with *Sweden*; secured them from thinking of any other Measures, and pursued the Finishings of our Work by any particular Concerts, without Danger or Unkindness.

I urged all this so far, that though the *Spanish* Ambassador persisted in affirming, that the Orders from *Spain* to the *Constable*, as well as to himself, were positive in the Case of not paying the Money without the particular Concert; yet he at last joined with me very freely in blaming the Weakness and Unhappiness of the *Spanish* Councils upon these Particulars; and wondring how the Marquis *Castel-Rodrigo* could suffer the Dispatch of such Orders. The next Morning the Baron *d'Isola* came to me, and entertain'd me with long Discourses of what pass'd between him and the *Spanish* Ambassador, in consequence of what I had said the Night before: And the Sum of all was, as I imagined,

imagined, to sound me whether I would be induced to enter the Concert upon the *Spanish* Ambassadors promising me an Indemnity from *Spain* for the hundred and fifty thousand Crowns a Month insisted upon by the *Swedes* to be secured to them from the King. Upon this Insinuation I resolved to take no Hold at all; because if his Majesty should ever resolve to promise the Advance of the hundred and fifty thousand Crowns in case of a War; I thought it would be better trusting to gain his Satisfaction by negotiating in *Spain* to that purpose, upon the Grounds given of so many Overtures by the *Spanish* Ministers both at *London*, *Brussels*, and here, than by taking a Promise or Instrument here from this Ambassador (as the Baron says) beyond his Power, and especially whose Secrecy in it we cannot much reckon upon: Whereas the publishing any such thing may have ill Consequences of Jealousy between us and the *Dutch*. Therefore I contented my self to tell the Baron, that I was at the end of my Line, and could proceed no farther than I had done already: That his Majesty had order'd me to give the Guaranty in Conjunction with the other Confederates, upon Payment of two hundred thousand Crowns, according to the *Spanish* Ambassador's own Act: That he thought the *Spaniards* had no Right to press us upon the particular Concert, which yet he would be ready to consider of when the Confederates thought fit; and in the mean time was very sincerely resolved to perform the Guaranty if there should be occasion for it.

Monfieur *Marechal* press'd me something harder upon entring into a Conference with him and the *Dutch* Deputies, which I promis'd before my last, but have excused till *Monday* next, in the mean time to prepare Matter for it. He desired to know if I had yet any Powers to promise the Hundred and fifty thousand Crowns projected at *London* (as he ever insists) to be secured by his Majesty; without which he did not see any Thing to be done here: I told him directly, I had not. He then asked me to what End we should confer, since without that, the Concert could not be framed, nor consequently the present Money paid: And complained that the want of this Concert was of present Prejudice to them alone, though it depended equally upon the Consent of the other Confederates. I answer'd him, That till I received new Orders, he should never find me vary from those I had so often told him; which were, to see first in what Proposals *Sweden* and *Holland* could agree, and then represent it to his Majesty, whose Answer could be of no long Delay: And that I suppose will be the Fruit of our Conference. He said, He thought *They* and *Holland* were agreed upon all Points but one, that is, in the number and kind of Forces, according to the first projected Concert, and in *Holland's* assuring them a fourth Part of the Sixty thousand Crowns.

That which they differed upon was; That whereas *Spain* offered a Promise of the other Thirty thousand Crowns; they expected we and *Holland* should likewise warrant that Payment, because their Engagement for Sixteen thousand Men upon the Concert, would be to us and not to *Spain*; and it was no Reason, if *Spain* failed of that Payment, they should yet stand engaged to us for the whole number of Men. I told him, I doubted much, that if this Point were still between them, they were not very near agreeing: And he said, He would speak with Monfieur *de Witt* once more upon it before the Conference. But I doubt this will not hinder them from coming to some Proposal to be made his Majesty of something they shall agree in.

I am, &c.

*To the Prince of Tuscany.**Au Prince de Toscane.*

S I R,

Hague, Dec. 5.
N. S. 1669.

I Should not have deferred the Acknowledgments I owe your Highness for the Honour of your Letter, if I had not been pursued with a great Illness at the time I received it: And I would not acquit my self of this Duty by any other Hand but my own, because I am sure there is none so pleased, or so ready to engage in the Occasions of your Service. I am extreme glad of your Highness's happy Arrival at *Florence*; where I wish you all the Felicities that ought to be destined as they are due, to so great a Merit: And I hope, that after the glorious Fatigues which have hitherto been the Diversion of your Highness, you will now find Pleasure in the softness of Repose.

For my self, I shall never think I am happy till I have paid my Respects to your Highness in your own Court; and I envy no Man at present but my Lord *Falconbridge*, who is going on an Embassy into so fine a Climate, and among such Conversations as those of *Italy*, where Wit and Weather are equally clear; while I languish in a Countrey where we breath nothing but Mists, and discourse of nothing but Business.

To confirm this last, I cannot end my Letter without telling your Highness, That after so many Shocks the *Triple Alliance* has born for some time, and so many Prefages of its Death; there is within these two Days some appearance of its Recovery, unless any unexpected Accident should occasion a Relapse.

Justice is so essential among the Qualities of a great Prince, that I will not doubt but your Highness does me that of believing me always with equal Passion and Truth,

S I R,
Your Highness's, &c.

Monfieur,

La Haye, le 5
Dec. S. N. 1669.

Je n'aurois pas perdu un moment à marquer la reconnoissance que je dois à V. A. de l'honneur qu'elle m'a fait par sa Lettre, si dans le même tems qu'elle me fût rendue, je n'eusse été attaqué d'une violente maladie. Je n'ay pas voulu, je l'avouerai, m'acquiescer de ce devoir par une main étrangere, & cela vient de ce qu'il me semble, qu'il n'y a que la mienne qui sente autant de plaisir, & s'employe avec autant d'affection, des qu'il est question de quelque chose qui regarde V. A. & son Service. Je prens beaucoup de part à l'heureuse arrivée de V. A. à *Florence*; je souhaite qu'elle y goute toutes les prosperitez deues & sans doute destinées à un merite comme le sien. J'espere, qu'après les glorieuses fatigues qui ont fait jusqu'icy les divertissemens de V. A. elle va trouver quelque plaisir dans les douceurs du repos.

Pour moy, je ne seray jamais content de la fortune, que je n'ay fait la reverence à V. A. dans sa propre Cour; & à l'heure qu'il est, le seul homme que j'envie dans le monde, c'est My Lord *Falconbridge*, que son Ambassade va conduire dans un si beau Climat, & où il va gouter tous les charmes attachez au delicates & spirituelles conversations d'*Italie*; il trouvera là les jours & les esprits également purs & brillans; & pour moy, mon partage est de languir dans un pais où l'on ne respire que des brouillards, & où l'on ne fait que parler d'affaires.

J'ay déjà un peu contracté de ce Genie; & pour le prouver à V. A. c'est que je ne scaurois achever ma Lettre sans luy dire, qu'après tant de secousses que la *Triple Alliance* a souffertes depuis quelque tems, & tant de sinistres prefages qui ont annoncé sa mort, il y a pourtant depuis deux jours quelque apparence qu'il va revivre, à moins qu'un accident inopiné ne cause sa rechûte.

La justice est une de ces qualitez si essentielles à un grand Prince, que je ne veux pas même soupçonner que V. A. me refuse celle de me croire toujours ce que je suis avec tant de passion & de verité, &c.

To the Constable of Castile.

Au Connetable de Castille.

My Lord,
Hague, Dec. 5.
N. S. 1669.

Monfieur,
De la Haye, le 5
Dec. S. N. 1669.

THOUGH it will be difficult to add any thing to the Arguments used in my last Letter, and in other Memorials sent so frequently to the Spanish Ambassador, upon the Subject of the Payment already due to the Crown of Sweden, and so solemnly stipulated by the Act of May 9, signed by the said Ambassador, and afterwards ratified by the Queen Regent: However I would not fail in this important Conjunction, to make this last Effort to dispose your Excellency to the quick Execution of a Council so just and necessary to the Repose of Christendom, as well as the Preservation of Spain; and of such Importance to the Honour of your Excellency, who never can defend your self against the Complaints of having by little Scruples lost the Success of so great an Affair, and neglected the Fruits of an Alliance whereof all Christendom hath spoke with so much Applause, and hoped from it so much Felicity.

I do not desire to importune your Excellency by a Repetition of things already said; and I have nothing new to add, but the Consideration of Monsieur Marechal the Minister of Sweden's Departure, after long Impatience, and much Discontent at the Proceedings of Spain, in all the Negotiations where he has intervened for eight or nine Months past. Before he went, he demanded back from me the Act of Guaranty signed by Sweden, and placed in my Hands with the other Acts to be consigned into the Hands of the Spanish Ambassador, upon Payment of the 200000 Crowns to Sweden: And in the mean time, he consented entirely, that I should give back to the said Ambassador his Act of the 9th of May, by which he was obliged to the said Payment upon the consigning of the said Guaranties: But I used all my Endeavours to keep the said Guaranty of Sweden some time longer in my Hands, hoping your Excellency would yet in a few Days acknowledge the

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Quoyqu'il soit bien difficile d'ajouter quelque chose aux raisons dont je me suis servi dans ma dernière Lettre à V. E. & qui d'ailleurs sont repandues & ont été répétées en tant de divers memoires envoyés à Monsieur l'Embassadeur d'Espagne, touchant le payement déjà deu à la Couronne de Suede, & si solennement accordé & stipulé par l'Acte du 9 de May, qui a été signé par le dit Ambassadeur, & ratifié depuis par la Reine Regente: Je n'ay pourtant pas voulu dans une conjoncture si importante negliger de faire un dernier effort, afin de tacher à disposer V. E. à une prompte execution dans une affaire si juste, si necessaire d'ailleurs au repos de la Chrétienté, aussi bien qu'à la conservation de l'Espagne; j'ajouteray, si importante à l'honneur de V. E. Peutetre sera-t-il hors de votre pouvoir de parer aux reproches & aux plaintes d'avoir par de petits scrupules renoncé au succès d'une si grande affaire, & negligé les fruits d'une Alliance dont la Chrétienté a parlé avec de si grands applaudissemens, & dont elle se promettoit tant de joye & de prosperité.

Je n'ay pas dessein d'importuner V. E. par la repetition de choses déjà cent fois dites; & tout ce que je puis ajouter de nouveau, roule sur le depart de Monsieur Marechal, le Ministre de la Suede, qui après bien des impatiences, après tant de pourparlers inutiles, enfin mécontent de l'Espagne autant qu'on le peut être, & ayant sur le cœur l'inutilité des negociations où on l'a fait intervenir, & qui ont consumé neuf mois, presse son depart, & va tout reveler au Roy son Maitre; il me redemande avant son retour l'Acte de Garantie signé par la Suede, & remis entre mes mains avec les autres actes, pour être ensuite déposé entre les mains de Monsieur l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne, lors que les 200000 écus auront été payés à la Couronne de Suede. En même tems il m'a déclaré qu'il consentoit pleinement que l'acte du 9 de May fait par le dit Ambassadeur, & dans lequel il s'obligeoit au dit payement, sur la remise des Guaranties, & lequel acte j'ay aussi entre les mains; que cet acte, dis je, fût rendu à l'Ambassadeur

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Obligation and Necessity of advancing this Satisfaction to Sweden, so long due and demanded. And as yet I have it in my Power to deliver the three said Guaranties to the *Spanish* Ambassador, as soon as he shall have given the said Money to the *Swedish* Resident here: But if this Affair be delayed till Monsieur *Marechal* has represented it to the King his Master, as he was resolved to do upon his Departure; or till the *Swedish* Minister's Resident here shall have received an Answer to the Dispatches they sent about three Weeks ago, upon the Spight and Despair they were in at the bad Success of this Affair: In either of these Cases, I leave your Excellency to judge, whether there will be any Hopes that the *Swedish* Court, fower'd by the ill Treatment and angry Representations of their Ministers, will then give us the means, we possess at present, to finish this great Work: And how necessary it will be to follow the late ill Impressions made in that Court as soon as possible, by new ones to their entire Satisfaction. For, as soon as *Spain* shall be in possession of the Guaranties of all the Confederates, one may say, that not only all the Appearances are safe, but also that the Substance it self is finished. And if any Forms remain towards the last Perfection of the Work, there must be time given to concert them, without hazarding the gros of the Affair.

I desire your Excellency to consider, that such Occasions as you have at present in your Hands, are not usually given twice to Men, and that they commonly lose their Force by a slowness in laying hold of them. But I cannot apprehend so sad an Effect from the Prudence and good Intentions of your Excellency: At least, I shall comfort my self that I have done
my

ambassadeur d'Espagne. J'ay fait de grands efforts pour retenir encore quelques jours la dite Garantie entre mes mains, dans l'esperance que V. E. informée de tout en peu de jours, sentiroit la justice & la necessité de satisfaire la Suede; il y a long tems que la chose luy a été promise, par consequent il y a long tems qu'elle luy est due; elle a été souvent demandée, elle l'est encore aujourd'hui, & à l'heure que j'écris je suis en pouvoir de livrer les trois Garanties à Monsieur l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne, aussi tôt qu'il aura fait mettre l'argent au Ministre de Suede, qui est encore icy. Mais, supposé que l'affaire soit ou negligée ou retardée jusqu'à ce que le Ministre ait envoyé son memoire & sa relation à la Cour de son Maître, & qu'il l'ait instruit de la situation où toutes choses étoient au moment de son départ. Supposé même que par les délais on donne le tems aux Ministres de Suede de recevoir la reponse aux memoires qu'ils envoyeroient il y a trois semaines tout remplis du depit & du desespoir de voir le projet se reduire à rien. L'une ou l'autre de ces deux choses supposées (& V. E. voit qu'on les peut supposer toutes deux) il est aisé de juger que la Cour de Suede, aigrie de l'Espagne par toutes les choses que ses Ministres luy auront représentées, ne voudra plus nous continuer le moyen que nous avons encore de finir ce grand ouvrage. V. E. voit donc de quel importance il est de poursuivre les dernières impressions que la Suede a eues jusqu'icy, par la nouvelle d'une prompte & entière conclusion. Car aussi tôt que l'Espagne sera en possession des Garanties de tous les Conféderez, on pourra dire que non seulement toutes les apparences seront sauvées, mais qu'on aura même pourvu au fond de la chose. Que s'il manquoit quelques formalitez à la perfection de cet ouvrage, il ne faudra que du tems; car comme tout sera disposé à une entière conclusion, on ajustera tout à loisir, sans que le gros de l'affaire soit en danger.

Je prie V. E. de faire reflexion, que des circonstances pareilles à celles que vous avez presentement comme sous la main, n'ont pas accoutumé de s'offrir deux fois à une même personne, & que c'est leur laisser perdre de leur force, que de différer à s'en saisir. Mais la prudence & les bonnes intentions de V. E. me rassurent contre le crainte d'un événement si funeste. J'aurois du moins la consolation

my utmost Duty towards preventing
so great a Misfortune to Christendom.

I am,

My Lord, your &c.

*lation d'un homme qui a fait son de-
voir, & qui n'a rien oublié pour epar-
gner un si grand malheur à la Chrétienté.*

Je suis, &c.

To Mr. Cary.

S I R,

Hague, Decemb. 6. N. S. 1669.

I Very much wonder to hear from Mr. *Andros* the Difficulties you make in delivering the Tin according to my last Order; and that you thereby occasion so much Prejudice to the King's Service, which I thought you would have advanced all you could, when I writ to you to desire your Care in that Business. But that you may understand what you call my Commission to you; I will let you know that I had no Power to give any Orders at all about that Matter, but in Pursuance of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury's Commands; and therefore new Orders being arrived from them by Major *Andros*, they are to be obey'd in what concerns the Tin Business. I desire you once again to comply with him readily in the Delivery of the Tin, according to the last Letter wrote you upon that Subject; and do absolutely disown you in all Difficulties you shall make upon Pretence of any Order from me: And if you continue to delay it any longer, shall upon the first Notice of it write effectually to the Constable to do his Majesty Justice in it, and me in particular, who neither expected nor deserved this Dealing from you.

Your Servant.

To Major Andros.

S I R,

Hague, Decemb. 6. N. S. 1669.

SINCE the writing of this I received yours of the 4th, complaining still of Mr. *Cary's* Refusal to deliver the Tin; whereupon I have written him the enclosed Letter, which is as much as I can say in it: If he continues his Impertinence still, I suppose 'twill be at his own Cost, since your Protest: And if you will send me Word what are the Ways of proceeding against him, I shall write either to the Constable, or to the Governor of *Ostend*, or Sir *Mark Ognate* at *Bruges*, to favour your Dispatch. I am,

S I R,

Your Servant.

To the Prince Regent of
Portugal.

Principi Portugalliæ.

S I R,

Hague, Dec. 8.
N. S. 1669.

THO' nothing could happen more acceptable to me, than the Occasion which the *Portugal* Ambassador lately gave me, not only of promoting the Peace so much desired between *Portugal* and this State, (both Friends and Confederates of the King my

Seren. Princeps,

Hagæ Comitiss, Dec. 8.
S. N. 1669.

Q Uanquam nihil mihi gratius istâ occasione accidere potuisset quam mihi nuper præbuit Dominus Legatus Portugalliæ, non modò exoptatam utrinque concordiam & finem litium inter Portugalliæ & Fæderati Belgii Status (utroque Regi Domino meo Amicos aded & Con-

my Master) but also of shewing some little Mark of my great Devotion for the Queen my Mistress; yet, I confess, my Satisfaction was much encreased by your Royal Highness's Letter, when I found how acceptable that small Service was to you. I do not in the least pretend to deserve the Thanks your Royal Highness is pleased to give me, at least, not upon any other account, than that of desiring by all means to seek other and greater Occasions of being serviceable to your Royal Highness, and to the Affairs of Portugal; and in so doing I may have some better Pretence to your Royal Highness's Favour, wherewith you are pleased to honour me.

I wish your Royal Highness all Health, and am,

S I R, &c.

Et Confœderatos) promovendi, sed Et eodem nomine, immensi erga Reginam Dominam meam obsequii, saltem exiguum aliquod specimen exhibendi; autam tamen Et cumulatam planè ex literis A. V. R. oblationem meam fuisse confiteor, cum illi tam acceptum extitisse istud qualecunque officium summâ cum voluptate percepissem. Ego me autem nec gratias, quas mihi dignata est A. V. R. meruisse præfero, saltem non alio nomine quam summi istius quo teneor desiderii ulteriores aliquas Et majores occasiones consequendi, quibus devotissimum prorsus in A. V. R. Et res Portugalliæ studium meum testari potero, benevolentiamque istam cujus testimonio me tam eximie ornatum voluit, omni meliore modo de-mereri.

Valeat interim A. V. R. meque semper inter præcipuos Gloriæ suæ Cultores, rebusque suis addictissimos æstimare velit.

To Sir John Trevor.

S I R,

Hague, Dec. 10. N. S. 1669.

I Received yesterday yours of the 23^d past, together with his Majesty's Instructions of the 22^d; and could have wish'd Mr. *Werden* had brought them with him for a Reserve, though not to have been communicated till the last Minute of his Stay, and the Despair of all other Trials, for by that means we might have kept the Business entire; whereas now, though it may recover some Life, yet I much doubt whether it ever can, the Strength and Health of its first Constitution: For besides so great and so many Jealousies as are enter'd into it on all sides, I count Monsieur *Marechal's* going away a very ill Accident; and can yet make no guess how Monsieur *Applebome* will acquit himself whenever we shall come to the Payment of the Subsidies, though Monsieur *Marechal* was so forward as to make it sure: But Mr. *Werden* can tell you how different sorts of Men they are; and for ought I see, all Businesses depend upon the Qualities of the Men that manage them; which (considering the ill Success of this) is all I shall say in Answer of your Complement to me; That, 'tis in very good Hands.

I gave you an Account in my last, of the bold Advance the *Dutch* had made to the *Constable*, of signing their Part of their Concert alone immediately upon the Payment of the two hundred thousand Crowns. We expect every Day the Answer of this Proposition; and finding one Clause of my Instructions to command the suppressing them, in case I find either before or after their Arrival, that the Money would be paid according to the Treaty of *May* last; I thought it agreeable to what I conceive of his Majesty's Intentions, for me to take no Notice of them, till I see what this Return from the *Constable* will produce; and in case it be followed by the Payment of the Money, to expect his Majesty's farther Orders before I proceed upon them. If the *Constable* still insist to have the Concert jointly signed, I shall then fall into the Consideration of it with the *Swedes* and *Dutch* Ministers, and endeavour to bring it to an Issue, according to his Majesty's Instructions, but so as not to prostitute our Offer till we have Assurance that no more Difficulties will be made by *Spain*; nor any Changes desired in that Concert which has so long been fram'd, and in which I have not observed the least Inclination in any of the Ministers

here to admit of any Alterations. I suppose it is not his Majesty's Intention I should consent to the Concert, but in Conjunction with the *Swede* as well as the *Dutch*, in case the first should not be induced to it, or raise new Difficulties; and according to this Apprehension I shall proceed. In all which Points I am more distinct, that you may find whether I understand his Majesty's Meaning right, and may please accordingly to inform and direct me: For the Paces, as they are much more difficult, so they ought to be much more cautious in a Minister, when his Instructions are numerous and particular, as mine are grown in this Affair. And you may be very confident, when they are once given they shall be punctually observed to the best that I can understand them. And in that it self, I thank God, I have not yet failed; and desire nothing of my Master and my Friends more than that I may be the first to hear of it when I do.

I did enclose the last Memorial I sent the *States* upon the Business of *Surinam*; and spoke with Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* since my last upon it. He protests, that for his part he is of Opinion (and so are most of his Province) to give us just what we ask in that matter; but that we must excuse the Delays of their Constitution, when the Dissent of one Province makes the Resolutions of all the other lame. He confess'd, that though *Zeeland* had consented to what I mentioned in two of my late Letters, yet they had order'd their Deputies to delay the Conclusion of it for a while; so as they had been forced to write once more to convince them of the Necessity which *Holland* thought there was to dispatch it speedily as well as effectually: And he hoped for a sudden and good Answer from them.

The Ministers here have been earnest with me to propose to his Majesty, to go the same or equal Pace with them in laying Impositions upon the *French* Commodities; which they think would prove the greatest Parsimony that either of us could use, and be a greater Blow to *France* than Armies could give. And they say, in case his Majesty should resolve upon it, they would go as far as he pleased in it; whereas, without that, they must be something tenderer than they would be.

They would fain engage me likewise to propose to his Majesty their joining with us in equal Proportion of Ships and Men for the carrying on a War against *Algiers*: But I suppose their End is, that they may be comprehended likewise in a Peace with them, which may perhaps be our farthest Aim: And so I tell them this might have been a welcome Proposal when we began to set out our Fleet; but can signify little, now the Action seems near an end: However, that such things are fitter to be proposed by their own Ambassador in *England* than by me: And I mention them, that you may be prepared, in case he receive Instructions to propose them there. I am always as becomes me, &c.

To Sir John Trevor.

S I R,

Hague, Dec. 13. N. S. 1669.

THO' I had Liberty given me by your last of the 2^d past, to make use of my late Instructions as soon as I pleased; the *Constable's* positive Answer having satisfied you what we were to expect from thence: Yet the Advance having since been made from the *Dutch*, by the Offer I acquainted you with to the *Constable*; I resolved still to pursue what I intended in my last, in suppressing wholly this Instruction, till I saw the *Constable's* Answer to the *States* Letter, and what Hopes that would furnish us with of obtaining the Payment of the present Money without engaging his Majesty in the Concert before his Measures were taken more fully with *Spain*. But yesterday the *Spanish* Ambassador came to tell me, That he had received a Letter from their Agent *Fonseca*, which assures him, that Orders were already sent me to sign the Concert; and that his Majesty told him so at the same time when he received News of *Don Juan de Toledo's* Death. I told him, the Authority was too good to be dis-

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puted: And therefore I confefs'd I had received Orders to make a farther Advance for the Satisfaction of *Spain* and the Confederates, than his Majesty had yet thought fit to do, or esteemed himself at all obliged to: But I desired them to believe there was nothing to give them any the least Hopes of his Majesty's charging himself with any part of the *Swedish* Subsidies. That if they, and *Sweden*, and *Holland*, could agree upon that Point, so as to dispose *Sweden* to sign the first Concert that was propos'd at the same time with the Guaranty; his Majesty would go very far towards the Conclusion of the whole Matter. But I assured him at the same time, that tho' I were agreed with *Sweden* and *Holland* to make him an Offer of the Concert, yet we would not do any thing towards it till he had Powers to consign the Money immediately, without any new Dispatches and Difficulties from *Brussels*.

I found the *Spanish* Ambassador had immediately upon Receipt of his Letters from *England* sent an Extract of them to Monsieur *de Witt*, as the Baron *d'Isola* had done to Monsieur *Applebome*, who were both in Pain till they knew the Truth from me, and sent to me to that Purpose: And knowing the Ambassador would be as diligent to inform the *Constable* as them, and consequently influence any Answer not already given to the *Dutch* Letter; I resolv'd to go and talk with them both upon the Business, and concert with them what Course to hold in the Progress of it. I could not get a time of speaking with Monsieur *de Witt* to Day, but did with Monsieur *Applebome*; and much to the same Purpose as I had Yesterday to the *Spanish* Ambassador, but plainer, and in more Confidence: All I could get from his was, That he would read over that first Concert to Day, and consider whether he could sign it: That it was true, Monsieur *Marechal* had offer'd to sign something like it, but containing in the same Act the Security of their future Subsidies, which they were to insist upon before they sign it. I told him, all the Difference would be, that whereas they contented themselves before with *Spain's* Promise of one half, to take it now for three Parts, if the *Spaniards* would be persuad'd to it; and they had the same Security for one as for t'other, (which I knew they reckon'd upon) of not furnishing more Troops than in Proportion to the Money they received. He seem'd a good deal unsatisfied that the *Spanish* Ambassador had received the Advice from *England*, before the Answer was returned from the *Constable*: For since we will make no part of the Security for their future Subsidies, I find they would very fain touch the two hundred thousand Crowns before they give the Concert, which they might then sell dearer to *Spain*, or at least make it the Price of their Satisfaction growing due by the two next Payments of the four hundred eighty thousand Crowns already due. All ended between us with this Promise, of acquainting me with his Resolution, so soon as he had consider'd it, and the Proposal of a Conference upon it with Monsieur *de Witt*. I find now the want I always fear'd of Monsieur *Marechal*, who is not to be retriev'd; so that we must make our best of what we have, and do all we can to put him out of his Pace.

The Baron *d'Isola* came to me this Afternoon; and his Business I found was, to persuade me to sign Monsieur *Marechal's* Projects, and thereby charge his Majesty with the fifteen thousand Crowns to *Sweden*, but upon a Promise from the *Constable*, of *Spain* supplying his Majesty with the Sums we should furnish upon that Engagement. But I cut him off short in that and all other Expedients; and told him, if his Majesty were induc'd to sign the Concert, as it was more than they had any Reason to expect from him, so it was all they were to hope in this matter; and therefore I desired him to reckon upon it, and take their Measures accordingly. I suppose by what he said, his Intentions are to go away for *Brussels* within a Day or two, and bring us a positive Resolution of what we are to expect from thence as to the immediate Payment, and their Promise to *Sweden* of three Parts of the future Subsidies: But he will first endeavour to know Monsieur *Applebome's* Mind, who will at least be stiff in this, that the Promise be made by *Spain* to the Confederates, and not directly to *Sweden*.

Since my last, the *Lunenbourg* Envoy came to desire me, that I would let his Majesty know, how much his Masters esteem'd themselves honoured by the
Overtures

Overtures his Majesty made them of entering into an Alliance, of which he was the Head: That thereupon they had order'd him to attend here ever since, in hopes of some farther Proposals towards the engaging them in it: But that his Masters hearing no farther from hence; and finding that by the ill Posture of our *Triple Alliance*, other Princes of *Germany* were seeking other Measures, they had commanded him to return (which he should do about three Weeks hence) but first to endeavour by my Hand to give his Majesty the best Testimonies of their Affections to his Service, and good Intentions towards the Ends he had so gloriously engaged in. I promised him to perform the Message, and employed the rest of my Discourse in convincing him, how much more the Princes of *Germany* were concerned in the Defence of *Flanders* than his Majesty; and that however, if his Masters had any Expectations besides their own Interests towards engaging them, they ought to be from *Holland* and not from us; since the most important Use of their Troops would be to awe the Bishop of *Munster*, who might otherwise be able by the *French* Assistances to divert all, or the greatest part of the *Dutch* Forces that way, and thereby leave *Flanders* open to the *French*. He confess'd both these Points; and I promised to do him any good Offices I could towards the *Dutch* Ministers.

The Deputies of the *States* came this Day to me, to assure me of their Desires and Resolutions to satisfy his Majesty in the Business of *Surinam*, but that they could not yet come to a final Conclusion, and therefore desired me to have Patience for a little longer time, after which I might assure my self of a good End in it. They pretended Monsieur *de Witt's* and their chief Ministers being so much taken up at this time; but upon Discourse confess'd, the *Zeelanders* Aim to have their next Ships arrive from *Surinam*. Upon which I fell into some Heat with them; and told them, I would never send such a Message to his Majesty, such Delays being fitter for Law-Suits than publick Negotiations: At last concluded, that because I would a little consider their Ministers being so much taken up at this Pinch, about Levies and other Affairs agitating in the *States* of *Holland*; I was content to stay six Days longer for their Resolution in this Matter, upon Condition I should have it in that time to his Majesty's Satisfaction. To make short of a long Conference; this they agreed to at last, and I will hope may keep their Words, since there was one of the *Zeeland* Deputies among them.

The Task you give me in the End of your Letter, is, as you say, a hard one; for whatsoever is planted of that kind, will not grow long or well, but out of a good Root at home; however, I shall venture at it here all I can; and dare undertake it shall not thrive worse in this, than in other Neighbour Soils.

I am, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My LORD,

Hague, Dec. 24. N. S. 1669.

THOUGH Monsieur *Overkirk* wants nothing to make him welcome every where, but especially at the *Hague*, yet I confess he was the more so to me, by a Letter he brought me from your Lordship; whereby I found my self to be not altogether forgotten where I desire most to be remember'd, and would deserve it if I could. I am very sensible that the Right you say he has done me there, may rather prove an ill Office than a good; but however I am not the less obliged by his good meaning, nor the more touched by their ill; who are not content I should gain a little Esteem, whilst I am content to gain nothing else; and where I should not care for that neither, but that I believe it to be the best way any Minister can take towards the Advantage of his Master's Service. Whilst your Lordship hath neither Share nor Belief in the ill Offices are done me, I shall very easily neglect what comes from other Hands, and content my self with not deserving them, and with the Assurance, that

Time will do me Right; and that your Lordship will not lose your Confidence of me, till you have told me of some one Action in my whole Life, that you thought did not become a Man you were inclined to think well of. And so I will leave that Subject.

I agree with your Lordship in being sorry that Mr. *Werden* did not stay to see the Effect of his Majesty's last Resolution in the great Business here: And though the ill or no Entertainments of this Place might excuse his haste of returning; yet I believe he would have been content a little to delay it, if he had expected any thing new from *England*: And for my Part, I wish nothing more than some true Witness of my Carriage where-ever I am employ'd; which I doubt not he would have proved, without encreasing, any more than lessening my Faults. I shall do neither by those of the *Spaniards*, which your Lordship has so much Reason to censure and reproach; nor should I be less amazed at them, but that I look upon them as the usual Distractions of weak and diseased Bodies. 'Tis certain, they have deserved so little of us, that we have no Reason at all to concern our selves in their Interests or Dangers, unless we find they will have very strong and necessary Consequences upon our own; and in that Case, our growing angry with them will only serve to hurt our selves; and we had better help them to mend their Faults, than force them by Despair or Hardships to encrease them. Most of the Ministers here not knowing what to make of their late Conduct in the Difficulties upon the *Swedish* Money; nor seeing well which way to turn themselves, in case *Spain* should take its Measures with *France* by an Exchange of *Flanders*; begin to confess they have dealt too roughly with them, in imposing not only the Laws of a hard Peace upon them, but the *Swedish* Subsidies at the same time; and ever since refusing them their Guaranty till those were paid; and seem to wish they had either accepted the first Proposal I was sent hither to make them upon that occasion, or else endeavoured a Defensive League with them after the Conclusion of the Peace at *Aix*; I mean, if it might have been done in Conjunction with us: For I think, while we are content to hold firm with them, it were no great Matter to undertake they shall never take any Measures without us, either there or any where else: Though I know there are Reports in *France* that would make us believe it, if we are apt to those Impressions.

For their detaining us so long upon the Point of *Surinam*, it must be attributed to the Constitution of this *State*, where the Obstinacy of any one Province can keep off a Resolution of the *States General* as long as they please: And that happens often where (as in this Case) the Matter touches one Province by a particular Interest, and the rest only by a general one: For, I am sure, the Province of *Holland* and the other Five were many Months ago resolved, not only to give us in Substance the Satisfaction we demanded, but in our own Forms too; till they found that *Zeeland* would neither be persuaded *ni Gourmande* into the same Resolution; which hath made it hang so long, and go over at last defective as to what we expected about one of our own Ships, though as they contend, full as to what we can in any way ground upon our Articles. For their great Arming, which it seems makes more Noise with you and in *France* than it does here; I shall not need give your Lordship the Particular of it; because that is done with the other current News by my Secretary Mr. *Blaithwait* every Week to Mr. *Williamson*; and shall only mark what may perhaps have escaped your Lordship, That there are yet no actual Levies here agreed upon, but only Officers chosen, Agreements made with them, and Security taken for their bringing in their Men at a certain Warning when they shall be called upon by the *States*: So as the Execution of what is hitherto but prepared, will depend upon the clearer Discovery of the *French* or the *Munster* Intentions to open a War; both which are expected here, and equally feared; the Difference not being great between the Danger of *Flanders* and their own: So that I can only answer your Lordship's Question about the *States's* meaning in this Point; That it is, *Qu'on ne les trouve pas sans Vert le Printemps qui vient*; and that if it must prove a Year of Action, they will not be found without Arms in their Hands, for the better making either of Peace or War. 'Tis a hard Attempt what your Lordship

mentions,

mentions, to defend their Neighbours in spite of their Teeth; yet I believe, in Case *Spain* should come to an Exchange with *France*, and any of the Towns of *Flanders* should refuse to obey it; either not to be sold like Slaves (as they call it) by the *Spaniards*, or not to be used like Slaves by the *French*; you would see this State protect them with all their Forces; and blow up any such Ends of a War in *Flanders*, rather than venture it at home; and perhaps endeavour to unite any such new Member into the Body of their State, by giving them an eighth Voice in their Generality, in case it should be such a Place as *Antwerp*, or *Ghent*, or *Bruges*, where they might easily come with their Arms to defend it: And they have Notice of some such Discourses already afoot in these Parts, which they neglect not to foment, as a Provision against such a Blow from *Spain*. In case all they can do should not be of Force to prevent the falling of *Flanders* into the *French* Hands; I believe their last Resource may be to endeavour being received as a Circle into the Empire: But in all these Transactions, their chiefest Care will be, to strengthen their Union all they can with us; and to embark us in what they now esteem the common Cause, of stopping the Growth of the *French* Greatness. For though they say, and with Truth, That we engaged them first in the Pursuit of these Measures, and the whole Course of their present Councils; yet they would be much at Ease to see us now as warm and as deep in them, as they are themselves, and would fain give us the Honour of Leading in them all.

The Discourse your Lordship will possibly hear about Changes or Decays in the Credit of the Ministry here; I believe have no farther Source than an Endeavour in the City of *Amsterdam* to make themselves more considered than as a simple Town in the Provinces; since they pay half of all that is laid upon the Province of *Holland*, as *Holland* does upon all that is levied on the Seven Provinces; which makes them believe they ought at least in some Degree be considered in the Province, as *Holland* is in the State; which made them employ all their Strength to oppose the Faction of *Leyden*, *Dort*, *Rotterdam*, &c. who under Monsieur de *Witt*'s Influence have of late Years carried all before them in the usual Elections; and join with the Body of the Nobility here, to chuse Monsieur *Mattenesse* in Exclusion of Monsieur *Meerman*; where the Contest was about an Office of the greatest Profit in these Countries, and of great Honour, though not Influence upon the Publick Affairs. They have likewise succeeded well in the late Election of Officers for the new Levies, and seem disposed to run on still in a String. And amongst them there have of late been Overtures about making a new Minister, under the Name of *Secretary of State*; whose Province should be chiefly to receive the Addresses of Foreign Ministers, and take the Care of all Foreign Dispatches; and so ease Monsieur de *Witt* of that Attention he is fain to give those as well as the Home-Affairs. And this I suppose was calculated for Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, who has silently had a great Hand in all the Councils and Motions of his Town of *Amsterdam*; and I believe, will in Effect come to have the chief Part, or at least Burthen in Foreign Transactions, whether with any new Name or no.

Monsieur de *Witt* in these late *Brigues* has very prudently avoided any Appearance of being a Party in them; and contented himself with going his usual Pace, but sticking no farther in any of them; seeming rather to intend and endeavour the Composure of all, than the valuing himself upon a Division; which I believe, with his being so very necessary to the State, will ever preserve him in his Consideration here, without some violent Revolution, to which nothing seems at all disposed.

Among the late Divisions of this Province, one great Point has been, about the intended Prohibition of *French* Commodities; which has been violently carried on by Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* and his Town of *Amsterdam*, but opposed and tempered by the Towns of the other Faction, upon the Respect of their particular Interests in the *French* Trade, and the Pretext of Danger or ill Consequences in such a Council, unless it be taken in Concert with *England*: So that whether it will go farther than the Defence of the common *French* Commodities that are in Wear, I know not; though Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* reckoned (not long since) absolutely, that it would be carried to

French Salt and Brandy: And if we would go the same Pace, it should reach to their Wine too: Which he believed, would soon bring *France* into such a Consumption as would keep them from being so troublesome abroad. But I enter'd no farther with him into any Discourse of that kind; because I doubt whether we are of a Temper or a Humour to resolve or execute any bold or smart Propositions, how well soever conceived, or conducing to our Health and good Fortunes: Tho' I question not at all, but God Almighty has given us the Power of going as high as the greatest of our Neighbours: But perhaps, as your Lordship says, unknown to our selves, and in another way than some of us would be glad to have had it. But where-ever it lies, I doubt it will never come out, till his Majesty can find the Means to make an end of all fencing with the Bents of his Parliament, or Discontents of his People; and bring his Government into the Credit of having no other Aims nor Interests but those of his Subjects in general, not in particular; nor consequently any Eye upon their Money but for those Uses they are willing to give it. This I confess is my Opinion upon the whole, and, that all does not consist in a Parliament's being prevailed with to give what is asked in Point of Money, as I find many People think. However, I should never have said it to any but your Lordship; nor to you neither, but induced by the melancholy Reflections I observed in your Letter upon this Subject: But, whatever mine or another's Opinion is, I am confident every Man that thinks at all, must think it were not amiss if his Majesty and his Ministers would once for all consider and agree upon a general Draught of those Ways and Councils both at Home and Abroad, as they judge will best answer the great Ends of the King and Kingdom's Safety, Honour and Quiet. For when such a Scheme is once agreed upon, all the Parts of it may be pursued in their Order, and with constant Application till they are brought to pass; at least such as fail not in the Trial, and so are found to have been ill conceived. But if it should prove (as I find some Men think) that we live only by the Day; and content our selves to patch up Things as they break out, and fly at the Game as it rises; it is at the best but like Birding or Hawking; which may furnish a Dish or two, but can never keep the House.

If your Lordship can pardon all this Liberty and Trouble, I will not run my self into the occasion of asking it again; if not, you must lay the whole Fault upon your own Letter, or rather upon my not having heard from you, or written to you of late; and upon my perpetual strong Inclinations of returning into my old Correspondence, just as a Man does into an old Love, which lies still at Heart, however diverted or discontinued. But because I use so much Freedom in the Account of Dispositions here, and of my own Thoughts, I send it by Mr. *Richard's* Conveyance to your own Hands; in which I shall ever think all safe that concerns me, because I have been always, and am with so much Passion,

My Lord, your &c.

To the Constable of Castile. Au Connetable de Castille.

My Lord,

*Hague, Jan. 23.
N. S. 1670.*

I Doubt not but the *Spanish* Ambassador has by this Courier communicated to your Excellency the Project of the Concert for particular Forces, drawn up by Consent of the Ministers of the three Confederates: And I can assure your Excellency, that to bring it into Form, all the said Ministers have stretch'd their Powers as much

Monfieur,

*La Haye, le 23 Jan.
S. N. 1670.*

Je ne doute pas que Monsieur l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne ne communique à V. E. par ce Courier le Projet du concert des forces particulieres, lequel a été arrêté icy par le consentement des Ministres de trois Confederez. Je puis bien assurer V. E. que pour le reduire à la forme où il est, tous les Ministres se sont relachez à l'envi, & autant qu'il

much as possible, so that there will be no room to press them farther: And it has been with Difficulty enough that we have resisted the Instances of the *Swedish* Minister to have his Guaranty, rather than make this Pace after so many other unprofitable ones. He assures us, that he never advanced any Proposition of bringing Troops from *Pomerania* or *Bremen*; because there are no more in those Parts than what serve for Garrisons; and when he is pressed upon this Point, he answers us, That, to maintain supernumerary Troops in those Parts, they must have Subsidies even in time of Peace; and upon this Condition *Sweden* will be content.

I think, what he promises is sufficient; that is, to bring into the Field the 16000 Men in three Months after the Attack; for there is no Appearance of employing so great Forces, unless by way of Diversion; since the Troops to be furnish'd by his Majesty and the *States General*, joined to those of the *Catholick* King, will be as many as can be well employ'd for the Defence of *Flanders*; for it is not designed they should be Masters of the Field. Your Excellency sees, that you may reckon if you please upon 10000 Men from the *States* in 15 Days time; and tho' there be no Term specified by the King my Master, I think your Excellency need make no Difficulty upon it; since the Words, *As soon as possible*, signify the shortest time one can desire. And I confess, that not having observed any Reflection upon the Time, in the Orders of the Queen Regent of *Spain*, which were communicated to us by the Ambassador *Gamarra*, I gave no Notice of it to his Majesty, thinking my self sufficiently guarded by my Powers, to sign the same Project, which had been sent into *England* as well as *Spain*.

I hope, that as soon as your Excellency will have sent Powers to the *Spanish* Ambassador to deliver the Money, there will be no Difficulty in signing the Project as it has been communicated to him. And I do not think,

qu'il leur a été possible. Il seroit inutile de les presser de nouveau, & prétendre en obtenir davantage: Nous avons trouvé assez de difficulté à l'emporter sur le Ministre de *Suede*, pour avoir sa Garantie avant que d'aller plus loin, & de faire de nouveaux pas inutiles, après tous ceux que nous avons faits. Il nous assure de n'avoir jamais rien proposé qui tendit à faire venir des Troupes de *Pomeranie* ni de *Breme*, qui sont des lieux où il n'y en a pas un plus grand nombre que ce qu'il faut pour les garnisons; que si l'on le presse sur ce point, il nous répond, que pour entretenir des Troupes supernuméraires en ces lieux là, il faut des Subsidies en tems de paix même, & qu'à ces conditions la *Suede* en sera satisfaite.

Il me semble que c'est assez qu'il promette de faire agir les 16000 hommes trois mois écoulez après l'attaque; car il n'y a guere d'apparence d'employer de si grandes forces, que par voye de diversion: Les Troupes qui doivent être fournies par sa Majesté & les *Etats Generaux* étant jointes à celles du Roy *Catholique*, leur nombre sera suffisant pour la deffense des *Pais-bas*; car on n'a pas dessein de se repandre dans le país, & de s'y elargir, ni de paroître maître de la campagne. *V. E.* voit, que quand il luy plaira, quinze jours de tems la rendront maîtresse de dix mille hommes de Troupes des *Etats Generaux*; & à l'égard du Roy mon Maître, quoy que le terme ne soit ni exprimé, ni précisément spécifié, il me semble pourtant, que *V. E.* ne peut former des difficultez sur cela; Car ces mots, Au pluttot que faire se pourra, emportent bien un terme limité, quelque court qu'on veuille le sousentendre, personne n'ayant jamais exigé une chose pluttôt qu'elle ne se peut faire. J'avoüeray, que les ordres & pleins pouvoirs de la Reine Regente d'*Espagne*, qui nous ont été communiqués par l'Ambassadeur *Gamarra*, ne faisant aucune mention de cette petite difference, je n'en avois pas donné avis à sa Majesté, me croyant assez muni, & assez autorisé par mes pleins pouvoirs pour signer le même projet qui avoit été envoyé en *Angleterre* aussi bien qu'en *Espagne*.

J'espère que dès que *V. E.* aura dépêché les Pouvoirs à l'Ambassadeur d'*Espagne* de délivrer l'argent, il n'y aura plus de difficulté à la signature du Project, tel qu'il luy a été communiqué: Et autant que je le puis juger, sur tout par rapport

think, from what I can judge by the Minister of Sweden, that the Affair is likely to suffer any farther Delays; whereof I thought good to give your Excellency this Intelligence, which you may make use of according to your Prudence, and the Interests of the King your Master. I am,

rapport au Ministre de Suede, je ne croy plus que cette affaire trouve de retardement. C'est dequoy j'ay voulu donner avis à V.E. C'est à elle à en user selon sa prudence, & les intérêts de son Roy, & à m'estimer comme je suis, &c.

My Lord,
Yours, &c.

To Sir John Trevor.

S I R,

Hague, Jan. 24. N.S. 1670.

I AM to acknowledge yours of the 7th with an enclosed to Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, which I have sent to *Amsterdam*, having first perused it as you pleased to give me leave. I shall say nothing upon it till I have spoken with him, and seen how we agree in Matter of Fact: Because the Weight of all seems to lie upon the use of those private Contracts to the Exclusion of our Trade, having been disowned, if not invalidated by the Treaty between the two Nations after the first War; and upon the Practice having been exercised accordingly for several Years after, and till within few Years of our second War: Which two Points, if they can be evidenced by the Treaty, and by sufficient Testimonies of the subsequent Practice, we have certainly all the Reason in the World for our Demands. But if we must rely upon the common Equity in Freedom of Traffick between Friends, we are engaged in the Question upon which we cannot yet agree; whether the same Rules are current in the *Indies* as in *Europe*: To which I suppose we shall hardly our selves consent, if the *West* must be comprehended as well as the *East*. But I shall be able to say more upon this, when I have got a Sight of the Treaty after the first War, and heard Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* upon your Letter: And in the mean time shall assure you of all the Offices I can possibly render towards the obtaining of what we pretend.

I can add nothing to my last upon the Business of *Surinam*; being engaged in my Endeavours of disposing those of *Zeeland* to let it pass smooth when it comes to the *States General*: Such Stops being easier prevented than removed; while Men are so apt to persist in what they have once said. In the mean time the *Pensioner* of *Zeeland* presses me to procure the Names of such as his Majesty intends to employ as Commissioners, before the Orders here are consigned me, according as they desired in their last Letter: Wherein you may observe the Names of three Men to be inserted on purpose that his Majesty might decline them in this Commission: If you please to send me the Names, I suppose it may be necessary to the expediting of these Orders; unless you should think of any Inconvenience in it, which occurs not to me.

In Pursuit of the late Conferences, whereof I gave you Account in my last; we have agreed upon this enclosed Project to be sent to the *Constable*, as that which he may hope will be signed upon the Money being paid; and wherein I am sure there is not any thing of the least moment changed, as to what concerns his Majesty; though the changing of the Form that you sent me, could not be avoided, because it was without Introduction or Conclusion, and besides it went a Step farther than the *Swedish* Minister was willing to do, in making it an Act to the *Spaniards*; whereas this runs only as an Instrument between themselves, of which the *Spanish* Ministers are to have only an authentick Copy: And since the *Swedes* had rather have it this way, I thought best to agree with them, at least if the *Spaniards* will be contented with it: But I would not be induced to engage his Majesty in point of Time; though

I was

I was never press'd with more Earnestness to any thing, both by the *Spaniards* and by the *Dutch*; who sent their Deputies twice to persuade me to it, because they were unwilling to leave the *Constable* that way of escaping us. And to say the Truth, in my own Judgment I thought it very little material, but I had no Orders to go farther in it; and have to the *Spaniards* taken upon my self the not having given his Majesty any notice of that Pretension, early enough to have it included in my Powers; as you will see by the enclosed Copy of the Letter I yesterday wrote the *Constable*, in Conjunction with another from the *States*, to press Conclusion in this Affair.

For particular Occurrents, I refer to what goes to Mr. *Cook*, being unwilling to charge my self with the Credit of current News; which I have ever found so uncertain, that a Man may be considered more for what he does not write, than what he does. Yet I will trouble you with two small Matters, whether they deserve it or no. Monsieur *de Roban*, Brother to the Duke *de Mombacon*, having sold his Place of *Grand Veneur* for four hundred and odd thousand Livres, came hither last Week to dispose of a hundred thousand Crowns in this Countrey, tho' Interest is not half so high as in *France*; and has done it: Which I reflected on, because I had heard formerly, he was a Person as well with his Master as almost any at Court.

There was executed this Week at *Amsterdam*, a Person of very good Quality and Credit among them; only for having engaged the Copies of an Obligation he had from the Admiralty, instead of the Original, to some Persons from whom he took up Money upon them: And tho' he was Nephew to one of the Burgomasters of that Town, and Brother to the Treasurer of *Zeeland*; and all the Instances that could be, were made for having him condemned all his Life to a Hole where he could neither see nor stir; with offer of repaying all the Money he had taken up: And afterwards a thousand Pounds would have been given to have had him executed in Prison; yet he could not escape losing his Head with the common Forms in Publick, to the Loss of his Creditors, who were as much concerned to save him as his Friends. Which I observed as a remarkable Strain of the Justice here, so much different from the Style of most other Places.

I am Sir, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Hague, Feb. 7. N.S. 1670.

Since my last I have received your Lordship's of the 28th past; and doubt not but before this arrives, you will be fully satisfied by the late Accounts I have given, of our Progress here, towards the Conclusion of what had so long depended between us and the *Spanish* Ministers: I cannot yet say, the Money is paid; but I see nothing that wants towards it, only the adjusting of that Conjunction (demanded by the *Constable*) of Merchants at *Antwerp*: For the *Spanish* Dealings are in so ill Credit, that 'tis hard to find any who will give Caution for such a Sum to the *Spaniards*, and in their own Dominions, where they can plead and judge themselves: I believe the *States* must at last engage to the Merchants here, that they will indemnify them from all that shall fall out on this Occasion; though after the Arrival of the Ratifications from *England* and *Sweden*, the *Spaniards* should make a *Querelle d'Allmand* with their Correspondents at *Antwerp*, and force them to any Prejudice without any Pretence.

I gave Monsieur *de Witt* the first News of the *French* King's Declaration, to remit the Judgments of the Differences depending on the Peace, to his Majesty's and the Crown of *Sweden*'s Arbitration: He thought, the leaving out the *States*, was something discourteous on the *French* side; but said, however he was very glad the Thing being done, and hoped, as the Business should receive no Hurt by any Resentment on their Side, so it would receive none on

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our Side by any Effect of the great Cajolry of *France*; especially since this Resolution appeared by the Time to have another Source than only the Civility or Deference of that Court towards his Majesty.

I doubt, the Confidence in this Declaration will stop the Levies which were intended for this Spring; though these Ministers are not the most believing in the *French* Promises; and I am not very confident, the Effect of this last may not be spoiled by some unreasonable Answer from *Spain* upon it; having been confirmed in such a Suspicion by the Baron d'*Isola*'s Opinion, who told me he would write to the Marquis *Castel-Rodrigo*, to advise that the Queen should accept this Offer of *France*, * *Pour veu que le Roy tres-Chrétien remettoit au même Arbitrage toutes les Contreventions de la Paix dont l'Espagne s'estoit plaint à la Conference de Lisle.* Which concerns the Spoils of *Burgundy*, and which *France* would never admit to give jointly in the Conference with their Pretensions about the Dependences. I told the Baron, I feared such an Answer might ruin the Business, since it could not come till the beginning of the Spring, and might then give the *French* a Pretext of recalling his Word; after the passing of it had laid asleep all Thoughts or Preparations for War both in *Flanders* and *Holland*, from whence the first Assistance is to be expected: And that I thought the Answer of *Spain* ought to be full and absolute as to the Acceptance of what is offered by *France*: And if they would make room for the Contraventions he mentions, that they should do it rather by enlarging the Acceptance than restraining it to any Condition, and say they accepted the Arbitrage upon those Dependences, and all other Differences arising upon the Peace, in the Discussion whereof the *Spanish* Pretensions might likewise be brought before the Arbitrators, but at a more seasonable Time than this next Spring will prove. The Baron profess'd to be convinc'd by these Reasons: But because there is not much Trust to a Person who is so far in Love with his own Sufficiency; and seems to mind the valuing of himself at least equally with the doing of his Business; I thought it not impertinent to give your Lordship my Reflection upon this Matter, that if you approve it, you may by some safe Way or Cypher transmit it to Sir *William Godolphin*: For otherwise I am confident the *Spanish* Answer will be perplexed with those Contraventions, which have held the Commissioners all this while at a Bay at *Lisle*, and will not be admitted by *France* in the Decision of the Dependences.

I sent your Lordship enclosed Baron d'*Isola*'s rough Propositions concerning his Master's joining with the *Triple Alliance*, which the Ministers of the Confederates think fit to discourse first among themselves, and afterwards enter into Conference with him, as the Ministers of one united Power. All we can do at first, will be to communicate what passes to our Masters: And therefore I send your Lordship the first Proposals by Advance, that I may the sooner know your Reflections upon them.

After what will pass here in the Conclusion of our Guaranty and *Swedish* Payments; I think, if Monsieur *Ognati* can propose any good way of securing his Majesty, or rather furnishing him before-hand with what one quarter of the *Swedish* future Subsidies will amount to for the three Months which are to be advanced, it would add to the Strength and Credit of our Alliance, in giving so great a Satisfaction to the *Swede*, as they would receive by his Majesty's undertaking for the fifteen thousand Crowns a Month, which they have so much insisted on, and seem so much unsatisfied with failing in it.

I had Notice from my Lord *Falconbridge* of his intended Journey; and have already begun our Correspondence by a Letter which will meet him at *Paris*: And shall not fail in that, nor I hope in any other Duties of my Employment.

I wish my Lord *Berkley* all Success in his new and great Charge; not knowing any other wherein a diligent, honest, and able Person may be of greater Service to his Majesty than in that.

I am ever, My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful and most humble Servant.

To Sir William Godolphin.

S I R,

Hague, Apr. 3. N.S. 1670.

THIS Bearer Monsieur *Chiefe* is dispatched by his Highness the Prince of Orange to Madrid, for the Prosecution and Recovery of a great Debt owing now some time from that Crown to his Highness, and I think not disputed by them: And though this Gentleman goes armed with much better Weapons than any I can furnish him towards the Pursuit of his Enterprize; yet the Prince having commanded me to give him my Recommendations to you among many others he carries, I could not fail of it, nor will I doubt its being of some Force with you, since it comes in the Service of a Prince whose Birth gives him so much Interest in all *English* Men, and whose personal Qualities and Virtues give him a great deal more in all those that have the Honour to know him. I must therefore beg all the good Offices and Assistances you can shew this Gentleman in Pursuit of his Highness's Concernments, as well as your Advice to him if he desires it, how to address himself by such Persons, and in such Ways as will give him most appearance of Success. Your Favour herein I shall take care to value as I ought towards his Highness; as I shall always my self acknowledge it, and remain

S I R,

Your obedient humble Servant.

To the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo.

Au Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo.

My Lord,

Hague, Apr. 3.
N.S. 1670.

THO' the Bearer hereof, Monsieur *Chiefe*, will have no need of other Support beside the Name of the Prince his Master, and the Justice of the Affair he has in Charge; I would not fail however of giving him besides, this Recommendation to your Excellency, as well to pay my Duty to his Highness the Prince of Orange, as to shew my Confidence, that I have yet some share in the Memory and Friendship of your Excellency. I can assure you that the Court of Spain in doing Justice to his Highness, will oblige a Prince who equals his great Birth by his great Qualities; and who will be one Day capable of recompensing the Kindness that shall be shewed him at present. His Highness already takes great part in the good Turn of the Spanish Affairs, by such Sentiments as deserve to be cherished, and not discouraged by any Treatment either unjust or disobliging. I could not recommend his Pretensions to a Person more generous than your Excellency, nor to one who has been always pleased to inter-

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Monsieur,

La Haye, 3 Avril,
S. N. 1670.

QUOY que le porteur de cette Lettre, Monsieur *Chiefe*, n'ait pas besoin d'autre appuy que du nom du Prince son Maître, & de l'équité de la cause dont il est chargé; je n'ay pourtant pas voulu manquer à luy donner comme par surabondance de droit, cette recommandation auprès de V. E. autant pour satisfaire à mon devoir envers son Altesse le Prince d'Orange, que pour me faire honneur de la confiance avec laquelle je croy avoir encore quelque part dans le Souvenir & l'amitié de V. E. Je pourrois bien l'assurer, qu'en faisant justice à son Altesse, la Cour d'Espagne obligera un Prince dont les grandes qualites egalent la grandeur de la naissance, & qui sera un jour en état de reconnoître les bontez qu'on aura à present pour luy: Ajouteray-je, que ce Prince prend déjà beaucoup de part au bon train que prennent les affaires d'Espagne, de tels sentimens quand ils seroient seuls, méritent que sa personne soit chérie, & qu'au lieu de le rebuter par des traitemens qui sentent l'injustice, on embrasse cette

refs him so much in what regards the King my Master. And your Excellency's Favour in this Affair cannot be desired with greater Instance, nor by one who is more than I am,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's, &c.

cette occasion de l'obliger. Je ne sçaurois recommander ses intérêts à une personne plus genereuse que V. E. ni qui se soit toujours plus intéressée dans tout ce qui a touché de près le Roy mon Maître. V. E. ne sçauroit être plus instamment priée d'accorder sa faveur, ni par une personne qui luy soit plus acquise, Et qui soit avec plus de passion que je suis, &c.

To Sir John Trevor.

S I R,

Hague, May 6. N.S. 1670.

I Have newly received yours of the 23^d past, with a former of the 19th, which brought me some Marginal Additions upon the Paper I last sent into Zeeland concerning the Business of Surinam. As to the Words, *The Dutch Nation inhabiting there*, which are conformable with the Style of the States last Letter to his Majesty upon that Subject; I question not to get them inserted, in case the Zeelanders come to a Conclusion upon my Paper; tho' they say, it already contains several Points more than our first Demands.

For the Words, *On quelque autre*, concerning the Person by whom his Majesty will send the Orders; I suppose they will pass too; in case the Intentions are not to employ any of those three Persons for the carrying them, against whom the *Dutch* at first excepted.

For the other Words which determine the Rendition of the Colony, to be that made by Major Bannister, April 21, 1668. I must say freely, that I have very little Hopes of gaining it; having formerly employ'd my Strength upon it without any Success, so much as with the Deputies of *Holland*, or of any other Provinces which have expressed the most easy Compliance with our Demands: And they ever thought it very hard that having yielded to our Demands, of exporting Slaves, contrary to all Customs formerly practised in that Colony, and upon the disputed Sense of an Article; we should press them to carry away likewise those very Slaves which they themselves had furnished us with, though they offer to repay more than the Price they cost. And upon my Instances upon this Matter, their Answer was, That there was no need of distinguishing the Renditions of the Colony; since the Meaning of their Letter was, that what Slaves had been furnished by the *Dutch* should be left, and the rest should be carried off: So that if none were by them furnished between the first and second Rendition, then none were to be left; but if any were, then those to be left, as well as such as had been furnished by the *Dutch* since the last Rendition. And this Point I am confident was debated by the Deputies, not upon any particular Knowledge of what it imports, but only upon the general Notion and Reason of the thing, from which it will be very hard to make them recede: However, I shall use my Endeavours in it, and be as glad as you can, of any good Offices that I am able to render Major Bannister, though he has been the most troublesome Acquaintance to me, that I have ever had in my Life. I pressed Monsieur de Witt, and the Commissioners at our last Meeting two Days since, and particularly the Deputy of Zeeland, for the Dispatch of this Business: But not having then your Additions to my last Paper, I could say nothing of them. Monsieur de Witt told me, a Conference was appointed this Day between the Commissioners of *Holland* and Zeeland upon this Business.

On Sunday Night last the Exchanges were made of the Ratifications of the Concert, with that from *Spain* for the future *Swedish* Subsidies: But the *Swedish* and *Dutch* Ministers having each of them three Originals of the Concert, and not contenting themselves with authentick Copies, as I had proposed, I am forced to give you the Trouble of sending two Originals more of the Ra-

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tification of the Concert, to be delivered to the Ministers of those two *States* upon my receiving the like from them. I will tell you by the way, that I had some Reason to doubt whether the Ratification you sent me would pass or no, though I thought it was not fit for me to make you any Scruple upon it, unless it were first raised by the other Ministers here; and do not know whether it came in that Form by Choice, or by Mistake: But I am sure the Ratification as it runs, is only of the Guaranty with its Clauses, of which the Concert was never taken to be a part, and stands in need of a very strong Deduction or Connexion with the Words of the Preface, which indeed mentions the Concert as well as the Guaranty: And you will find it very different from the Ratification which came from *Sweden* (and goes here enclosed) and such as I must confess, had I been the *Spanish* Ambassador, I should not have accepted, tho' neither he nor the *Swedish* Minister have yet taken Notice of it. I thought not fit to communicate it to Monsieur *de Witt*, till the Day before the Exchange was to be made, because I knew it could not escape him, and did it then only between our selves: And he immediately checked when he came to the Words, *Supra memoratam Garantiam*; and observed that there wanted the Convention about Forces, which was the sole End of their Ratification; and thereupon he said immediately, * *Cela n'est pas comme il faut*: But comparing it with * *This is* those in the Preface, he said at last, † *Cela peut suffire*; and wish'd that others ^{not as it} were no more scrupulous than he, where he knew the Intentions were good: ^{should be.} And so he made no farther Mention of it upon our Exchange of the Ratifications; which I believe proceeded in him from the ill Consequence he foresaw might arise upon the Discovery of a Weakness of our Instrument in this Con-juncture, when our Intentions in this Affair are something more suspected than you assure me they deserve.

I hear the Town of *Amsterdam* has consented to Monsieur *Van Beuninghen's* Journey; but shall not be able to give you an Assurance of it till my next, and content my self now with that of my being always,

S I R,
Your, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My LORD,

Hague, May 15. N. S. 1670.

THE Knowledge of your Lordship's Absence from Town, has given you of late more Ease than otherwise I intended; and your Trouble now begins upon the first Advice I had of your Return, which was by your Lordship's of the 29th past: By which I find the Suspicion you have conceived there, of the late *Spanish* Answer to his Majesty, having been indited at the *Hague*: And withal you desire to know something more particular of Monsieur *Van Beuninghen's* Errand into *England*. The first I am confident is without other Ground, than a common Opinion we have conceived of more *Finesse* than I have yet observed in the chief Ministers here, who are as hard and as firm as you can imagine them; but for Tricks or Juggling, I do not observe either their Abilities or their Dispositions lie much that way; nor I believe does any wise Man's, unless he be brought to it by the ill Condition or Necessity of his Affairs, and finds no other way of living; which is not yet their Case here, nor will be I suppose while *Flanders* is preserved: And so long I shall look upon them as Merchants in good Estate and Credit, and who will endeavour to keep it up by square Dealing: But whenever they fail in that Adventure, I shall grow as jealous of them as I see others are. I have enquired particularly of the *Spanish* Ambassador, and am assured by him, that all Monsieur *de Witt's* Discourses upon that Subject of the late Answer from *Spain*, agreed perfectly with what he made me upon the same Occasion: And I know, the *States* Deputies at *Brussels* had immediate Orders from hence to apply themselves very earnestly to the *Constable* for the Redress of that Fault: And I

dare say, whoever thinks that these Men here will quit a Point of Interest for a Point of Honour, has taken a wrong Measure of them. The *Spanish* Ambassador bids me be assured, That the Answer from *Spain* will be amended, and come in all Points to his Majesty's Satisfaction: He goes this Day from hence towards *Brussels*, being hasten'd thither by an Express from the *Constable*, who I believe intends to make use of him in the *Junto* there; upon whom I hear he will wholly devolve all his publick Business: Having taken an Attestation from his Physicians, that his ill Health has render'd him wholly incapable of charging himself any longer with it.

For Monsieur *Van Beuninghen's* Errand into *England*, I suppose the Rise of it was of an old Date; and occasioned a good deal by my laying often to their Charge, the want of Respect they shewed his Majesty in the Choice of the Ministers they sent into *England*, who are seldom of the Province of *Holland*, or of those Persons most consider'd in this *State*. Besides, when I found I was not able to bring the Business of our Marine Treaty to such a Conclusion as we propos'd, though I fail'd but in one Article (which yet it seems is thought to import the whole of our Pretensions there) I told them here, that it would be absolutely necessary to treat it in *England*, and bring it to some Issue there: And for that purpose, to send some able Person over, who being perfectly intrusted in it from hence, might debate it there with Persons as well instructed on our Side. Upon these Grounds Monsieur *Van Beuninghen's* Journey was thought fit above a Year ago; but his being chosen *Burgomaster* of *Amsterdam* about the same time, made him then absolutely refuse it. Since his Year expired, my Instances still continuing for a Conclusion in our *East-India* Business; and Mr. Secretary *Trevor's* Papers upon the same Subject keeping Life in it from time to time, Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* began about two Months since to shew some Inclination to the Journey; which has been pursued very earnestly by the *States* here, and especially by Monsieur *de Witt*, till it came lately on all Sides to be resolv'd on: So as your Lordship must reckon, that the avowed Errand will be the Business of the *East-India* Company, and the clearing that part of the Marine Treaty which so long proved too hard for me here. Besides, this will be the Compliment they pretend to make his Majesty, in sending a Person of so much Account among them, as Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*: And with the Orders of *Surinam*, which they here reckon upon as a perfect Peace of Compliance with his Majesty. And this is the Account they give the *French* Ambassador of this Journey; adding a good deal of Monsieur *Van Beuninghen's* Inclination to see *England* in this Season.

That which is farther meant by it, is, First in general to inform themselves perfectly of our Temper in the Pursuit of those Ends we have been these two or three Years last engag'd in: And which many Discourses and Reflections of late have made them a little suspect, does not continue so equal and so warm as it began. And in this Regard it will be his Business to use his best and most persuasive Oratory to confirm us in the Pursuit of those common Interests abroad, which we have of late so much advanced by our *Triple Alliance*, and the Dependences of it: And in short, to persuade us, that it is more our Honour and our Interest to lead than to follow. In pursuit of this, he will I believe endeavour to dispose us to accept a Conjunction with such Princes of the *Empire* as desire it, upon such Measures as are propos'd in the late Project I sent your Lordship drawn up by Monsieur *de Witt*: Though I have made so good way in defending you upon this Point, that I believe it would not cost much Trouble there, unless you are willing to enter farther into it than you seem'd of late.

Another Point, and that which I believe he will most eagerly pursue, is the Prohibition of *French* Commodities, upon which his particular Imagination has been long bent, as the only sure and easy way of bringing the *French* Power and Riches into Decay, in case the thing could be agreed on among all or the greatest part of their Neighbours: And this *State* having founded the *Spanish* Court upon that Point, received Answer, That whatever *England* and they should agree upon, *Spain* would readily join with them in it: By which means they suppose, that besides what would be saved by both our Nations, by stop-

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ping the vast Importation of *French* Commodities; a very great Traffick would be gained by exporting our own, to furnish the *Spanish* Fleet, which supplies their *West-Indies* every Year in a great measure with Commodities brought them from *France*. The Resolutions of this *State* go as yet no farther, as I can hear, than to all sorts of wearing Goods and Brandy; nor do I know whether this it self will be brought to Execution, before they are satisfied how far we are likely to join with them in it; after which, the Considerations of Wine and Salt will likewise come in play.

Besides these Publick Matters, I doubt you will likewise be pursued about Mr. *Honywood's* Widow, who is Daughter to a *Burgomaster* of *Amsterdam*, and so most properly under Monsieur *Van Beuninghen's* Protection, especially being a young and handsome Widow; which I hear will tempt her to go over with him her self, and plead her own Cause.

I do not think the Intentions of his Journey go farther than what I have mentioned, unless he be invited to any thing upon the Place, or by some new Accident from abroad. In the mean time, to do him right, we shall have a great deal of Reason to welcome him, because he has very industriously employ'd himself in helping us to gain our Point upon the Business of *Surinam*, which was yesterday resolv'd on by the *States General*, though the Province of *Zeeland* protested against it: And besides, nothing has given us so hopeful a Prospect of the Prince's good Fortunes here, as the Support of the Town of *Amsterdam*, so declared, and so warm in his present Concernment; towards which I am confident Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* has very much contributed, as being a Person of very great Influence in that City. The State of that whole Business is so well and so fully set down in the Paper of Intelligence, that I am sure I cannot amend it, and therefore will not repeat it.

Your Lordship will know by the inclosed, that Monsieur *de St. Evremont* set out this Morning towards *England*, with the *Portugal* Ambassador likewise, who both accompany Monsieur *d'Opdam* as far as *Nieuport*, and there embark for *Dover*, whilst he goes on to meet the *French* King at *Dunkirk* with the *States* Complements.

I am ever my Lord, your &c.

P.S. I had forgot to tell your Lordship, that another part of Monsieur *Van Beuninghen's* Instructions will be, to endeavour all that can be, that this *State* may be admitted into a Conjunction with his Majesty for the Pursuit of the *Algerins*, till they are reduced to the Necessity of a Peace with both.

To Sir John Trevor.

S I R,

Hague, May 27. N.S. 1670.

I Have this Day received yours of the 13th current, with the Account of my Lord of *Effex's* Treatment in passing the *Sound*; which, if wholly new, was what we had very little Reason to expect from that Crown since the Change of their Ministry: Though there are some Reports here that they intend to keep up a close Intelligence with *France*, for fear of the *Swede*; whose Forces give them at this time, it seems, some Jealousy. I will hope, my Lord of *Effex* may receive the Satisfaction he demands, however he will have that of having discharged his part upon this Occasion with the Constancy that became him.

I do not question but you will receive a wiser Answer, as you say, from *Spain*; and wish they could find wiser Men to encharge with their great Affairs and Governments, than you will see they do by the Accounts I know you receive from *Brussels*, of the *Constable's* late Caprices in order to his return for *Spain*. It is here variously discoursed who shall succeed him: The old *Empress* and Prince *Charles* of *Lorain* being still in Name among some others; either of which, or both together, as it is talk'd of, seeming the best Choice

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that can now be made by the Crown of *Spain*. It is wish'd here that his Majesty would further it all he can by the Offices of his Minister in that Court.

Yesterday the *Spanish* Ambassador's Secretary came to communicate to me a Letter he had received from the Ambassador at *Brussels*; taking notice, that upon a more particular Observation of our late Ratification of the Concert, the Date of it was preceding to that of the Concert it self, signed by me here at the *Hague*, which was the last of *January*, N. S. whereas the Ratification at *Westminster* bears Date the 7th of *January*, O. S. And this Remark of the Ambassador's I find to be true, by comparing it with the Copy of the Ratification that lies by me: And doubt not but the Mistake only was of the Month of *January* for *February*, in the Ratification you sent me over. Whereupon I assured the Secretary, there could be no Difficulty in the Redress of it, and he desired me to endeavour it as soon as I could, and I hope the Notice of it may come time enough to prevent the same Mistake in the Instruments intended for *Sweden* and *Holland*, as well as to procure a new one for *Spain*.

I could not by the last Post give you the Certainty of the Issue in the Prince of *Orange's* Affair, the *States of Holland* not rising till one a Clock that Night, after the warmest Debates which have been known among them for many Years: However, the Towns which favour the Prince having the Plurality of Voices, and *Amsterdam* in the Head of them, at length carried their Point, and brought it to a Resolution, that the Prince should have Session in the Council of State with a decisive Voice; and should have the same Place his Ancestors were used to. After this was resolved on, that Party which the most opposed the Prince's Interest, started two new Points: The first, That no Captain-General should be chosen otherwise than from Year to Year, but by Unanimity of Voices. And secondly, That in case the Prince should be chosen Captain-General for Life, then it should be again debated and resolved by Plurality of Voices, whether he should continue his Session in the Council of State. And these two Points were agreed to by all the Towns excepting four or five, in which Number were *Amsterdam* and *Haerlem*; who maintain, that That they were not now to be resolved, but then only when those Matters came in Question. The *States of Holland* being separated after these Resolutions, the Execution of that concerning the Prince's entrance into the Council of State, will remain in the *States General*, and consequently receive no Opposition that I can foresee: And though it bears no great Name, yet I take it to be of that Importance, as to leave his Highness's future Fortunes in a manner wholly dependant upon his own Carriage and Personal Qualities, which give hitherto all the Signs that can be of advancing, and not impairing them.

In the Course of this Business, Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* has so much provoked the ill Will and Opinion of these Towns which were contrary to the Prince, that they had almost resolved to make a Stop of his Journey; but that is now over, and he prepares to be gone the end of this Week: And will not deserve to be less welcome in *England* for what has lately passed here, tho' perhaps it may not be to his Advantage, nor to the Prince's neither, to give him any too publick Testimonies of it. He gave me Hopes on *Sunday* Night, that to Morrow the Business of *Surinam* would be ended, according to the Form I drew up in Pursuit of our last Conference, which I here send you enclosed: Though he told me there would be Difficulty in the Point of Major *Bannister's* landing with so much Liberty as is insisted on: And therefore he pressed me hard to be content with either remaining aboard his Ships, or else lodging in the Fort till his Affairs were dispatched, where all Convenience should be provided him: But I refused both; and so left the Thing with him in the Form it now runs.

I am Sir, your &c.

To my Lord Berkeley.

My Lord,

Hague, May 30. N.S. 1670.

THOUGH I know your Excellency would easily forgive me a Commission which might save you a Trouble in the midst of many others that are a great deal more necessary : Yet I could not forgive my self if I should any longer delay giving your Lordship the Assurances how great a part I take in all your Fortunes, and consequently how much I have shared in the general Satisfaction which I hear you have both left in *England*, and found in *Ireland*, upon your late entering upon the Government of that Kingdom. I am not only much pleased with it upon a private Score, as one of your Lordship's Servants, but as having always had the best Wishes for the publick Good of that Countrey, and his Majesty's Service in the Establishment of it : Both which will, I am confident, thrive very much in your Lordship's Hands ; not only in regard of the great Experience and Abilities which are so generally allowed you ; but because you are too rich as well as too generous to lose the Merit and Glory of great and honest Actions, in the Cares of your own private Fortunes : For this has too often given an Alloy both to the Worth and Success of several of your Lordship's Predecessors ; and contributed chiefly to the Unhappiness of the Governours as well as of the Countrey ; both which I hope you will have the Honour to restore. I cannot but observe to your Lordship, that I find by a general Consent of the Merchants here, that *Ireland* runs every Year an eighth Part in Debt by importing so much beyond its Exportation ; which being to be drawn out in Coin, will be a certain though slow Consumption of the Treasure of that Kingdom ; unless remedied by sumptuary Laws or Examples for lessening the Importation of Foreign Commodities ; or else, Industry for encreasing the Native, which are either consumed at home, or carried abroad : The first is like Diet, but the other like Exercise, to an indisposed Body, which is the way of acquiring Strength and Vigour ; whereas the former gives but barely Health. I believe the two great Improvements to be made in *Ireland*, are of the *Fishing* and the *Linen* Trade ; this to keep our Money at home, and that to fetch more in from abroad. If your Lordship thinks these Particulars worth your Care, and that I can contribute towards them by any Lights and Assurances from hence ; I shall be glad upon that or any other Occasion to receive your Commands.

I have given my Secretary Order to make an Extract of the News which either arises here, or comes to me by Letters from Foreign Parts ; which shall go Weekly to you, if you think it worth the Trouble, and will please in return to do me the Justice of esteeming me what I am with much Truth and Passion,

My LORD,

Your Excellency's most

obedient humble Servant.

To my Lord Arlington.

My LORD,

Hague, Jun. 3. N.S. 1670.

I Was extream glad to find by your Lordship's of the 16th past, some Assurance of your Recovery : And whatever the Name of your Illness was, will believe the Nature of it could not be very bad, since it left you so soon : After which I will trouble you no more with my Remedies ; nor shall I need any my self after so great a one as your Lordship has given me by the Knowledge of

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your

your own and my Lady's Health: For which I make you my particular Acknowledgments.

By observing the Winds, I guess Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* will, before this arrives, have given your Lordship the Account himself of his leaving the *Hague* on *Sunday* Night, and setting Sail I suppose on *Monday* Evening; unless Madam *Honywood* made him stay some Hours longer, who had appointed to be with him by that time from *Amsterdam*. I will say nothing in Favour of her Pretension, but that she is Daughter to the ancientest Burgomaster of *Amsterdam*, who has expressed the greatest Passion of any other of the *States*, in Favour of the Prince of *Orange's* late Concernment, and may perhaps thereby deserve some Mark of his Majesty's Favour, which I assure you I say wholly of my self: For my good Offices in her Business were not at all thought worth engaging, since Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* undertook it, as I suppose he has done by their joining Company. Your Lordship will find nothing to lessen your Esteem of his Person, unless it be, that he is not always so willing to hear as to be heard; and out of the abundance of his Imagination is apt sometimes to Reason a Man to Death: Which I tell your Lordship before-hand, that you may not fall into any Prejudice before you know him well: And on the other side, I have taken some Care to prevent his employing that Talent too much in your Conversations. For the rest, you will find him *Fort bonnête homme*; one that puts all the Good of his Countrey upon maintaining and cultivating his Majesty's Alliance; and who, upon the Prince's Occasion will deserve the good Will of our Court.

For his manner of negotiating, I am confident you will find him not ill-bred, nor offering to impose his Measures, as you call them, upon us: But after any Propositions and Reasons he shall lay before you, will rather tell you that you are Masters of all; and that the *States* will in all Things that concern our Neighbours, perfectly follow those his Majesty shall take.

Whatever Reception the *States* Proposal about the *Algerines* meets with in *England*; I wish to God some better Order were taken for preserving our Honour in the *Mediterranean*: For, what with the ill Conduct of our Captains, that they say will turn Merchants, leaving our Merchants to play the Men of War, and with the late shameless Loss of the *Sapphire*: I assure your Lordship, the Reputation of our Sea-Affairs and Men, decays abroad to a Degree that is very sensible I am sure to me, and I doubt will hardly recover without some new and severe Discipline or Examples.

The Prince of *Orange* was introduced into the Council of State on *Saturday* last, and with the Circumstances which he is very well pleased with. He resolves upon his Journey into *England* about the latter end of this Month, or beginning of next: But will not fix the Time till the Pensioner's Return from *Groningue* about ten Days hence.

I am my Lord, your &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Hague, Jun. 17. N.S. 1670.

I Was very glad to hear this Morning of your Lordship's being well arrived in Town; where I hope the Diversions of your late Journey have returned you with such an Encrease of Health as is necessary for the Support of your great Affairs, *Y para mi consuelo*. Many *French* have lately pass'd this Way since the Return of that Court; some who attended *Madame* into *England*, and extremely applauded her Reception there, and his Majesty's great Graciousness to those of her Train. The Count *d'Eftrades* came likewise three Days since, but I think barely on a Visit to his old Home; or if he has any Business, it is particular, and at *Amsterdam*. I find, they all agree in assuring us of the Peace, as long as we can assure them of the King of *Spain's* Life: But in giving us fair Warning that whenever that fails, their Master will march

march into the rest of *Flanders* without any Circumstance, and possess himself of it if he can. This Knowledge, and that of the King of *Spain's* late Sickness, have given them some Perplexity here, which is much relieved by this Days News of his Recovery. But we find nothing yet towards the Redress of the late untoward Answer upon the Arbitrage.

The Prince of *Orange* continues still the Talk as well as the Desires of his Journey into *England*: But has of late been very earnest to know my Opinion, whether he be like to procure any Satisfaction in his Pretensions there; saying, as I guess, industriously, that all his best Friends here are of Opinion, that in Case that should wholly fail him, his Journey into *England* would prove of great Prejudice to his Affairs here, by letting his Friends see how little he is considered by his Majesty, whose Countenance will be a great Support to him in the Course of his Fortunes.

I durst not offer his Highness the least Judgment of my own upon this Matter; assuring him I was wholly ignorant of all his Majesty's Affairs, besides what related to this Countrey; and particularly of the present State of his Revenue, or how much the late Supplies have contributed towards the Ease of it: Upon which the Prince seemed very desirous that I would touch this Point to your Lordship, so as to have your Thoughts upon it before he goes. This I suppose proceeds chiefly from the *Princess Dowager*, who declared her Opinion positively to me some Weeks ago upon this Matter, to the same Purpose; and I hear, persists in it; which yet she does not in all things. For I can assure your Lordship, she now professes to be the most satisfied that can be with my Conduct in relation to the Prince, and makes me more Acknowledgments than are fit for me to receive; since I pretend only not to have spoiled his Business, which it had been the easiest thing in the World for an *English* Minister here to have done. I wish to God he do nothing towards the Prejudice of it himself, by Advice of younger or warmer Heads: For this is a Countrey where Fruit ripens slowly, and cannot be preserved if it be gather'd green. I am very confident from his last, as well as the present Dispositions I here discern, that his Fortunes are in his own Hands; and I hope he will make great Advantages in the Conduct of them, by your Lordship's Advices when he sees you in *England*, of whose Prudence and Virtues he will go over with a very full Persuasion.

Monsieur de *Witt* returned yesterday to Town, after fifteen Days Absence at *Groningue*, about the composing some Differences in that Province. * *There is* * This a violent Humour runs against him of late in the Town of Amsterdam, upon Pre- was a text of his growing too far into the Sway of all Affairs in this State by so long a Year or Ministry; and of advancing his own Friends into Offices and Places of Trust, with too much Industry. But I suppose the Bottom of this is the same with that of all popular Humours; that is, a Design in the Leaders to change the Scene, that so those who have been long employ'd may make room for those who have been long out. I am not of Opinion they will succeed to prejudice him suddenly; both because his chief Enemies acknowledge his great Abilities and Usefulness to the State, and because he will always have it in his Power to fall in very considerably with the Prince's Interest, which the other Party pretends to promote: Tho' in such a Case his Highness would have a hard Choice with which Wind to sail: As indeed he is likely to fall into Conjunctures here that will require all his Prudence.

I thought fit to say thus much at once to your Lordship; that so you may the better know what to make of twenty Reports that may arise upon these Occasions. Tho' it will I think after all be our Parts both in *England* and here, to seem the least we can concerned in them, farther than our Wishes to the perfect Union of a State we are so near allied to; which we may I suppose own our Opinion of, that it will never be compassed but by taking in the Prince's Interests, as far as can consist with the Liberty of the State: And making such a Person of him, as may in Title, Expence, and other Circumstances, represent the Dignity of their Commonwealth.

I am ever,

My Lord, your, &c.

To

*To the Earl of Northumberland.**My Lord,**Hague, Jun. 17. N. S. 1670.*

BY the same Post which brought me the Honour of a late Letter from your Lordship, I received from other Hands the News of my Lord of *Northumberland's* having left you to the Succession of all his Honours and Fortunes; which gives me the Occasion of acknowledging your Lordship's Favour and Memory; and at the same time of condoling with you upon the Loss of a Father, whose great Virtues and Qualities must needs have made so many Sharers with you in this Affliction. I hope the Help which is given your Lordship by so many of your Servants and Friends upon this Occasion, will serve to ease your own Part in it: And that after all that can be offer'd up to Decency, and to the Memory of so great and excellent a Person, this will find your Lordship rather taken up with the Imitation of his Virtues, than the bewailing of his Loss: Since this is but what he owed to Nature and to Age, and to the Course of long Infirmities; and the other is what will be due from your Lordship all your Life, to your Birth, your Family, and your self. Nor indeed can ever so much depend upon so few Paces, as will now, upon those your Lordship shall make at your first setting out: Since all Men will be pre-faging by them the Course of your Journey, as they will have indeed Influence upon the Ease as well as the Direction of it. For my own part, I expect a great Increase of your Lordship's personal Honour upon this Occasion: And that having been so excellent a Son of a Family, you will shew your self the same in being now a Father of it; since nothing makes Men fit to command, like having learn'd to obey; and the same good Sense and good Dispositions make Men succeed well in all the several Offices of Life. Those I know will be your Lordship's Safety in entring upon a Scene, where you will find many Examples to avoid, and few to imitate: For I have yet seen none so generally corrupted as ours at this time, by a common Pride and Affectation of despising and laughing at all Face of Order, and Virtue, and Conformity to Laws; which after all, are Qualities that most conduce both to the Happiness of a publick State, and the Ease of a private Life.

But your Lordship will, I hope, make a great Example, instead of needing other than those of your own Family, to which so much Honour, Order and Dignity, have been very peculiar; as well as the Consequences of them in the general Applause, and the particular Esteem of all those who have had the Honour to know and observe it. Among whom there is none more desirous to express that Inclination by his Services, nor that has more of it at Heart than,

*My Lord,**Your Lordship's most faithful**and most humble Servant.**To the Great Duke of Tuscany.**Au Grand Duc de Toscane.**S I R,**Hague, Jun. 27.
N. S. 1670.*

HAVING so long taken part in whatever concerns the Person or Interests of your most serene Highness, I could not fail to condole with you for your great Loss, whereof all *Christianity* would have been sensible to the last degree, if the Grief for such an

*Monfieur,**De la Haye, 27 Juin.
S. N. 1670.*

Atant pris depuis long tems une aussi grande part dans tout ce qui touche la personne ou les interets de V. A. S^{me} je ne pouvoir manquer à m'affliger avec elle à l'occasion de la perte qu'elle vient de faire, & qui est telle, que la Chretienté en seroit inconsolable, si la douleur

an Accident were not less'n'd by the Succession of a Prince who has left such Impressions of his Person and Merits where-ever he has appeared, as will never be worn out.

'Tis true, such is the Composition of human Things, that nothing is pure or without Mixture; so that even upon this Occasion I see some Ground to mix my Congratulation with my Condolence, when I consider that your Highness has finished your Travels before the Accession of this glorious Charge. Your Highness has added to your Birth and Wit, all the Advantages that the Commerce of Strangers is accustomed to give; and you now find Occasion for the Exercise of all, towards the Government of your Subjects. My Wishes and Applauses shall not be wanting to your Highness; though I know your Conduct and good Fortune will give me little Occasion but for the latter, as your Highness's great Qualities have already given me a great deal, to be,

douleur d'un evenement si triste n'etoit soulagée par l'idée du Prince qui vient remplir la succession; on sçait que c'est un Prince qui a laissé de sa personne & de son merite par tout ou il a paru des impressions qui ne s'effaceront jamais.

Il est vray, que telle est la composition des choses humaines, que rien n'y est pur & sans melange; le bien & le mal ne se laissent guere gouter separement. En cette rencontre donc je vois dequoy meler mes congratulations à mes condoleances; je fonde les premieres sur ce que V. E. S^{me} avoit achevé tous ses voyages lors qu'un si glorieux fardeau luy est tombé en partage. Elle à ajouté au bonheur de sa naissance, & à la penetration de son esprit, tout ce que le commerce & la comparaison de divers etrangers chez qui elle avoit se journé, a accoutumé de donner. Cette riche moisson etant à peine faite, tant de talens sont mis en ouvrage, & V. A. se voit à present obligée de les consacrer au soin du gouvernement de ses Sujets. Mes voeux & mes applaudissements ne manqueront jamais à V. A. quoy que sa conduite & sa prosperité me repondent que je ne feray usage que de ces derniers: Ses grandes qualitez avoient deja fourni beaucoup de motifs d'etre,

S I R,

*Your Highness's most humble
and most faithful Servant.*

Monfieur,

De V. A. S^{me} le tres humble
& tres fidelle Serviteur.

To Sir William Godolphin.

S I R,

Hague, July 3. N.S. 1670.

I Have not had any thing of late worth your Trouble, nor any of yours by me to acknowledge; tho' I should have been glad to have received from your Hand the Assurance of what comes to me more uncertainly from others, of the *Catholick King's* perfect Recovery, and the Junto's Disposition to admit simply of his Majesty's and the King of *Sweden's* Arbitrage, as was proposed. The great Deadness of the Season in point of News would have excused you this Trouble, but that the *Swedish* Minister here begins to pursue me hard for my Offices towards the *Spanish* Court for the second Payment, which he reckons to be already due by the Expiration of eight Months since the Delivery of the Guaranty. But Monsieur *de Witt* and I are both of Opinion, the *Spanish* Ambassador's Act may very well be construed to signify eight Months from the signing of the Concert, which *Spain* always insisted upon as an essential Part of the Guaranty; and to begin the Payments only upon the signing of it, which was the last of *January* past; by which Calculation the second Payment will grow due at the end of next *September*. But this is fitter to be argued by *Spain* than by us: And that which is more necessary, is for them to provide so as the Money may be ready here by that Term, to recover by the Fairness and

Ease of this Payment, the Credit they lost in *Sweden* by the Difficulties of the last. In the mean time, if you can persuade the *Spanish* Court to signify to the *Swedish* Minister either there or here, that they have been put in mind of it by you; and to have it so much in their Care as to provide that it shall not fail at the end of *September*, which they take to be the Term it grows due; you will I suppose perform an Office both necessary and grateful to all the Parties interess'd in that Affair. The *Dutch* would have enjoin'd it to their Minister, if they had any present at *Madrid*; the want of which gives you more than your share in these Transactions. They would fain engage Monsieur *Beverning* to accept of that Employment; which I wish for your sake, but I doubt its succeeding.

The Prince of *Orange* intends to go for *England* about the End of this Month; and my Lord *Offory* is shortly expected here, to attend him in his Journey. I am always,

S I R,

Your most obedient humble Servant.

To the Earl of Essex.

My Lord,

Hague, July 7. N.S. 1670.

I Have received by this last Post the Favour of one from your Excellency of the 18th past, which gives me the Hopes of a sudden Dispatch in your present Negotiations, and the very welcome News of your Intention to pass this way in your Return; where I shall be very glad to find the Occasions I desire of serving your Lordship in a Place that indeed better deserves a passing Visit than any long Abode.

Your Excellency will have received by a former Letter my Condolements upon my Lord *Northumberland's* Death, which indeed was very untimely for himself, his Family, and his Friends. But if we needed greater Examples how little Defence is to be found against that Enemy either from Greatness or from Youth; we should have received a very sufficient, as well as a very sad one by an Express which brought this Morning the News of *Madame's* Death, by particular Letters both to the *States* and to the Prince of *Orange*.

The *French* Courier being not expected till to morrow Morning, I have not yet received any Letter of it from my Lord Ambassador at *Paris*; and therefore shall give your Lordship the Relation just as it comes in the Prince's Letter, which says, That on *Sunday* last, being the 29th of *June*, N.S. *Madame* having eaten very well at Dinner, and continued so some Hours afterwards; about four a Clock in the Afternoon called for a Glass of Succory-Water, which she used to take every Day about that Hour; and having drank it off, complained that it was very bitter, and presently after began to find her self ill, and fell into violent Fits of the Cholick; upon which she said, That she was sure she should die, and immediately sent for her Confessor, and with great Resolution disposed her self to it, by passing through all the Forms of that Church upon such Occasions. The News of her Highness's Illness was immediately dispatch'd from *St. Clou* where the Court then was, and occasion'd the King's coming presently to her, who arrived about eight a Clock that Night, and brought his chief Physician with him; who both began to comfort her Sickness, and assure her, that her Cholick could not easily carry away a Person of her Age. But she persisted in assuring them of her Death, spoke a good while softly to the King; and afterwards said aloud, That she had no Regret at all to die; but that her greatest Trouble was, by so hard a Separation to lose his Majesty's Friendship and good Graces which he had always express'd to her. She spoke to Monsieur in the same Terms about her great Willingness to die; which, she said, was the more, because she had nothing to reproach her self of in her Conduct towards him.

The King left her about ten a Clock at Night, his Physician assuring him she could not die of a Cholick, or at least not so suddenly as she seemed to apprehend: But her Illness and Pain encreasing, she expired about two a Clock in the Morning, leaving great Sadness in that Court, and Regret in all those who had the Honour to know her.

Your Excellency will easily imagine how sensibly his Majesty will be touch'd by this Affliction; and therefore I am sure you will receive the same Part in it that I, and all the rest of his Servants ought to do: Which I shall not encrease by enlarging upon so sad a Story, farther than by one Particular more of the Prince's Letter; that her Body being opened in the Presence of several Persons, and among them my Lord Ambassador, they could not find the Cause of so sudden a Death.

Our News from *Brussels* is, That the *Constable* was to depart from thence on *Saturday* last, leaving the Count *de Monterey* Governor of those Countries by the Queen Regent's Commission for the *Interim*, until a new Governour should be sent from *Spain*, who they give out will be *Don John*, and that he will be there in a very little time, and take upon him that Government for his Life: But the Certainty of this we must expect hereafter from *Spain*. The *Danish* Envoy here tells me he intends to go very shortly for *Copenhagen*, and that he hopes to find your Excellency there, wherein I confess I differ with him. I should be very glad to know whether he did me the Right of conveying a Letter I wrote to Monsieur *Guldenlew*, in answer to one I received from him upon his last Arrival in *Denmark*. Your Lordship will oblige me to let one of your Secretaries inform himself from one of his, whether such a Letter was received, without drawing it into any farther Consequence.

I beseech your Lordship to believe me always what I am with very much Sincereness,

My LORD,

Your Excellency's most faithful

most humble Servant.

To my Lord Berkeley.

My Lord,

Hague, July 11. N.S. 1670.

I Received one from your Excellency of the 11th past, by which you were pleased both to oblige and to inform me: Nor could any thing happen more agreeable to me than an Occasion of acknowledging as I ought the Favour you there express both to my Friends in *Ireland* and to me: Of which I am equally sensible.

I doubt not but your Lordship will find in the loose Posture of Affairs in *Ireland*, a great Subject for your Prudence and Industry; in the Application whereof, I wish your Lordship all Success and Glory, being incapable at this Distance to make any Reflections on Particulars, either the Evils or the Redresses: Only as an old Servant, I may have the Liberty of putting your Lordship in mind of one Point wherein your Reputation is much concerned, and upon which I doubt you do not much reflect: But if you should continue this luxurious Custom of getting a lusty Boy every Year, People will think that you live like a voluptuous young Man of twenty Years old, and not like a staid and wise Governour of a Kingdom: Nor am I very well satisfied myself, whether it be a Thing that consists with the Gravity of a Privy Counsellor, much less of a Lord Lieutenant. But when I consider that of so good a Race we cannot have too many, I am forced to leave my Censures to give your Lordship much Joy of your Irish-man.

We have nothing here in Discourse but the sad and surprizing News of *Madame's* Death; of which your Lordship will have the Particulars from so many Hands, that I will not repeat them; nor enter into the general Reflections

ctions that are made upon it in all Places I think, I am sure here without Scruple or Dispute.

The *Constable* is gone for *Spain*, and left his Government much as he held it: Nor can I judge whether it came from his natural Temper, or some contracted Indispositions: For his Health has been of late the Cover for it: But these six or eight Months past, he has been obstinate to hear nothing of Business, returning all that has offered by his nearest Officers, with * *Quire Ma-*
 * Why do you kill me? *tarme*? And passing his Time with his Virginals, his Dwarfs, and his Gracioso-foes. Some say, his Imaginations reached so far as to raise up Spirits and Assassins when he was alone.

If *Spain* has no greater Men, it's pity they have so great Use of them; for I am sure, *Non tali Auxilio nec Defensoribus istis Tempus eget*. He has left the Government for the *interim* by the Queen Regent's Order to the Count *de Monterey* whom he hated; and I hear Count *Marsyn* says, he will not obey a Man, † *Qui ne fait que naître*; because he is but twenty eight Years old:
 † Who is but just born.
 * Who thought of nothing but dying.
 But they have succeeded so ill with one * *Qui ne songeait qu'à mourir*, that I think it will not pass for a very just Exception; and our Friend Count *Marsyn*, who is hot at Hand, will I hope come to himself, and help to keep all Things quiet in *Flanders* till *Don John's* Arrival, which is now talk'd of, but I am not the easiest to believe it.

I beg your Lordship's Favour, or rather Justice, both to esteem and use me as,

My Lord, your &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Hague, Jul. 15. N. S. 1670.

I Was very glad to find that the great Measure of his Majesty's Grief upon *Madame's* Death, was a little lessened by the Satisfaction he had received, that it had passed without *that odious Circumstance* which was at first so generally thought to have attended it; and of which I endeavour in my Discourse here to allay the Suspicions, since I see his Majesty is convinced; though it is a very difficult Matter to succeed in, after so general a Possession, which has been much encreased by the Princess Dowager's Curiosity, to ask her Physician's Opinions upon the Relation transmitted hither to one of them from his Brother, who is the *Dutch* Secretary at *Paris*; and pretends it came from *Dr. Chamberlain*, though something different from what he transmitted into *England*. However it happen'd, it had certainly all the Circumstances to aggravate the Affliction to his Majesty; which I am infinitely touch'd with, as well as with the Sense of an Accident in it self so deplorable: But it is a necessary Tribute we pay for the Continuance of our own Lives, to bewail the frequent and sometimes untimely Deaths of our Friends. *Et levius fit Patientia quicquid corrigere est nefas*.

The Baron *d'Isola* parted this Day for *Brussels*; from whence he told me he would answer your Lordship's last Letter, by which he pretends to have drawn Confidence of his Proposals succeeding in *England* with the Temper the *Dutch* had given it here: But he does not press the Matter much at present, because he does not pretend that the Emperor's Resolutions are fully taken upon it, nor will be till after the Interview, which is as he says about this time contrived between the *Electors* of *Mentz* and *Triers*; where an Envoy from the *Emperor*, another from the Duke of *Lorraine*, and (as the Baron pretends) from some other *German* Princes, are to intervene, where the Measures will be fully taken among them. In case his Majesty should fall into the Thoughts of admitting that Conjunction, as Monsieur *de Witt* tells me he has likewise some Hopes given him from Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*; I think it were best however reserving the Declaration of any such Consent, until he were very well assured of the *Emperors* and the other *German* Princes final
 and

and firm Resolutions; which I know not whether we may be confident of learning from the Baron *d'Isola*, whose Business seems to be rather first to draw out our Points, and make them his Ground for persuading his Court to agree with them; and thereby value himself both to his Master, the *German* Princes, and others, upon his own being the Author of so great a Negotiation: And perhaps, if his Majesty have a mind to see the bottom of it, and wishes it effected for common Interest sake; he could not do better than to acquaint the *Elector* of *Mentz* privately with his Thoughts upon it, and leave him to make use of that Knowledge towards the preparing all Pieces for the Work. For I find that Prince must be the Spring of all the Motions that are made in it on the *German* Side: So that all will depend upon his Dispositions and Conduct; which for my part I pretend not to understand yet in this Affair: For though his late Envoy here visited me with great Professions from his Master to his Majesty, and much Civility to me; yet I fell into no sort of plain or confident Discourse with him upon this Matter; but finding him rather shy in it, I resolved not to be behind-hand with him in that Point: And so we parted as wise as we met.

By this Days Post I hear, the Count *de Monterey* is declared Governour of *Flanders* by way of *Interim*; which yet may last longer than is thought of, according to the slowness or uncertainty of the *Spanish* Councils, especially *Don John* having now finally refused to accept that Charge. The Count *Marfyn* I hear, says he will not obey a Man *Qui ne fait que naitre*; because the Count *Monterey* is but twenty eight Years old, and therefore sets on foot already many *Brigues* against him both in *Spain* and *Flanders*, which we here fear may produce very ill Effects by increasing the Disorders of *Flanders*, and thereby the Temptations of *France*; tho' I hope our Friend, who you know is something hot at Hand, may yet come to himself: For methinks his Exception against the new Governor is not very just, after having so long obey'd a Man that thought of nothing but dying; and for ought I hear, was by that Apprehension render'd unfitter for his Post than any he could have met with to leave in it, without very great Luck. They much persuade me here to make a Journey to *Brussels* in this Conjuncture, having heard me speak of it this Summer, and of having his Majesty's leave, because they know I am acquainted with those at present upon the Scene: I find their Deputies have no Credit there, and come back only with Dissatisfaction and Complaints: I see nothing like to take me up here, when I have observed this Assembly of the *States* of *Holland*, and what they will do and promise farther in the Prince's Business, which a Fortnight will determine, and therefore am well enough enclined to it: But should be much the more, if his Majesty should think fit to complement the Count *Monterey* upon this Occasion, and save the Expence of an express Person, by sending him a Letter with me to be delivered as one that goes wholly *Incognito*, and without any Character, as was last Year intended I should have done to the *Constable*: Of which your Lordship can easily satisfy me.

I find, the Prince has put off the Thoughts of his Journey till towards the fitting of the Parliament, upon what your Lordship last writ: By whose Advice his Highness resolves to steer in the Course of his Affairs and Motions relating to *England*.

I am ever,

My Lord, your &c.

To Sir John Trevor.

S I R,

Hague, July 22. N. S. 1670.

I Am at once to acknowledge both yours of the 1st and 5th current, with the inclosed Names of the *Scotch* Ministers in the first; and in the other the last Paper concerted with Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* concerning the Affair of *Surinam*.

Upon what concerns the *Scotch* Ministers, I gave in yesterday a Memorial to the *States*; upon which I received this Day a Message from them, expressing their Readiness to perform all Parts of their Treaties with his Majesty; and desiring to know from me the several present Abodes of the said Persons, to the end they might direct their Orders to them accordingly. But in this Point I was not able to answer them at so short Warning, having not yet upon Enquiry heard of any of the three Persons, excepting *Mackard*, who it seems lived some Months since privately at *Utrecht*; but whether he continues still there or no, I am yet ignorant: And therefore I told the *States* Agent, That I would endeavour to inform my self of their Abodes if I could; but would not take upon me to find them out in any certain Place, since it was the Custom and Interest of such Men to be as private as they could, and to shift often: And therefore I did not see any thing likely to reach them, but a Publication of their Names, with the *States* Orders for their avoiding these Dominions; which at some Time and Place or other could not fail of coming to them, and have the same Effect that could be expected from a more particular Direction.

* Cannons
mounted
in the Ri-
ver.

I spoke with Monsieur *de Witt* this Morning concerning your last Paper of *Surinam*, which he perused, having not seen it before, nor heard any thing of it from Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*: And therefore he said, the *States* could not fall upon the Debate of it without knowing upon what Grounds or Considerations Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* might have made these Changes, since his last Paper upon this Subject, which they expected would have been final in this Matter. Besides some Point wherein he thought the Style not so clear, he observed two main Alterations in the Substance: The first is, that our Ships could not carry * *Des Canons montés dans la Riviere*: Which he said, imports that they might carry what Cannon they please, so they were not mounted, which is not the Business of an Hours time; and is contrary (as he said) to your first Agreement with Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*. The second was, concerning Major *Bannister*; whose Landing is here positively allowed with the Liberty of going to his own Colony. Both which were (as he says) referred in Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*'s last Paper to the Governor's Discretion and Judgment, whether it might be done without Danger of the Colony. Upon both these Points we had large Discourses, which ended with his assuring me, that he should be the last to raise any Scruples upon either of them; but doubted that the *Zeelanders* might thereupon (especially the last concerning Major *Bannister*) change their late Protestations to Clamours, which might occasion the *States General* to make more Difficulty in these Changes, unless they were satisfied in the Reasons of them by Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*'s Dispatches, to which all was of Necessity to be referred.

I hear Monsieur *Lionne* entertained the *Dutch* Secretary at *Paris* with the News he had received from *Madrid*, of that Crown's joining this *State* with his Majesty and *Sweden* in the Arbitrage; and at the same time with many Reasons why his Master could not admit of it; tho' he said he had not yet communicated it to him: However the declared Opinion of such a Minister seems to raise a strong Prejudice in the Case.

I am sorry the Business of *Conventicles* gives you so much Trouble, and could wish we were at a good End of all such Controversies, which make his Majesty appear abroad to have so great and considerable a number of Subjects that have not learn'd to obey him, and consequently make up no part of his Strength, but seem rather to lessen it, and amuse People both at home and
abroad

abroad with Imaginations of Changes. Yet Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* hath represented it hither as a Business which his Majesty will easier master than you seem to be confident of: But their Interest here may help them to believe as well as to desire it, upon the Expectation of so many Persons and Stocks as will be brought over to them upon this Occasion; and make as they suppose a considerable Increase of their Trade, and Diminution of ours. I am always,

S I R,

Your &c.

To the Count de Monterey.

Au Comte de Monterey.

My Lord,

Hague, Jul. 22.

N. S. 1670.

HAVING long taken part in what regards the Person and Interests of your Excellency, and having heard of your Advancement to so great a Charge as that of Governour of the *Netherlands*, I would not fail of giving you Joy, and letting you know the Satisfaction I receive by it upon many Accounts. For, since by the Force of the present Conjunctions, it will be often necessary for me in the Post I am in, to have something or other to negotiate with the Governour of *Flanders*, about the common Interests; I shall be very glad to enter into Business where I have already enter'd into Friendship, and to have to deal with a Person who has already given me so many Testimonies of his fair and prudent manner of transacting, as well as of his particular Inclination for confirming the Alliance between the Crowns of both our Masters, and for the Advancement of their Interests, wherein the Welfare and Repose of *Christendom* are concern'd. And whereas the good Order of Affairs in *Flanders* is very important to his Majesty and the other Parties of the *Triple Alliance*, as well as to the Crown of *Spain*; I will hope, that by your Excellency's Conduct some good Order may be taken for settling the Affairs of the Militia of this Countrey; and in the mean time, an end be put to the Complaints and Miseries of the Inhabitants, since a Government is never well established but in the Hearts of the Subjects; nor so hard to be shaken, as when the Generality of the People as well as the Nobility, finds no Interest in the Change. I doubt not but your Excellency proposes these

Ends,

Monsieur,

De la Haye, 22 Juill.

N. S. 1670.

Ayant pris depuis long tems beaucoup de part dans tout ce qui touche la personne & les interêts de V. E. & venant d'apprendre qu'elle a été pourvû d'une charge aussi importante que l'est celle de Gouverneur de *Païs-bas*; je n'ay pas voulu manquer à luy donner el para bien, & temoigner la joye que j'en ay ressentie pour plusieurs raisons. Car puisque par l'enchainement des conjonctures presentes, & dans le poste où je suis, il me sera souvent nécessaire de negotier, & d'avoir quelque chose à demêler avec le Gouverneur de *Flandres*, je seray fort aise d'avoir une liaison d'affaires avec celui avec qui j'ay déjà des liaisons d'amitié; je me felicite d'avoir à faire à un sage dispensateur qui m'a déjà donné tant de marques de sa noble & judicieuse maniere d'agir. Avec quelle joye n'ay je point vû votre penchant particulier à affermir l'alliance entre les deux Couronnes de nos Maîtres, & votre inclination à avancer des interêts qui ne tendent aujourd'hui qu'à procurer le bonheur & le repos de la *Chrétienté*. Comme sa Majesté & ceux de la *Triple Alliance* ont fort à cœur l'état des affaires de *Flandres*, aussi bien que la Couronne d'*Espagne*; je me fais un plaisir de penser que par la bonne conduite de V. E. on fera enfin quelque bon reglement touchant la milice des *Païs-bas*, & qu'en même tems mettra fin aux plaintes & aux miseres des habitans; puis qu'un Gouvernement n'est jamais si sûrement établi; que lors qu'il a son siege dans le cœur des Sujets. Rien n'est si difficile à ebranler qu'un Etat où la multitude du peuple aussi bien que la Noblesse n'apperçoit point d'avantage dans un changement.

Je

Ends, and will succeed in them, because you are too generous to mix with them your own Passions or particular Interests, which will not be less glorious to you, than profitable and happy to *Christendom*. And besides the Advantage *Spain* will make by your Excellency's good Conduct, they will save themselves the Trouble to think of a new Governour, or to end an Interim so advantagious to them.

My best Wishes shall not be wanting to your Excellency, nor my Services, upon all Occasions where they shall be necessary; for no Man is with more Esteem and Truth than I am,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's most humble
and most affectionate Servant.

Je ne doute point que V. E. ne se soit déjà proposé toutes ces fins, & qu'elle n'y réussisse, ayant une elevation d'ame assez grande pour n'y laisser point entrer ses propres passions, ni aucun intérêt personnel. Une telle conduite ne luy sera pas moins glorieuse qu'elle sera utile pour la Chrétienté, & outre le profit que l'Espagne en tirera, elle luy sauvera le soin de songer à un nouveau Gouverneur, & luy fera prendre le parti de prolonger un si heureux interim.

Mes vœux ne manqueront jamais à V. E. & mes services seconderont mes vœux, toutes les fois qu'ils luy seront nécessaires; car il n'y a personne qui soit avec plus d'estime & de verité que je suis.

Monfieur,

Vôtre, &c.

To Sir John Trevor.

S I R,

Hague, July 29. N.S. 1670.

I AM to acknowledge one from you of the 12th, and hope the *Dutch* Captain you therein mention, is before this time arrived, and will prove what you desire him, and thereby deserve the Encouragement you intend him. I know not why Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* should at present receive the Proposition concerning the Emperor's Admission; since Monsieur — confesses he thinks there will be Difficulties made in it by the Emperor himself; who has not yet declared himself to the Elector of *Mentz*, nor I believe, to the Baron *d'Isola* neither; tho' it be true what you observe, that it ought to be authentickly demanded on that Side.

I hear no Hopes at all from *France* of admitting this *State* into a part of the Arbitrage: So that if *Spain* persists in the Demand of it, as *France* no doubt will do in the Refusal, we shall be as much to seek in the End of the Year, as we were in the Beginning.

For what concerns the Commands I received about the three *Scotch* Ministers; though I cannot find out their present Abodes, yet I question not to obtain what is desired against them: There can only be one Scruple, if these *States* will adhere strictly to the Treaty, which is the authentick Knowledge of their being declared Rebels by his Majesty; which I should be glad to know, if it be so; tho' I shall in the mean time pursue it, as if I expected no farther Informations.

I have so far press'd them here upon assenting to the last Paper transmitted by Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* upon the Affair of *Surinam*, that the *States of Holland* have agreed to it, and appointed three Persons to endeavour either to dispose or to quiet the *Zeelanders*, and to pass it in the *States General*; and I hope it will succeed, the Town of *Amsterdam* concerning themselves particularly in it for the Support of Monsieur *Van Beuninghen's* Credit.

The Assembly of the *States of Holland* will separate on *Friday* next, and are yet likely to agree in the long agitated Impositions upon the *French* Commodities before they part; the Town of *Rotterdam* having (as I hear) this Day at length

length assented; but with Condition that it shall not be executed till after Monsieur de Groot's Arrival in France, and Account from thence whether that King be disposed to dispense with the late Rigours there used for discouraging all Dutch Commodities.

Tho' nothing has been yet mention'd this Assembly concerning the Prince; yet I am made believe they may, before they part, settle a Pension upon him, though a small one of twenty four or thirty thousand Franks a Year, being only in Consideration of his Session in the Council of State. I am always,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To Sir John Trevor.

S I R,

Hague, Aug. 12. N. S. 1670.

SINCE my last, the States Agent brought me a Copy of the Letter they had agreed on to the Governor of Surinam; which I suppose they delay'd till about the Time of their dispatching it away, because they knew I would except against the Limitation given to Major Bannister's Landing; tho' they assure me, the Governor shall have Orders not to hinder it without very evident Knowledge of the ill Consequence it may have upon the Peace of the Colony; and that the Zeelanders were so sharp in this Point, that they could not pass it in any other Form. I have likewise since my last been assured from the several Ministers here, that the Orders I desire concerning the Scotch Ministers would be granted: But that the thing being proposed to the States of Holland then assembled, whom it most concerned, the Persons being supposed to be in their Province; several of the Deputies declared they would not resolve without communicating it first to their Towns, among whom those of Rotterdam were the chief: But their Pensioner Monsieur de Groot, upon his Departure from hence last Saturday towards France, assured me of his Endeavours to clear all Scruples in it before he left that Town.

I have since received your Commands in one of the 24th past concerning *Coronet Joyce, to which I can yet make no return, Monsieur de Witt being * Mentioned in the Histories of K. Charles I. out of Town, and not expected till to Morrow: And I must first break it to him, by whom I can best know what I may hope for from the States in it; and withal contrive how it may pass with such Circumstances of Secrecy, that the Noise may not go before the Shot. By the next I hope to give you an Account how I am likely to succeed; and in the mean time will only assure you of my utmost Diligence in a Matter wherein you say his Majesty is so much concerned. ^{King by Force from}

I doubt not but a great part of Monsieur Van Beuninghen's Errand was to dispose us towards the Admission of the Emperor, and therefore wonder not at his enforcing that Proposition: But yet, sure the Ground of his Journey was the Desire of finding some Temper in the Business of the East-India Trade, wherein I am very glad you hope for Satisfaction from him; I mean upon that single Article which has so long stopp'd the Marine Treaty, and foiled me absolutely in the Pursuit of it. For the other Point, I know not yet whether Monsieur de Witt has received any new Account from Mentz of the Emperor's Intentions; nor how much it signifies what the Baron d'Isola tells me, That the Imperial Minister there, has declared his Master's Resolution, of referring himself wholly to that Elector for the Conduct and Conclusion of that Affair: And that the said Elector hath declared his Judgment of its being both fit and necessary; but that as to the Proposition of Forces to be furnished by the several Princes, he could not proceed to ascertain it, without more particular Directions from the Emperor, tho' his Minister there press'd him to it. All which seems to me a very general and loose Account for his Majesty to proceed upon; and to have something of the Baron d'Isola in it, as well as of the

Negotiations of *Mentz*: And yet this is all the Light I can get at present; nor do I well know where to expect better, the *States* Envoy having already left that Place.

I shall not fail of performing all the Offices you please to enjoin me towards the preserving our mutual Confidence in this Conjunction; which I have endeavour'd in all my Discourses here upon the Duke of *Buckingham's* Journey into *France*, since I first heard of it: And I am confident to have succeeded with the most Rational and Intelligent. For common Authors, they are not to be dealt with, being too many and too credulous to be reason'd with upon such Points: The best is, their Credit is of as little Weight as their Belief, and at last Truth will ever out.

I hear the Count *Molina* parted from *Madrid* upon his way through *France* into *England* about sixteen Days since; so as he ought to be by this time well advanced. The *Spanish* Ambassador is likewise upon his Return from *Brussels* hither; which, with other Marks, confirm me in the Opinion of the Count *de Monterey's* being likely to find a long Interim in the Government of *Flanders*.

I have nothing more to encrease your Trouble, besides the Profession of my being always,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To Mr. Williamson.

S I R,

Hague, Aug. 12. N. S. 1670.

I AM to acknowledge the Favour I have lately received of two from you of the 22^d and 26th past, with the Advices you were pleased to give me of what passes with you in my Lord *Arlington's* Absence; and know not what better Return I can make you from so barren a Scene as this is at present, but continuing the Orders I gave upon Mr. *Blaitbwait's* going out of Town, for all the Prints as well as the Papers of Occurrences, to be constantly transmitted to you by my other Secretary Mr. *Downton*; who tells me he does not fail you in these Points, no more than I shall do in any other wherein I can serve you here.

I thought in a time of so little Motion or Talk, to have used his Majesty's Leave for a short Journey into *Flanders*; but some small Matter still arises to keep me from being wholly idle; and among others, the Shadow of the *Surinam* Business haunts me still, tho' Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* assured me he would lay it upon his going over. I should be glad to know if you find him as eloquent in a Court as they do in an Assembly of *States* here, and that he proves as good at Concluding as at Reasoning.

I know to a Person of so much Business, an empty Letter is an Interruption, therefore will add nothing to this, but the Profession of being,

S I R,

Your most humble Servant.

To Sir John Trevor.

S I R,

Hague, Aug. 15. N. S. 1670.

UPON Tuesday Night Monsieur *de Witt* returned to Town; and the next Morning I went to him upon the Affair wherewith you had charged me in your two last Letters, whereof that of the 29th past gave me Notice of the Yacht's being dispatch'd away. I related the Occasion to Monsieur *de Witt*,
and

and his Majesty's Desire upon it, as near as I could in the Manner and Terms you had imparted them to me; adding of my own whatever I could think of, concerning the Interest of this *State* in such Compliances to his Majesty, especially where his Person was concerned; and how fit it was for them to pass over the Want of small Circumstances and Obligations of Treaties, in Matters of so great Importance to a King so nearly ally'd to them, and in whose Safety and Quiet they were so deeply concern'd. He allowed all this latter part of my Discourse; and for the Matter it self which I desired, he told me, That whatever the *States* were obliged to by the Treaty, they had Power to enjoin the Execution of, because every Province had already given their Consent to it: But in other Matters the *States General* had no Power upon any Point wherein the Jurisdiction of a particular Province was concerned: The Union consisting of seven Provinces, whose Sovereignty remained still entire to each of them. That for this Reason it was impossible to seize upon a Man residing in *Holland*, and send him over to his Majesty by any other Power but that of the *States of Holland*, who were not now assembled. That the seizing of those Criminals by Sir George Downing, happen'd to have been desired at a time when the *States* were assembled, who gave their general Consent to it: Whereas if the Town wherein they were had dissented and stood upon their Privileges, it had not been in the Authority of the *States of Holland* themselves to command it.

After my Expostulations upon these Forms in their Government, which made it much harder to treat with them, than they found it to treat with other Princes; and Monsieur *de Witt*'s Deduction of the several Sovereignities of their Provinces, and Privileges of their Towns from their Original, as well as the framing them into an *Union* (rather than a Government) for their common Defence: We fell at last into the Consideration of what could be done upon the present Business, since we had found what could not. And he told me with great Professions of his own Desire to see it succeed, that if I put in a Memorial to the *States General*, besides the Danger of having it grow publick, I should lose just so much time; whereas all they could do would be but to recommend it to the Committee *de Raedt* of *Holland*, to dispose the Magistrates of *Rotterdam* to seize upon the Person I desired, and keep him safely guarded, without suffering any Approach to him but by my Order, until the next Assembly of the *States of Holland*, which will be about a Month hence: And this, he said, the Committee might do of themselves; and he hoped they would, upon my writing a Letter to the President, especially if I would take the Pains to speak before-hand to the several Members of it: And in this he promised me his Assistance; and withal, that if the Magistrates of *Rotterdam* would seize and guard him till the Assembly of the *States of Holland*, he would then use all his Endeavours to dispose the said Assembly to send him over to the King, though he doubted much Difficulty in it; and that the Town of *Rotterdam* would never consent to it, without an Act from his Majesty to the *States*, that he should be remanded to their Town after he had been examin'd: For without such an Act, he said, the Town of *Dart* had absolutely refused to send a Person within their Jurisdiction to the *States* themselves.

Upon all these Discourses I resolv'd as the best I could do, to speak severally that Evening with all the Members of the Committee *de Raedt* that were in Town, which I did as late as I could, so as to give the least Time for the Matters taking vent. They all agreed in the same Account of the Constitution of their Government, which Monsieur *de Witt* had given me; and assured me they would act as far in this Business as they could do, if it came to them from the *States General*: But withal agreed they could do no more than recommend it to the Magistrates of *Rotterdam*, upon whose Resolutions it would wholly depend. While I was late in these Visits on *Wednesday* Night, Captain *Harris* came to my House, and told me of the Yacht's being come to the *Briell*, but so ill used by the Storms she had met with, that she would need some Repair before she could go to Sea again; which I was very sorry to hear, considering how ill her Voyage was likely to succeed, and that I had no hopes of sending her back with her intended Charge. The next Morning be-
ing

ing *Thursday*, I sent my Letters to the President just upon his going into the Committee: And within an Hour after, Monsieur *de Witt's* Brother who is a Member of it, came to me, and told me, That they had written a Letter to the Magistrates of *Rotterdam* to the same Purpose I desired, and with all the Earnestness they could; and to enforce it the more upon them, had appointed him and Monsieur *Voorburgh*, another Member of the said Committee, to go immediately thither, and to dispose the Magistrates all they could to the effectual Execution of what was desired.

I acknowledged the Care and Compliance of the Committee; and because I knew all depended upon Suddenness and Secrecy, and that I had been assured the Day before of *Joyce's* being in Town, I told him that I was resolved to go my self, but as privately as I could, and be there as soon as they: And while they were disposing the Magistrates of the Town, I would endeavour to set the Fellow, so as to be sure of him when the *Scout* should have Orders to apprehend him. After this I went strait to *Rotterdam*, and got privately into a House within three Doors of *Joyce's*; and had not been there an Hour, when the Agent I employ'd to find him out, had met with him in the Street, and staid with him till he saw him go home to his own House. I sent immediately to my two Commissioners, (who I heard had arrived some time before me in Town) to give them Notice of it, in hopes of their being ready for me: But I found they were at the *Town-house*, where the Magistrates had been assembled ever since their Arrival; and they could not bespoken by the Person I sent to them till about an Hour after: And then they told him, that they had been dealing all that Time with the Magistrates, who made great Difficulties in the Business, and they could not yet give me Account what they would resolve, but as soon as they could, they would come themselves and give me notice of it. After this I waited with great Spight and Impatience till about five Hours after the Magistrates had been first assembled: The greatest part of which Time I could not have failed of my Prize, if they had sent their Officers. But after seven a Clock at Night, my two Commissioners came to me and told me they had never seen the Magistrates in greater Perplexity, which had kept them so many Hours unresolved what to do: That they said, It was absolutely against the Privileges of their Town, to seize upon any Man without a particular Charge being ready against him: That this Man they heard, was a kind of mad extravagant Fellow: That having long resided in their Town, he could be guilty of nothing towards his Majesty, unless it were of Words, which People were very free of in their Countrey; and amounted not to a Crime that was thought to deserve Imprisonment. That, they should have been glad to know the Words he was accused of; and that if they should seize a Man without any particular Charge, the Surety and Protection of their Town would be discredited, upon which much of their Trade depended: And that they were confident, no Town in *Holland* would do what was desired of them. That however for his Majesty's sake, and at the Instance of the two Commissioners, they had at last resolved he should be seized on, and that I should have the examining of him if I pleased: But that if I could exhibit no particular Charge against him, and he did not make himself guilty by his own Confession, they must release him the next Day. I replied plainly, this was just nothing to the Purpose, and was only so much Noise without any Effect: That the King's Demand was to have him sent over, and that since that could not be done without the Assembly of the *States of Holland*, my Desire was to have the Man seized upon and kept till the said Assembly, or at least till I received farther Orders from his Majesty; and less than this was nothing at all. Hereupon one of the Commissioners seeing how much I stomach'd this Dealing, told me, the Magistrates had not absolutely said they would release him: But the other reply'd, That it was true they had not absolutely said it, but that he must confess he found it was their Intention. For my part, I thought it was best at a venture to be once seized on him if I could, and try whether I could get any Thing out of him upon his first Surprise, and leave the rest to farther Endeavours; and therefore I desired however that he might be seized. They told me, the

Magistrates,

Magistrates doubted he was not in Town, but when I had taken off that by Evidence to the contrary, they said the Magistrates did not know the Man, nor any of their Officers. But if I could send some body that did to the Town-house, they would send their Scout with him to execute what I desired. This I presently did; but the Person I sent found the Magistrates still unresolved, and in very ill Humour about it; and saying besides a great deal of what the two Commissioners had before told me, That in case *Joyce* had said he would kill the *Burgomasters*, or burn their Town, yet they should never have thought of imprisoning him for it: And that it was hard to be put upon Things so contrary to their Privileges and their Customs, as well as their Interests. My Agent finding these Difficulties, desired leave for me to seize him with such Persons as I could find my self: But this they said could by no means be done; and if it should be attempted without the Officers of the Town, the *Burghers* would certainly rise and rescue him. With these kind of Debates they put him off about an Hour longer, making him twice withdraw and come in again to them: But at last, when it was grown a very dark Night, they gave Order to their *Scout* to go with him, and apprehend the Fellow. Hereupon they went and searched his House, but without finding him, and two other of his usual Haunts with the same Success; but they found evident Marks of his having had Notice given him of his Danger: For one at his House said, He wonder'd I would search for a mad Man; and that if he were assured I desired only to examine him, perhaps it might be done; but that for the present he knew not where he was, having taken the Key of his back Door, where he seemed to believe he was gone out. By all that had happen'd, I found plainly the Magistrates of the Town had no Intention the Thing should be done; and began to be assured of what I had always doubted, that such a Pack of Rascals of so many Sorts as had been long nested in that Town (more indeed than in all the rest of *Holland*) had not made this Choice without some good Assurances from the Magistrates, of being protected there. I found as plainly that without their resolute and fair dealing in it, 'twas to no purpose for me to endeavour it; and that my being there was already known, and had given such an Alarm, that some of *Joyce's* Crew were walking continually up down the Streets thereabouts ever since it grew dark, and others of them standing at his Door and his Windows: And therefore seeing that till this Alarm was over, there was no hopes of finding my Game; I resolved to speak with the presiding *Burgomaster*, and engage him as far as I could for the effectual Pursuit of the Business; and make him see I understood well enough how it failed, and where it depended, and so leave the Town before Morning to give the Fellow the more Security. I sent to the *Burgomaster* about ten a Clock at Night, desiring not to have it taken notice of when I spoke with him: But he sent me his Excuse by saying he was in Bed: After which I sent for the *Scout*; and when he had confes'd he had Orders to take the Fellow, and that he knew him very well (contrary to what the Magistrates had pretended) I said all that I could possibly to engage him in the Pursuit of it; and told him, as the best Argument, that I would give him my self a hundred Duccatoons as soon as ever it was done, besides representing his Diligence so to his Majesty, as that he might expect a greater Gratitude. And for the better effecting of it, I desired him to get me the Keys of the Town-gate that was near me, resolving then to go out of Town, and to pass with Torches before *Joyce's* Door, that so he might see I was gone, and with me the Persons I had employ'd in this Business, and thereby grow secure of any farther Danger for that Night. And I desired him that about an Hour or two after, he would once more search for him at his House, and other Places where he used. All this he promised very fairly, and all other Diligences in it for the future; but to say the Truth, in such a manner, that I perceived plainly the Fellow had his Instructions given him after another Fashion, from those that had more to do with him than I. And though I have expected some News from him all this Day, I yet hear nothing. Since my coming Home I have spoken again with Monsieur de *Witt*, who professes to be very sorry for my ill Success; says I did prudently in coming away after my first Attempt failed: That

he knows not what to judge of the Magistrates proceeding till the return of the Commissioners; and hopes something may be yet done by them, because they were not come back this Afternoon. He says he writ two Letters himself to the Magistrates, besides that of the Committee, to dispose them more; because he knew all would depend upon their hearty or faint Proceeding in it, and assures me of all his farther Endeavours.

For the Business of *Surinam*; they will not believe their last Letter should not satisfy, since Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* had represented that *Bannister's* absolute Permission as a Thing desired by you, but not insisted upon: So that if it be farther press'd, it must be by your Orders after you received the last Papers.

I ask your Pardon for any ill Digestion of this Letter, as well as for writing it in another Hand, which my Eyes force me to; and may all be attributed to the Want of Sleep these two Nights last past. I am however,

S I R,

Your &c.

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord,

Hague, Aug. 19. N.S. 1670.

I Have lately received the Honour of one from your Lordship of the 26th past; by which I was very sorry to find that any Occasions had at all withdrawn your Lordship's usual Concurrence in all great Affairs, wherein his Majesty uses the Advice as well as Labours of his Ministers. For the Steadiness of your Lordship's Judgment, and Directness of your Application to his Majesty's and the Kingdom's Honour and Advantage in all your Counsels, gave me at my last coming over hither much Confidence in the successful Course of our Affairs both at Home and Abroad: And the more your Lordship estranges your self from them, the more my Confidence in that kind is like to abate; because I am apt to think it not only an *ill Thing*, but an *ill Sign* too.

I am glad to receive your Lordship's Opinion concerning the Continuance of our Measures abroad, because I see not at present where we can take better: And I the more need some such Encouragements as your Opinion gives me; because, to say the Truth, I should not be very apt to concur with you in it from the Observation I can make from hence of several other Circumstances: However, nothing ought to discourage such publick Hearts as your Lordship from contributing all they can to the Firmness of such Counsels, as they esteem most just and safe at least, if we are not in Condition to think so far as glorious:

*Multa dies variusque Labor mutabilis Ævi
Detulit in melius——*

We have nothing new nor material in present Agitation upon this Scene. The last little Commission I had was as troublesome as unsuccessful; and proceeded certainly in the Manner of it, from want of knowing or considering the Constitutions of this Government; which makes me confident your Lordship had no Part in directing in it, no more than my Lord *Arlington*, who was out of Town.

I wish your Lordship perfect Health and Satisfaction; and that when neither of these make it necessary, you may not be too much at your Countrey-House. Tho' in all Places I shall be ever with equal Constancy and Truth,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's, &c.

To the Duke of Buckingham.

My Lord,

Hague, Aug. 21. N. S. 1670.

AS your Grace will, I hope, meet with many new Entertainments on this Side the Water; so you must, I fear, be content with some new Troubles: For both usually happen upon all Changes. I wish your Grace all that can be of the first, and should not have given you any of the other, but to rejoice with you upon your happy Arrival at *Paris*.

From so little and so barren a Scene as this is at present, I cannot offer at informing your Grace of any Thing; especially, since Men expect here to receive all their material Informations from your Motions where you now are, and from what shall succeed them at your Return. But, to leave these People in their *doubtful and mystical Reflections*; I shall not interrupt either your Grace's Business or Leisure with any Thing but what is plain and certain; for nothing is more so, than that I am with equal Passion and Truth,

My Lord,

Your Grace's most obedient

and most humble Servant.

To my Lord Falconbridge.

My Lord,

Hague, Aug. 22. N. S. 1670.

I Was very glad to find by your Lordship's of the first current, that the Suddenness of your Return therein mentioned, was owing to the Dispatch of your Business in *Italy*, and to the Care of your Health; and consequently, that you receive from it both Honour and Satisfaction. I shall esteem it a great deal of both to me, if you continue so favourable Intentions as you express, of taking this Place in your way; where your Lordship may promise your self whatever my Services can be worth to you. I expect my Lord of *Essex* with my Lady here every Day; unless they have changed their Design since their Arrival at *Hamburgh*, where they came about ten Days since, after my Lord's having dispatch'd all his Affairs in the *Danish* Court. Our Treaty with *Spain* for regulating the Affairs of the *Indies*, came signed to *London* last Week, from whence I doubt not, it will be suddenly remitted with its Ratification. All here is in great Quiet and Silence, and like to continue so, unless *France* furnish us with some new Discourse.

I have hitherto writ by Mr. *Perwich*'s Conveyance, but chuse to send this by Sir *John Finch*'s, who is like to be a nearer Observer of your Motions. But I will not give your Lordship a long and empty Interruption, which has little else to bear it out besides the Profession of my being,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most

faithful humble Servant.

To the Great Duke of Tuscany. Au Grand Duc de Toscane.

S I R,

Hague, Aug. 25.
N. S. 1670.

I Received almost at the same time the Honour of two Letters from your most Serene Highness, one of March the 31st, with an entire Vintage of the finest Wines of Italy; and the other of the 5th Instant, with your Highness's Condolences upon the Death of *Madame*. The great Delay of the Ship that brought the Wine, and your Highness's great Dispatch to make a Complement so sad and so obliging, were the cause that two Letters of so different date, arrived almost together. For I have much reason to commend the Diligence of Monsieur *Ferroni*, in conveying me all your Highness's Favours. I find the Wines admirable, and seeming to resemble their Prince, in having lost nothing of their natural Taste or Goodness, by the length of their Voyage, or the Extreame of Heats or Colds. And herein I am more obliged to your Highness than you imagine, not only for having made me taste the Delights of so fine a Climate in so miserable a one as this; but also for having by the same Means given me the Talent of a Drinker, a Quality I wanted very much to acquit my self of an Ambassy in *Holland*.

I cannot tell whether your Highness by your moving Expressions upon the deplorable Death of *Madame*, has more discovered the Beauty of your Wit, or the Greatness of your Affection to the King my Master: Therefore I hope your Highness will not take it ill that I have sent his Majesty a Copy of your last Letter, by which you have given such sensible Proofs of the part you take in whatever happens to the Royal Family.

The States General are very much surprized at the News brought them this day from *France*, in an Express sent them from their Minister at *Paris*, which assures them of the March of the

Monsieur,

De la Haye, le 25
Aout. S. N. 1670.

J' Ay quasi reçu en même tems les deux Lettres que V. A. Sme. m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire; l'une datée du 31 de Mars, & accompagnée des plus riches vendanges d'Italie, je veux dire, de ses vins les plus exquis; & l'autre du 5 du courant, avec les complimens de condoléance de V. A. sur la mort de *Madame*. Le long retardement du navire qui a apporté les vins, & l'empressement de V. A. à me faire un compliment aussi triste qu'obligeant; ces deux choses ont fait, que deux Lettres si fort éloignées par leurs dates, se sont presque rencontrées à leur arrivée. Car j'ay beaucoup à me louer de la diligence avec laquelle Monsieur *Ferroni* tâche de me faire tenir les faveurs de V. A. Les vins m'ont paru excellens; & si j'osois, je dirois volontiers, qu'ils semblent tenir quelque chose du Prince qui les envoie; les changemens de Climat, la longueur & les traverses du transport, la rigueur de l'hiver, ni les ardeurs de l'été, ne luy ont rien fait perdre de sa seve & de sa force; & cela, ne fournit il pas un emblème assez naturel de la personne de V. A. J'ay au reste, plus d'obligation à V. A. qu'elle ne pense, sur son présent de vins, non seulement parce qu'elle m'a fait goûter des délices du plus beau païs du monde, sous le Climat le plus triste; mais sur tout, parce que son présent m'a excité à devenir buveur, qualité qui me manquoit absolument, & qui est pourtant nécessaire pour se bien tirer d'une ambassade en *Hollande*.

Je ne say ce que V. A. fait le plus paroître dans les expressions si touchantes dont sa Lettre est remplie, ou la secondité de son esprit, ou sa tendresse de cœur pour le Roy mon Maître. C'est pourquoy, j'espère que V. A. ne me sçaura pas mauvais gré d'avoir envoyé à sa Majesté la copie de sa dernière Lettre, dans laquelle elle a donné des marques si tendres de la part qu'elle prend aux evenemens de la Famille Royale.

Les Etats Generaux paroissent surpris de la nouvelle que leur a apporté un express depeché par leur Ministre à *Paris*, qui vient de leur apprendre la marche des Troupes Françoises au nombre de 30000 hommes;

the *French* Troops towards the Frontier, to the Number of 30000, where they are to rendezvous at *Peronne*: But it is not yet known whether their Design be upon *Flanders*, or this Countrey, or whether they project any other Measures. However, the Alarm is here so great, that they have immediately resolved to continue six thousand Men, which they were just going to disband: They have also ordered the Council of State to compute what Forces and Provisions they shall judge necessary in case of a Rupture with *France*; and have dispatched a Boat from *Scheveling* to *England* with Orders to Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* (who is upon the Point of departing) to stay till farther Orders from the States.

For my self, I know not what to judge of these Appearances; I shall ever complain of any Events that are like to endanger the Quiet of *Christianity*, to which I have for some time (under the Orders of his Majesty) dedicated all my Cares. And without doubt, if the War opens at present, great Conjunctions will arise, whereof perhaps there will be Reason to give your Highness Joy, not for being out of the Noise of them; but because great Princes only wait for great Occasions. I am,

S I R,

Your Highness's, &c.

hommes; elles s'avancent vers les frontieres, & leur rendez-vous est marqué à *Peronne*. On ne decide point encore sur le dessein de cette marche; & on ignore si elle regarde ou la *Flandre* ou ce pais icy; & on ne sait point si l'approche de ces Troupes ne tend point à cacher les veritables desseins, & à mieux reussir dans les mesures qu'on a prises. Quoy qu'il en soit, l'alarme est icy à un tel point, qu'on a pris sur le champ la resolution de continuer la solde à six mille hommes qu'on alloit congédier; que le Conceil d'Etat a ordonné de dresser promptement un etat de guerre, qui comprît tant les levées d'hommes, que les munitions de bouche & de guerre, qui seroient estimées necessaires, en cas de rupture avec la *France*. Qu'enfin on a fait partir de *Schevelin* en diligence une barque pour l'*Angleterre*, avec ordre d'y retenir Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* qui etoit sur le point d'en partir.

Pour moy, je ne say ce que je dois juger sur toutes ces apparances; je gemiray toujours sur les evenemens qui pourront mettre en danger le repos de la *Chretienité*, qui depuis un tems, & sous les ordres de sa Majesté, a été l'objet de mes veilles & de mes soins. Et sans doute, que si la guerre recommence, elle va donner lieu à des grands evenemens, desquels on aura peut être à donner el par bien à *V. A.* non comme éloignée de la tempête, mais parce que les grands Princes ne respirent que les grandes occasions. Je supplie *V. A.* de m'en offrir toujours, par lesquelles je puisse luy marquer avec combien de passion & de verité je seray toute ma vie,

Monsieur,

De *V. A. Sme* &c.

To the Procurator of the Court of Holland, upon the Rights of Ambassadors.

Au Procureur de la Cour d'Hollande, sur les droits des Ambassadeurs.

ONE of my Secretaries having given me a Copy of a Paper signed by you, *F. de Brusis*, which was brought to my House, and given to one of my Servants; by which Paper you summon one *N. Wat*, Valet or Footman to the *English* Ambassador, to appear before the Court of *Holland*: By the Title you give the said *N. Watt*,

UN de mes Secretaires m'ayant fait voir la copie d'un billet signé par vous *F. de Brusis*, qui a été porté dans ma maison, & donné à quelqu'un de mes gens, & par lequel billet vous sommer un certain *N. Wat*, Valet ou Lacquais de l'Ambassadeur d'*Angleterre*, de comparoître devant la Cour d'*Hollande*. Par la qualité que vous donnez au dit

P P P

N. Wat,

N. Wat, you make it plain, that you believe him to be actually in my House and Service. Upon which I have thought good to tell you that I look upon you as an insolent Fellow, for daring to bring such a Paper into my House; and that I do not intend any of my Servants shall be look'd upon as subject to the Jurisdiction of any Court of this Countrey, or of any other beside those of the King my Master: And if any of them offends against the Laws, Complaint must be made to me, that I may either order Justice to be done, or deliver the Offender of my own accord to be punished by the Law of the Place, having beforehand dismiss'd him from my Service. Therefore I do not design to be exposed to such an Insolence as this that you have committed against me, in treating me like one of your Burgers, as well by the Paper left in my House, as by the ringing of the Bell, whereof you make mention. What I here say, you may let your Masters know from me, by whose Order you pretend to have acted. Besides, for their farther Information, let them know, that while I reside in this Countrey, I will never suffer the Rights and Privileges so long granted to Ambassadors by the *Law of Nations*, and hitherto observed and respected by all Princes of *Christendom*, to be violated, or any way infringed in this Countrey in my Person, under pretence of any particular Sovereignty of a Province, or Privilege of a City, in a Commonwealth where I have the Honour to serve a King in Quality of his Ambassador.

N. Wat, vous faites bien connoître, que vous le croyez actuellement dans ma maison, & attaché à mon service; là dessus j'ay trouvé bon de vous dire que je vous tiens pour un Insolent, d'avoir osé porter un tel billet dans ma maison; & que je ne pretens point, qu'aucun de mes gens soit regardé comme relevant de la jurisdiction d'aucune cour dans ce pais, ni d'aucune autre que de celles du Roy mon Maître: Que si quelqu'un d'eux commet quelque chose contre les loix, on n'a qu'à m'en faire des plaintes, afin que j'en fasse faire la justice, ou que je le livre de mon propre gré à la rigueur des loix du pais, l'ayant préalablement congédié, & chassé de ma maison. Je ne pretens donc pas être exposé à une insolence pareille à celle que vous venez de commettre contre moy, en me traitant comme un de vos Bourgeois, tant par le billet laissé chez moy, que par le son de la cloche dont vous faites mention. Tout ce que je viens de vous dire, vous pourrez le dire de ma part à vos Maîtres, par l'ordre des quels vous dites avoir agi. Au surplus, & pour leur plus grand éclaircissement, qu'ils sachent, que durant mon séjour en ce pais, je ne souffriray jamais que les Droits & les Privileges, accordez depuis si long tems Jurgentium aux Ambassadeurs, & jusqu'icy observez & respectez dans les Etats de tous les Princes de la Chretienté, soient violez, ou le moins du monde alterez en ma personne en ce pais, sous les pretextes d'aucune souveraineté particuliere d'une Province, ou le Privilege de quelque ville, dans une Republique où j'ay l'honneur de servir un grand Roy en qualité de son Ambassadeur.

*To Monsieur — upon the
Death of his Daughter.*

*A Monsieur — sur la mort
de sa Fille.*

S I R,

Hague, Sept. 1.
N. S. 1670.

Y Eſterday late in the Evening I received an Account of your Loss; and can assure you, that my Wife, my Sister, and my self, were so sensibly afflicted at it, that if it were possible Grief could be lessen'd by being communicated with real Friends, upon these sad Occasions, you would have immediately found some Consolation in

Monsieur,

Dé la Hayë, 1 Sept.
S. N. 1670.

ON me donna avis hier au soir bien tard, de la perte que vous venez de faire, & je puis vous assurer, que moy, ma femme, & ma soeur en avons été si sensiblement touchés, que si l'affliction pouvoit être diminuée par celle qui se communique aux veritables amis en ces tristes occasions, vous auriez sur le champ eprevu du soulagement en la

in yours: I must confess, your Grief is lawful enough, and founded not only upon the Dictates of Nature, but upon the Merits of her you lament; so that, to pretend to comfort you by other Considerations than those which your Prudence, and above all, which your Piety would suggest, would be to attempt an unprofitable Work. God has pleased to impose this Tribute for the Continuance of our Lives, often to lament the Death of our Friends. We must learn to submit and resign to his Will, which is the wisest and most Christian part we can follow. To this I shall add, that the Desires of your Friends who yet remain, and your Care of their Interests, do demand from you that you will preserve your self to them. Among these, there is none who is more than I,

vôtre. Il le faut avouer, votre douleur est bien legitime, elle est fondée non seulement sur les devoirs de la nature, mais encore sur le merite de la personne que vous pleurez. Ainsi pretendre vous consoler par d'autres reflexions que celles que votre prudence, & sur tout votre pieté vous suggereront, ce seroit tenter une chose inutile. Il a plu à Dieu imposer une peine durant le cours de notre vie, qui est l'obligation de pleurer frequemment sur la mort de nos proches & de nos amis. Il faut se soumettre, & apprendre à se resigner à sa volonté; c'est là l'unique bon parti, & le seul qui soit & veritablement sage, & veritablement Chretien. J'ajouteray à cela, que les prieres des amis qui vous restent encore, & le soin de leurs interêts, demandent que vous vous conserviez. Parmi ceux qui prennent la qualité de vos amis, il n'y a personne qui vous soit plus acquis que,

S I R,

Your most humble and
most affectionate Servant.

Monfieur,

Vôtre tres humble &
tres affectionné Serviteur.

To my Lord Arlington.

My LORD,

Hague, Sept. 2. N.S. 1670.

I MUST in the first place rejoice with your Lordship upon your Return to Town, and to the Exercise of your usual Cares, which are so necessary to the Service of his Majesty and the Kingdom, that I cannot doubt any thing is meant us so ill as the Danger of your Lordship's Health; though I find by your last of the 19th past, that you had fallen into some Indisposition upon your Return: But the Length as well as the Clearness of all your Lordship's Discourses in it, give me the Confidence that it was already past.

I have understood from Monsieur de Witt, the sum of all Monsieur Van Beuninghen's Discourses with his Majesty upon the same Subject as those with your Lordship, of which you were pleased to give me the Account: And do not find that Monsieur Van Beuninghen has failed of receiving all the Assurances from the King that he could wish, concerning the Negotiations of the Duke of Buckingham in France: For he has not only transmitted them to the States as he received them at Court, but added likewise his own Opinion upon them: That as far as human Appearances will go, he has all the Reason that can be to believe, that nothing has been treated of by the said Duke, nor was ever intended to be so in the French Court to the Prejudice of his Majesty's Alliances here. For the rest, they take it as well as they can, that they see no Advance made in the Propositions of the Emperor's joining with those of the Triple Alliance in the Guaranty of the Peace: Which I suppose touches them so much the more by the News brought this Day to the States; which I am now to give your Lordship an Account of, as of the way I received it.

Just as I was sitting down this Day to Dinner, the States Agent came to me, desiring that their Commissioners might have the Liberty to speak with me, tho'

tho' at that unusual Hour, being of a Matter newly come to them, and of very great Importance. I consented, and thereupon Monsieur *de Witt* came in the Head of the other Commissioners; and told me, that the *States* had newly received certain Advice from *France* of the Date of the 29th past, That the Chevalier *de la Fourville*, who had been dispatch'd secretly from Court some Days before the breaking up of the Camp at *St. Germain*, and with the Troops quarter'd near the Borders of *Lorraine*; made a sudden March into that Countrey, and seized upon the City of *Nancy*; and that by so unexpected and quick an Attempt, that he failed very little of surprizing the Person of the Duke, and had taken the Ducheys. That the Duke escaping, had retired to a small but strong Place called *Bidsch*; where he busied himself in assembling what Forces he could for his Defence. That the Marechal *de Crequy* being dispatch'd from *Paris* had met this News upon the way, and returned with it to Court; from whence he was dispatch'd in haste the second time to *Lorraine*. That the *French* Camp near *St. Germain* was marched towards *Peronne* under the Command of Monsieur *Vaubrun*; but that by Orders sent after them upon the way, they were to be divided into two Bodies, of which one was to march away to the Marechal *de Crequy* in *Lorraine*, and the other towards *Sedan*; where they should make a stand, and face any Attempts that might be designed from *Flanders* or this Countrey, towards interrupting the Success of their Affairs in *Lorraine*. Monsieur *de Witt* told me farther, That the *States* having considered these Advices, had ordered them (the Commissioners) immediately to acquaint me with them: And farther, that though the *States* esteemed it a Matter of so great Importance, that all the Parties of the *Triple Alliance* ought to concern themselves in it, as wholly destructive to those Ends of conserving the *Spanish* Dominions, which were mutually proposed in the said Alliance; yet they (the *States*) should not, nor indeed could not proceed to any Resolutions thereupon, without first knowing those of his Majesty, and being assured of his vigorous Conjunction. And hereupon they desired me to give his Majesty Notice immediately by an Express, to the end that I might know his Sense and Intentions upon this Conjunction; or at least be instructed to confer with the *States* upon it.

After this, much was enlarged by Monsieur *de Witt* and the Commissioners, concerning the very great Importance of the Seizure of *Lorraine*; as the cutting off *Burgundy* wholly from the rest of the *Spanish* Dominions, as well as all farther Communication between any of the *Netherlands*, and many of the Princes of *Germany*, with the *Switzers*. So as they compared *Lorraine* to a Citadel in a Town, from which all the rest would be commanded at pleasure. They added, That the Duchy of *Luxemburg* would be in a manner block'd up, and maimed in their mutual Assistance with the rest of the *Spanish* Provinces. That the Electors of *Mentz* and *Triers* would have the *French* Feet upon their Throats: And consequently, that whenever *France* should begin with *Flanders* after the Possession of *Lorraine*, the County of *Burgundy* would be their own in an Hour, and *Flanders* in a very short time, without greater and readier Assurances than there seemed to be any reasonable Hopes for.

After this, they told me, They had received likewise a new Account by this Post, of all the *French* Preparations at Sea, and the present Estate of their own Fleet; of which they gave me this enclosed List. And by all I can gather from their Discourses, I judge they are capable of any vigorous Resolution that his Majesty should think fit to inspire them in Conjunction with us: But that without it they are resolved, as they express it, * *De laisser agir au bon Dieu, & de voir la France à leurs Portes sans se remuer*. Upon all which they pretend, that the Disposal and Balance at this Time of all Affairs in these Parts of *Christianity*, lie before his Majesty; from whom both the *Empire* and *Spain*, as well as *Sweden* and this State, will receive their Measures.

Three Days since the Baron *d'Isola* was with me, to communicate a Letter he had newly received from the *Emperor*, declaring his Resolution to join with the *Triple Alliance* in the Guaranty of the Peace of *Aix*, which he desired me to give his Majesty part of by the Post: But having told me at the same time that he resolved to give your Lordship the same Account, I omit to trouble

you

you with any farther Particulars. He came to me again just upon the Close of what I have written, and shewed me a Letter from Monsieur *Louvigni* at *Brussels*, containing the Particulars of what has happen'd in *Lorrain*, and little different from those I had before received by Monsieur *de Witt*; only that the Duke of *Lorrain* resolv'd to retire with all his Forces into the Mountains, and hopes to defend himself some time, provided he might be sure of not being abandoned. I am ever,

My Lord,
Your, &c.

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord,

Hague, Sept. — N. S. 1670.

I Lately gave my Lord *Arlington* the Account which was given me by the *States* Commissioners, of the Seizure of *Lorrain*, with their Reflections upon it, and the Consequences it must needs have upon all the Affairs of *Christendom*; and their Desires of my communicating all from them with Speed and Care to his Majesty, which I did.

I have since received by last Post, and by a Letter from his Lordship, the King's Orders for my immediate Repair into *England*, and for my acquainting the *States* with it; and that it is only with Intentions of my informing his Majesty better in the several Points that concern the present Conjunctions of my Station here. This I have done in a Conference upon it with Monsieur *de Witt*. I found him at first very pensive upon the News of it, and apt to reflect upon this happening so soon and unexpectedly after the late Seizure of *Lorrain*; and both after the many Delays and Difficulties raised by us (as he apprehends) in admitting the *Emperor* to the Guaranty of the Peace of *Aix* in Conjunction with the *Triple Alliance*, which we formerly so much desired. He remember'd at the same time the many Instances we have made for many Months past about such a Trifle as the carrying off our Planters from *Surinam*, (whom he takes by the Articles to become their Subjects) and the invincible Difficulties in which we have engaged Matters between our *East-India* Companies; in which he says he is assured our Merchants have no part, but as they are instigated by some Persons at Court, whose ill Intentions he fears towards the late Alliances contracted between his Majesty and these *States*, both for our own mutual Safety, and that of all *Christendom*. He reflected upon a Coldness in all our Negotiations of that kind, ever since *Madame's* Journey into *England*; and upon the late Journey of the Duke of *Buckingham's* to *Paris*, which he could not think was, * *Pour voir le Pais, où apprendre la langue*. And defini-<sup>* To see the Coun-
treys, or
learn the
Language.</sup> red I would tell him what I could make of all this laid together: For on the one side, there were Circumstances enough to awake a suspicious Man; and on the other side, he could never think it possible for any Nation or Court it self, to quit so certain a Point of Interest and great a Point of Honour, as must be forfeited by our breaking our Alliances with this *State*, or entring into any with *France*, whose Greatness had occasion'd our Measures for our own as well as our Neighbour's Defence. He said, I knew the best of any, how all these Matters had pass'd: How his Majesty had engaged these *States* in those common Measures, and even prevailed with them to make a Sacrifice of the ancient Kindness and Alliance this *State* had always before with *France*, to the Considerations of the present Danger from the Greatness of that Crown to the rest of *Christendom*; though they might have had what Terms they pleased from them for the dividing of *Flanders*. That I knew with how inviolate Faith and Firmness the *States* had constantly observed for these two Years past, their Friendship and Alliances with his Majesty, and how great a Part I had in contracting and pursuing them, by the particular Confidence the *States* and he especially had in my Person, as one that was perswaded of our common Interests, that knew my Master's Mind, and would not be an Instrument

to deceive those that trusted me. For these Reasons he said, he desired to know my Opinion upon this whole Matter, especially that of my Journey into *England*; which, he said, would be very surprizing to every body here, and therefore he would be glad to give the News of it to the *States* in the best manner he could.

I protested to him that I had hitherto received constant Assurances from both the Secretaries of State, of his Majesty's Resolutions to observe constantly the Measures in which he was engaged to this *State*. And that I knew not a Word more of the Reasons of my sudden Journey into *England*, than what I had told him. That I had Orders to leave my Family behind me: And that his Majesty might possibly think it necessary for his Information to speak with me upon the present Conjunctures, and to return me immediately according to my Lord *Arlington's* Letter. That I confessed, I was apt to make many of those Reflections that he had done; but could not believe it possible for any Crown ever to enter into Counsels so destructive to their Honour and Safety as those he suspected. That if such a thing should ever happen, I desired him to remember what I told him upon the Scruples he had made in trusting our Court upon the Negotiations of the *Triple Alliance*; which was, that I told him then what I thought of his Majesty's Dispositions and Resolutions, as well as those of his Ministers: That I could not believe it possible for them to change in a Point of so evident Interest, and which would be so understood by the whole Nation. That however I could answer for no body besides myself, but this I would; and that if ever such a thing should happen, I would never have any part in it. That I had told the King so as well as him, and would make it good. That for the present there was nothing more to be said, but that I must go away for *England*. That if I returned he would know more; and I doubted by what he said, that he would guess more if I returned not.

Monsieur *de Witt* smiled, and said, I was in the right. That in the meantime, he would try to cure himself and others of all Suspicions upon my Journey: And would hope on t'other side, it might be of use to the common Interests, by possessing his Majesty of the great Importance of the late Seizure of *Lorraine*; and of the *States* Resolutions to stick close to him in all Measures he should take upon it. And so we parted.

I would have gone away immediately upon this Summons, but that it found me very ill, and uncertain whether it would end in a Fever, as it seemed to begin; but since a great Swelling fallen upon my Face, I hope it may pass. However, being forced to delay my Journey some few Days, I could not but give your Lordship this Account before-hand, and leave it to you to make what use of it you think fit: without expecting any Answer, since I hope so soon to follow it.

But I know your Lordship fully persuaded of our Interest to preserve our Alliances here, and the present Measures of *Christianity* which depend upon them. And tho' you have said nothing yet to make me distrust our Counsels in that Matter; yet I confess I have not the better Opinion of it from what I find of your Lordship's estranging your self of late, or being estranged from the Consultations of them.

I have likewise reflected upon the kind Hint your Lordship gave me some time since, of my Lord *Arlington's* not being the same to me which he had formerly been, and constantly since our first Acquaintance: Which made me, I confess, then doubt rather some Mistake in your Lordship's Observation, than any Change in his Friendship or Dispositions. From himself, I must needs say I yet find nothing of it; and tho' his Style seems a little changed in what concerns our Publick Affairs, yet not at all in what is particular to me. When I come into *England* I shall soon know the Truth of your Conjecture, and tell it you, because by that I shall judge the Truth of mine: For having never said or done any thing to deserve the least Change in his Lordship's Friendship to me since it first began; I am sure if it happens, it can be derived from nothing else but a Change he foresees in those Measures at Court which he has been with your Lordship so deeply engaged in; and which he

knows as well as your Lordship that I will never have any Part in the Councils of altering, till I can be convinced that any others will be more for his Majesty's Honour and Safety.

All this I say in Confidence to your Lordship, without touching any Word of it to my Lord *Arlington*, or any other Person: And shall increase this Trouble no farther, because I hope to have so soon the Honour of seeing you, and assuring you a nearer way, with how much Passion as well as Truth, I am and shall be ever,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's, &c.

To the Great Duke of Tuscany. Au Grand Duc de Toscane.

S I R,

London, Nov.
4. 1670.

I Should not have satisfied my self barely to resent all the Favours of your most Serene Highness, and particularly the Honour of your last of *September* the 30th, if I were any way capable of acknowledging them as I ought, either by my Expressions or my Services. But your Highness, being pleased to oblige so many ways so unprofitable a Person, can hope for no other Returns than the Pleasure of your own Generosity, and the Devotion of a Heart so grateful as mine.

I should have extremely regretted the length of time your Letter was in passing before it found me at *London*, after having missed me at the *Hague*; were it not that your Highness is to consider me here as one of the commonest among the King's Subjects, and not as a Minister who has any Part in publick Affairs. And therefore you can expect nothing in my Letters but the tedious Complements of an idle Man, instead of such Informations or Services as your Highness might expect to receive from those who are devoted like me to your Service. But the Marq. of *Puzzi* is too well received at the K. my Master's Court, and too well informed, not to have given your Highness all Intelligence necessary, as well of his Majesty's Friendship and Esteem, as of the general Devotion his Subjects bear for the Person of your Highness. He must also have informed your Highness of the happy Disposition his Majesty has found in his Parliament, for the Encrease

De Lond. le 4 Nov.
S. N. 1670.

Monfieur,

Je ne me contenterois pas de ressentir comme je le fais & comme je le dois, toutes les bontez de *V. A. Sme.* & particulièrement l'honneur qu'elle m'a fait par sa dernière lettre du 30 de *Septembre*, si je me trouvois le moins du monde capable de les reconnoître comme elles le meritent, ou par mes expressions, ou par mes services. Mais *V. A.* ayant voulu par tant de manieres différentes obliger un Sujet aussi inutile que je le suis, n'a pas dû en esperer d'autres fruits que le plaisir de jouir de sa propre generosité, & de s'attacher un cœur aussi reconnoissant que le mien.

Je me serois fort plaint des longueurs à travers lesquelles la lettre de *V. A.* est enfin venue me trouver à *Londres*, après m'avoir manqué à la *Haye*, si de-formais je devois être regardé de *V. A.* autrement que comme un homme privé, & un des Sujets les plus ordinaires de sa Majesté, qui n'est plus ni Ministre public, ni admis dans les affaires. Par consequent mes lettres ne peuvent contenir que les compliments d'un homme oisif, au lieu des relations & des instructions que *V. A.* attend de ceux qui sont aussi attachez à elle qu'elle sait que je le suis. Mais Monsieur le Marq. de *Puzzi* est trop bien à la Cour du Roy mon Maitre, & d'ailleurs trop éclairé, & trop exact, pour n'avoir pû informer *V. A.* de tout ce qu'elle doit savoir par rapport à notre Cour; sur tout, il n'aura pas negligé, je m'assure, de luy parler de l'amitié & de l'estime de sa Majesté pour la personne de *V. A.* en cela secondée par l'affection generale de tous ses Sujets. Il vous aura aussi entretenu des heureuses dispositions que sa Majesté vient de trou-

ver

crease of his Revenues, and by that means for the Establishment of his Interests both within and without his Kingdoms. I am sorry the said Marquis has found nothing here to please or keep him longer among us. But I hope your Highness will not think that during my stay here, there can want a Person, as ready to receive and obey all your Commands as any of your own Subjects, since I am so much,

ver dans l'assemblée de son Parlement, pour l'augmentation de ses Finances, & pour la seureté de ses intérêts tant au dedans qu'aux dehors de ses Etats. Je suis bien marris que Monsieur le Marquis n'ait pas trouvé icy assez de charmes pour s'y plaire, & s'y séjourner un peu plus long tems. Mais j'ose esperer que V. A. ne croira pas manquer dans Londres d'une personne entierement devouée à son service, & aussi empressée à recevoir ses ordres, qu'aucun de ses propres Sujets, tandis que j'y feray mon séjour, puisque je suis,

S I R,

Monfieur,

Your Highness's &c.

De V. A. S^{me}. &c.

To Sir John Temple.

S I R,

London, November 22. 1670.

I Must make you my humble Acknowledgments for so great a Present, as you have been pleased to send me towards that Expence I have resolved to make at *Sheen*: And assure you, no part of it shall either go any other way, or lessen what I had intended of my own. I doubt not to compass what I told you of my Lord *Lisle*, for enlarging my small Territories there; when that is done, I propose to bestow a thousand Pounds upon the Conveniencies of the House and Garden, and hope that will reach all I care for: So that your five hundred Pounds may be laid out rather for Ornament than Use, as you seem to desire, by ordering me to make the Front perfectly uniform. Your Care of that, and me, in this Matter is the more obliging, the less I find you concur with me in my Thoughts of retiring wholly from publick Affairs, and to that Purpose, of making my Nest at this time as pleasant and commodious as I can afford it. Nor shall I easily resolve to offer at any of those Advantages you think I might make upon such a Retreat, of the King's Favour or good Opinion, by pretending either to Pension or any other Employment. The Honour and Pay of such Posts as I have been in, ought to be esteemed sufficient for the best Services of them: And if I have Credit left with the present Ministers to get what is owing me upon my Ambassy, I shall think my self enough rewarded; considering how different a Value is now like to be put upon my Services in *Holland*, from what there was when they were performed. 'Tis very likely at that Time, as you believe, there were few reasonable Things the King would have denied me, while the *Triple Alliance* and our League with *Holland* had so great a Vogue; and my Friends were not wanting in their Advices to me to make use of it. But I have resolved never to ask him any Thing, otherwise than by serving him well: And you will have the less Reason perhaps to reproach me this Method, if you will please to remember how the two Ambassies of *Aix la Chapelle* and *Holland* were not only thrown upon me without my seeking; but also, what my Lord *Arlington* told me was designed for me upon Secretary *Morris's* Removal, in case the King had not thought my Ambassy into *Holland* of the greatest Necessity in pursuance of those Measures we had taken with that State.

For what you think of the Interest we have still to pursue them, and consequently of the Use the King will still have of me upon that Occasion: I will not enter into any Reasonings with you upon that Matter at this Distance; but will only tell you some Passages of Fact upon which I ground the Judgment I make of Affairs wherein I have no Part; and which I am not so sol-

licitous to draw into the Light, as I doubt others are to keep them in the Dark. And when I have told you these, I shall leave you to judge whether I take my Measures right as to my own private Conduct.

You know first the Part I had in all our Alliances with *Holland*; how far my own personal Credit was engaged upon them to Monsieur *de Witt*; and the Resolutions I not only acquainted him and you with, but his Majesty too; that I would never have any Part in breaking them whatever should happen: Tho' that I confess could hardly enter into any Bodies Head that understood the Interests of *Christianity* as well as our own. I have given you some Intimations how cold I have observed our Temper at Court in those Matters for this last Year; and how different it was thought abroad from that Warmth with which we engaged in them: So as it was a common Saying at the *Hague*, *Qu'il faut avouer, qu'il y a eu neuf mois du plus grand Ministère du monde en Angleterre*: For they would hardly allow a longer Term to the Vigour of that Council which made the *Triple Alliance*, and the Peace of *Aix*, and sent me over into *Holland* this last Ambassy to pursue the great Ends of them, and draw the *Emperor* and Princes of the *Empire* into the common Guaranty of the Peace. Instead of this, our Pretensions upon the Business of *Surinam*, and the *East-India* Companies have grown high, and been managed with Sharpness between us and the *States*; and grounded (as Monsieur *de Witt* conceives) more upon a Design of shewing them our ill Humour more than our Reason. I was sensible, that my Conduct in all these Matters had fallen short for many Months past of the Approbation at Court it used to receive; and that Mr. *Worden* was sent over to me only to disparage it, or espy the Faults of it; tho' I think he returned with the Opinion that the Business would not bear it. 'Tis true, both my Lord *Arlington* and Sir *John Trevor* continued to the last of my stay in *Holland* to assure me, that the King still remained firm in his Measures with the *States*: But yet I found the Business of admitting the *Emperor* into the Guaranty, went downright lame: And that my Lord Keeper was in a manner out of the Foreign Councils; for so he writ to me himself, and gave me notice at the same time, that my Lord *Arlington* was not at all the same to me that he had been: Which I took for an ill Sign in our publick Business, and an ill Circumstance in my own; and the more, because I was sure not to have deserved it; and found nothing of it in his own Letters, but only that they came seldom, and run more upon indifferent Things than they used to do.

Ever since *Madame's* Journey into *England*, the *Dutch* had grown jealous of something between us and *France*; and were not like to be cured by these Particulars I have mentioned: But upon the Invasion and Seizure of *Lorraine* by *France*, and my being sent for over so suddenly after it, Monsieur *de Witt* himself could keep his Countenance no longer; though he be neither suspicious in his Nature, nor thought it the best Course to discover any such Disposition upon this Occasion, how much soever he had of it: But yet he told me at my coming away, that he should make a Judgment of us by the suddenness of my Return, which the King had ordered me to assure him of.

When I came to Town, I went immediately to my Lord *Arlington* according to Custom. And whereas upon my several Journeys over in the late Conjunctions, he had ever quitted all Company to receive me, and did it always with open Arms, and in the kindest manner that could be; he made me this last time stay an Hour and half in an outward Room before he came to me, while he was in private with my Lord *Asbly*. He received me with a Coldness that I confess surprized me; and after a quarter of an Hours talk of my Journey and his Friends at the *Hague*, instead of telling me the Occasion of my being sent for over, or any thing else material, he called in *Tatá* that was in the next Room, and after that my Lord *Crofts*, who came upon a common Visit; and in that Company the rest of mine pass'd, till I found he had nothing more to say to me, and so went away.

The next Morning I went however to him again, desiring to be brought by him to kiss the King's Hand, as I had used upon former Journeys. He thought fit to bring me to his Majesty as he was walking in the *Mall*; who

stop'd to give me his Hand, and ask me half a dozen Questions about my Journey, and about the Prince of *Orange*, and so walk'd on. Since which Time, neither the King nor my Lord *Arlington* have ever said three Words to me about any thing of Business; tho' I have been as often in their way as agreed with such an ill Courtier as I am, or a Man without Business as I found my self to be.

I have seen my Lord *Keeper* and Mr. Secretary *Trevor*: And find the first uneasy and apprehensive of our present Councils; the last sufficient and confident that no Endeavours can break the Measures between us and *Holland*, because they are esteemed so necessary abroad and so rational at home: Yet, I find them both but barely in the Skirts of Business, and only in Right of their Posts: And that in the Secret of it, the Duke of *Buckingham*, my Lord *Arlington*, my Lord *Ashly*, and Sir *Thomas Clifford*, at present compose the Ministry. This I tell you in short as the Constitution of our Affairs here at this Time, and which I believe you may reckon upon.

You know how different Sir *Thomas Clifford* and I have always been since our first Acquaintance, in our Schemes of Government, and many other Matters, especially concerning our Alliance with *Holland*: And that has been the Reason, I suppose, of very little Commerce between us farther than common Civility, in our frequent Encounters at my Lord *Arlington's* for several Years past: This made me a little surprized at his receiving me upon my first coming over, and treating me since with a most wonderful Graciousness, till t'other day, which I suppose has ended that Style. Upon the first Visit he made me, after many Civilities, he told me, he must needs have two Hours Talk with me at some Time of Leisure and in private, upon our Affairs in *Holland*: And still repeated this almost every time he saw me: Till one Day last Week, when we appointed the Hour, and met in his Closet. He began with great Complements to me about my Services to the King in my Employments abroad; went on with the Necessity of preserving our Measures with *Holland*, and the mutual Interest both Nations had in it: And concluded with wondering why the *States* should have shewed so much Difficulty upon those two Affairs of *Surinam* and the *East-India* Company, wherein our Demands seemed so reasonable. And how it came about that I had failed in compassing his Majesty's Satisfaction in those two Matters, after having succeeded so much in all my other Negotiations. I thought he might not have understood the Detail of those two Affairs; and so deduced it to him, with the *Dutch* Reasons, which I confess seemed to me in many Points but too well grounded. He seemed unsatisfied with them all, and told me I must undertake that Matter again, and bring it to a Period; and asked me whether I did not think I could bring them to Reason: I said plainly I believed I never could, to what we called *so*, and therefore was very unwilling to undertake it: That I had spent all my Shot in vain; and therefore thought their best way would be to employ some Person in it that had more Wit or Ability than I. Upon this he grew a little moved; and replied, That for my Wit and Ability they all knew I had enough; and all the Question was, whether I was willing to employ them upon this Occasion, which so much concerned the King's Service, and the Honour of the Nation. Hereupon I told him, how I had used my utmost Endeavours in it already, how many Representations I had made the *States*, how many Conferences I had had with their Commissioners, how long and particular Accounts I had given them hitherto, and how I had valued all the Reasons transmitted me from hence, and how all to no purpose: And being, I confess, a little heated after so long and unpleasant a Conversation (as well as he) I ask'd him in the Name of God what he thought a Man could do more? Upon this in a great Rage he answered me, Yes; he would tell me what a Man might do more, and what I ought to do more; which was, to let the King and all the World know how basely and unworthily the *States* had used him; and to declare publicly how their Ministers were a Company of Rogues and Rascals, and not fit for his Majesty or any other Prince to have any thing to do with: And this was a Part that no body could do so well as I. My Answer was very calm, That I was not a Man fit to make Declarations:

That

That whenever I did upon any Occasion, I should speak of all Men what I thought of them; and so I should do of the *States*, and the Ministers I had dealt with there, which was all I could say of this Business. And so our Conversation ended.

Upon all these Passages, and some others not fit for a Letter, I have fixed my Judgment of the Affairs and Counsels at present in Design or Deliberation here. I apprehended Weather coming, that I shall have no mind to be abroad in; and therefore resolved to get a warm House over my Head as soon as I could: And neither apprehend any Uneasiness of Mind or Fortune in the private Life I propose to my self; unless some publick Revolutions should draw both upon me, which cannot touch me alone, and must be born like a common Calamity.

I cannot find them willing yet to end my Ambassy in Form, or give me leave to send over for my Wife and Family; which I easily apprehend the Reason of, and must go through as well as I can; though my Expence at the *Hague* be great, and my Hopes little here of getting my Pay, as I find Affairs go and Dispositions too in the Treasury, where all is disposed in a manner by Sir *Thomas Clifford*. In the mean time I have sent over for my *Spanish Horse*, and intend to send a Groom away with him to *Dublin*, in hopes you will be pleased with him. I can be so with nothing more than the Occasions of expressing always that Duty wherewith I am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To Monsieur de Witt.

A Monsieur de Witt.

S I R,

Sheen, July 25.
1671.

BY yours of the 14th Instant I received the Marks you were pleased to give me of your Friendship and Memory, which I value as I ought, and as coming from a Person who has already acquired the Esteem of all the World, and by that the Right of doing much Honour to others to whom he gives any Testimony of his own. I can pretend to no other part in it, than what your Goodness gives me, and am afraid that this may do Injury to your Judgment. But knowing that your Opinion of me is solely founded upon your Knowledge of my good Intentions, I shall defend my self no longer; because in this Age there is so little Honour in being a good Man, that none are suspected to employ their Vanity about it, any more than their Pursuits. I should quit my Residence at the *Hague* with much Regret, if I were of your Opinion in what regards me; for I think I should be wholly useles there, and find I am better turned for making a good Gard'ner than an able Minister. However, I shall ever bear much Respect and Esteem to

Monsieur,

De Sheen, le 25
Juil. 1671.

J'AY reçu dans vôtre lettre du 14 de ce mois les marques que vous avez bien voulu me donner de vôtre souvenir, & de vôtre amitié, je les estime ce qu'elles valent, & comme venant d'une personne qui s'est déjà acquis l'estime de tout le monde, & par là le droit de faire beaucoup d'honneur en donnant des marques de la sienne. Je n'y sçauois pretendre d'autre part que celle que vôtre generosité m'y donne & je crains même que cela ne fasse quelque tort à vôtre jugement. Mais, sachant que le bonne opinion que vous temoignez avoir de moy, n'est fondée que sur la connoissance de mes bonnes intentions, je ne veux plus me defendre; car, au reste, dans un siecle comme le nôtre, il y a trop peu de gloire à être homme de bien, pour s'attirer le soupçon d'avoir tourné se veues à ce coté là, & borné sa vanité à si peu de chose. Je quitterois avec beaucoup de regret, le séjour de la Haye, si j'avois de moy même, l'opinion que vous voulez que j'en aye; mon sentiment est, que j'y serois tout-à fait inutile; & je me sens beaucoup plus propre à pratiquer

to those who are well qualified for the latter, and therefore cannot fail of both for your Person in particular, any more than of my Acknowledgments for your Civilities to me at the *Hague*, whereof I shall ever preserve the Remembrance, as well as the Passion wherewith I am,

tiquer l'art d'un bon jardinier, que celui d'habile Ministre. J'auray pourtant toujours l'estime & le respect qui sont dûs à eux qui savent bien ce dernier, & par là je croy dire assez clairement, que je n'en manqueray jamais pour votre personne en particulier. Je say de plus quelle reconnoissance je dois à toutes les civilitez que j'ay receues de vous pendant mon séjour à la Haye; & mon cœur en conservera eternellement le souvenir, ainsi que la passion avec laquelle je suis,

S I R,

Your, &c.

Monfieur,

Vôtre, &c.

To Sir John Temple.

S I R,

London, Sept. 14. 1671.

I AM sure you will be pleased with knowing that my Wife and Family are safe arrived from *Holland*, after a Passage that might very well have met with other Dangers besides those of Wind and Weather. I could not obtain Leave to send for them till *July*, though I had for some Months solicited both that and the ending of my Embassy: But then his Majesty was pleased to grant me both that Liberty, and also of writing to the *States* and to *Monfieur de Witt*, to take my Leave of them, and end my Embassy as upon my own Desire, and my own private Occasions; which were indeed enough to engage me in that Pursuit, considering the Charge of maintaining an Ambassador's Family at the *Hague*, while my Payments from the Exchequer went so heavy and so lame.

'Tis true, I had other Reasons long about me, which I kept to my self: For soon after my coming over, my Wife writ me Word, that *Monfieur Gise* the *Danish* Envoy there, had told her in Confidence, and out of Kindness to me, that *Monfieur Pomponne* the *French* Ambassador at the *Hague*, had acquainted him, That new Measures were taken between our Court and that of *France*; among which one was, that I should be recalled and return no more.

At the same time *Monfieur de Witt* had upon the Delays of my Return, told my Secretary *Mr. Blaitbwait*, that he should take my stay or coming back for certain Signs of what the King's Intentions were towards the preserving or changing the Measures he had taken with the *States*; and had desired him to let the Court know what he said. This I suppose made them unwilling to make a Declaration by my recalling of what they intended upon this Occasion, before all Things necessary were more fully agreed, or better concerted. Therefore they continued not only my Family there for so many Months, and the Talk of my Return, but entertained the *Dutch* Ministers here with such Language as gained in them an Opinion of our Measures still continuing firm upon the same Bottom; and with such a Credulity as was enough to make one doubt whether they were willing to deceive their Masters, or to be deceived themselves.

In *July* the *Dutch* Fleet was floating in the Chanel; to shew, I suppose, that they were in Condition to meet any of those Dangers they began to suspect from the Motions of *France*, and from our late Conduct. When the Captain of the Yacht that was order'd to convey my Wife over, took his Leave at Court; he had publick Orders given him, if he came in Sight of the *Dutch* Fleet, he should sail through them, and shoot at those Ships that were next him, till he made them strike Sail, or till they shot at him again, and then pursue his Course. He pass'd it seems into *Holland* without seeing them; but

as he returned he met the Fleet, and sailing through them, made several Shot at those near him: Upon which they seemed at least not to know what he meant, and to believe he might be in some Distress, and the Admiral sent a Boat aboard him to enquire. The Captain told them, that he had been sent to bring back the *English* Ambassadors with her Family from *Holland*; and had Orders to make the *Dutch* Fleet strike where-ever he met them in the Chanel. Upon this Message by the Boat, Vice-Admiral *Van Ghent* came aboard the Yacht, upon a Complement to my Wife, which he perform'd very handsomely, and afterwards desired to speak with the Captain, of whom he enquired the Reason of his shooting; and receiving the same Answer which had been given to the first Boat, he said it was a Point they had received no Order in from their Masters, and did not know how that Affair was agreed between his Majesty and the *States*. But though it were settled, yet the Captain could not pretend the Fleet and Admiral should strike to a Yacht; which was but a Pleasure-Boat, or at least served only for Passage, and could not pass for one of the King's Men of War. The Captain said he had his Orders, and was bound to follow them. After *Van Ghent* was gone, the Captain perplex'd enough came to my Wife, and desired to know what she pleased he should do in the Case; which she saw he did not like very well, and would be glad to get out of by her Help. She told him, he knew his Orders best, and what he was to do upon them; which she left to him to follow as he thought fit, without any regard to her or her Children. He pursued his Course, and landed her safe; after which she went to Court, and was very well received, and much commended for her part in what had passed: And at Night Sir *Lionel Jenkins* was sent to take her Examination in Form upon the whole Matter of Fact. When I went next to the King's Levee, he began to speak of my Wife's Carriage at Sea, and to commend it as much as he blamed the Captain's; and said, she had shewed more Courage than he: And then falling upon the *Dutch* Insolence, I said, that however Matters went, it must be confessed that there was some Merit in my Family, since I had made the Alliances with *Holland*, and my Wife was like to have the Honour of making the War. The King smiled as well as I, who had found this the only way to turn the Discourse into good Humour; and so it ended.

When I went into the King's Closet, I desired to kiss his Hand upon the end of my Ambassy; which he gave me very graciously, and told me, he had all the Reason that could be, to be satisfied with my Services. And upon my Desire that he would give me some Help in the Dispatch of my Payments due from the Exchequer, since I was resolved to ask him nothing else; and had been at so great Expence to maintain my Family at the *Hague* so long without their Help. He told me, he would speak to the Commissioners of the Treasury to do me Justice; and in the mean time would give me the Plate belonging to my Ambassy, which I had still in my Possession. I gave his Majesty my humble Thanks; and he seemed very much pleased to see I took it kindly, and was so easily contented.

And thus an Adventure has ended in Smoak, which had for almost three Years made so much Noise in the World, restored and preserved so long the general Peace, and left his Majesty the Arbitrage of all Affairs among our Neighbours, by the *Emperor* and *Spain's* Resolutions, as well as *Sweden* and *Holland's*, to follow his Measures for the common Safety and Peace of *Christianity*.

The *Dutch* Ministers at Court, as ill Noses as they have, began to smell the Powder after the Captain's shooting, and know not what Countenances to set upon it here, and will I doubt be more to seek at their Return. All People are full of the Politicks and Expectations of what will be next, which you must expect to hear from Gazettes, and no more from me; who shall not so much as enquire, nor care to know; but retire to my Corner at *Sheen*, and endeavour to pass the rest of my Life as quietly and innocently as I can; and for the rest, like a private Man, run the Fortune of my Countrey.

I have been long enough in Courts and publick Business, to know a great deal of the World and of my self; and to find that we are not made for one

S f f

another,

another, and that neither of us are like to alter either our Natures or our Customs: And that in the Course and Periods of publick Government, as well as private Life, *Quisque suos patimur Manes*.

I am sensible this is too long a Trouble; but being like to be the last of this kind, I hope you will forgive it, among many others you have been content with from,

S I R,

Your most obedient Son,

and most humble Servant.

To my Brother Sir John Temple.

Dear Brother,

Sheen, May 23. 1672.

THO' I have not much troubled my Friends or my self with Letters, since I left off all publick Business; yet our Company here being otherwise engaged at this time, I could not defer the telling you by this Post, that my Brother *Harry* is safe arrived from *France*, and talks of beginning another Journey towards you in a little time. I doubt he had not come over so soon, but from the Apprehension of more Danger at Sea upon the *Dutch War* breaking out, which you will at length believe my Presages of had some Reason, as I will allow you had none to think them true at that Distance; since neither the *French* nor the *Dutch* would believe we were in earnest, till we fell upon the *Smyrna Fleet*. My Brother *Harry* says, no body till then believed it at *Paris*; and when I told my Lord *Arlington* what he said, he confess'd the very *French Court* would not believe it till that Blow was struck: And how well soever our Measures with them were taken, yet they resolv'd we should begin the War; which was an Honour we might perhaps have spared, considering who was like to have the Profit of it.

For the *Dutch*, though they were alarmed at Sir *George Downing's* being sent over upon the ending of my Ambassy, yet they thought it was designed only to fright them into some great Payments, as he had endeavour'd to do before the first War began; so that they were still in Hopes, that if our common Interest and Treaties should not hold us, yet they might at least buy our Friendship. Therefore the *States* treated Sir *George Downing* with all Respect and Civility; though the common People were hardly kept in order upon their old Hatred to him, which was well known here before he went. For when the King named him for that Employment, one of the Council said, *The Rabble will tear him in pieces*; upon which the King smiled, and said, *Well, I'll venture him*. But Sir *George* was so wise as not to venture himself too far; which made him come away in a Fright without Orders or Leave: And that was all the Occasion of his being sent to the *Tower* upon his Arrival, which disappointed some Ends designed by his Journey. I think indeed none got much by it but I; who had the good Fortune to put off my House at the *Hague* with a great deal of my Furniture to him at his going over. This Advantage indeed was but small, in comparison of what I have lost upon this Occasion by the Stop of the Exchequer, which has sunk all the Money I had in Alderman *Backwell's* Hands, and I doubt, without Recovery. This Council was carried so secret, that I do not hear of any Man at Court that had Warning enough to call in his Money out of any of the Bankers Hands: Till Sir *Thomas Clifford* propos'd the thing at Council without other Circumstance, than saying, 'that 'twas necessary the King must have Money upon the War with *Holland*: That he knew no other way but this; and desired none would speak against it, without proposing some better and easier way. Upon this, nothing more was said, and the thing pass'd; and being immediately publick, 'twas too late for any Man to call in his Money; which made the Loss and Complaint very general, as well as particular to me. Yet I pray God this may

prove

prove the worst Consequence of the present War, and the Counsels that have engaged us in it. I doubt you will find very ill ones in *Ireland* by the Loss of all your foreign Trade, that will soon follow.

But my publick Thoughts are ended, and so I leave them to those who are engaged in them. If my Father and you are well, as your Friends are all here, 'tis enough: And I am ever

Your most affectionate Brother.

To Monsieur Wickfort.

A Monsieur Wickfort.

S I R, London, Oct. 10.
N. S. 1672.

De Lond. le 10 Oct.
Monsieur, S. N. 1672.

IF by the Course of publick Affairs it were permitted me to cultivate any Correspondence in the Countrey where you are, it should without doubt have been yours, which hath ever been equally profitable and agreeable to me: But we must comply with the Times and Motions of our Governments, how contrary soever they may be to our own Inclinations. However, since publick Edicts do not forbid any Commerce that is only used for withdrawing Effects in either Countrey, I am by that means allowed to acquit my self of the Acknowledgments I owe you for dispatching my Affairs with Monsieur Scague, and to desire you will continue to me your good Offices, if I shall need them, towards finishing the rest of my Accounts with my Merchant at *Amsterdam*.

In the mean time, I thank you for the Favour of your last, which has given me a very agreeable Surprise: 'Tis a great Pleasure to hear, that any Memory is left of a Person buried in the Privacy of a Countrey Life, and the idle Amusements of Leisure. For since his Majesty has thought fit to change the Course of his Councils, in the pursuit whereof I was so long and so sincerely engaged, as ever believing them equally necessary to the Repose of *Christendom*, and to the Good of both our Nations; I have had no share at all in Publick Affairs; but on the contrary, am wholly sunk in my Gardening, and the Quiet of a private Life; which, I thank God, agrees with me as well as the Splendor of the World, and gives me a great deal more Quiet and Satisfaction than I should have found by pursuing my Fortunes in it, if I had the Inclinations

Si les conjonctures & les situations des affaires publiques, m'avoient permis d'entretenir quelque correspondance au païs où vous etes, c'eût été sans doute une amitié comme la vôtre que j'eusse eu soin de cultiver; car elle m'a toujours paru également utile & agreable. Il faut s'accommoder au tems, & ceder aux mouvemens qui entraînent les Etats, quelques opposez qu'ils soient à nos desirs & à nos volontez. Mais comme les Declarations des Princes ne deffendent pas cette sorte de commerce, qui n'a pour but que de retirer les effets, & de solder ses comptes de part & d'autre, il m'est permis de m'acquitter de ce que je vous dois pour m'avoir tiré d'affaire avec Monsieur Scague, & de vous supplier de me continuer vos bons offices, en cas qu'ils me soient encore necessaires pour finir le reste de mes comptes avec mon Marchand d'*Amsterdam*.

Je vous remercie en meme tems de la grace que vous m'avez faite par votre derniere lettre, qui me fût rendue il y a quelque tems, & qui me causa une agreable surprise; je voy avec plaisir qu'on se souvient encore d'une personne ensevelie dans un sejour champêtre, & qui dans sa retraite ne paroît plus sensible qu'aux douceurs d'une vie oisive. Car depuis que sa Majesté a trouve bon de changer la face de son conseil, auquel j'ay été si long tems & si sincerement devoué, persuadé que les vœux de ce conseil estoient également utiles & au bien de nos deux nations, & au repos de la Chretienté; depuis ce tems là, dis je, je n'ay pris aucune part aux affaires publiques, & n'ay songé au contraire qu'à m'enfoncer dans le jardinage, & à gouter la douceur d'une vie privée; qui, graces à Dieu, me sied aussi bien, que le faste des emplois, & tout l'eclat du grand monde, & me fait jouir d'un repos plus parfait

que

tions as often as I have had the Occasions to do so. I will not tell you, that I have succeeded so well in my small Countrey Designs; as I have sometimes done in great ones: But, if ever any favourable Accident (and this Age produces strange ones enough) should bring you hither; I would let you see that our Buildings are not altogether without Neatness: At least, I would make you confess that the Fruits of my Garden have another Taste than those of my *Closet, and will preserve better than those of my Ambassies. In the mean time, I must give place to our Ladies here, who will not be satisfied without assuring you of their Services, and of the Remembrance they will always keep of the Civilities they have receiv'd from you and your Family. I am,

* Observations on the Netherlands, which M. Wickfort afterwards translated

S I R,

Your most humble and
most affectionate Servant.

que m'en auroit pu procurer la plus grande elevation, si avec d'autres desirs que ceux que j'ay, j'avois menagé toutes les occasions qui m'ont été offertes pour arriver à une grande fortune. Je ne vous diray pas que j'ay aussi bien réussi dans mes petits projets champêtres, que j'ay autrefois réussi dans des desseins plus elevez: Mais si jamais quelque conjoncture imprevue (car ce siecle en fait naitre de plus bizarres) m'étoit assés favorable pour vous conduire dans nôtre Isle, je vous ferois voir que nos bâtimens ne sont pas tout à fait sans agrément; ou du moins je vous ferois avouer, que les fruits de mon jardin ont bien un autre goût que ceux de mon cabinet, & ont la propriété de se conserver mieux que ceux de mes Ambassades. Je n'oserois employer ce qui me reste de papier; & il faut que je songe à y laisser du vuide pour nos Dames, qui ne me le pardonneroient pas si elles n'y trouvoient place pour vous assûrer de leurs services, & du souvenir qu'elles conserveront toujours de toutes les bontés qu'elles ont receues tant de vous que de vôtre famille. Je suis,

Monfieur,

Vôtre tres humble & tres
affectionné Serviteur,

W. Temple.

The End of Sir W. Temple's Letters.

L E T T E R S

T O

Sir *WILLIAM TEMPLE*.

From Mr. Secretary Trevor.

S I R,

London, Oct. 8. 1668. S.V.

I Have received your Congratulation as an Effect of your Friendship as well as your Civility. I am willing to flatter my self with it, as a Thing very agreeable to my Ambition, and the Desires I have always had to deserve it. If it were not to assume something of Vanity, I would make you the offer of all the Services which my present or future Fortunes shall make me capable to pay you; and if I could make them as valuable as they are sincere, I durst recommend them to be worthy your acceptance. Sir, I know your Worth and Merit give me many Competitors to your Friendship; but in this divided World I claim some Affinity to your Principles, which gives some Singularity to my Pretence.

It is hardly yet in my Province to enter into Business with you; but I will take the Liberty to tell you, that I am very glad you think it necessary, and have made some Progress in some new Expedient for paying the *Swedish* Subsidies, and confirming that Union which must preserve the Peace of *Europe*. My Lord Keeper and Lord Privy Seal do a little fear the Consequence of an Universal Guaranty upon the Peace of the *Pyrenees*; lest in the Extent of it, it should be construed to engage the King to greater Charge and Undertakings than will consist with the State of his Affairs. They are of Opinion, that it were better to pay these Subsidies in three Parts, whereof *Spain* will readily pay his third, and you know how *England* can pay theirs, if *Holland* will accept their Part: And then to proceed freely to comprehend *Spain* in the Alliance upon such Terms of Advantage as are obvious in respect to *England*. My Lord *Arlington's* Thoughts upon this Subject are not yet known to me: He is with the King, and I have given Him an Account of these Discourses, and in a few Days I believe you will hear from him. In the meantime I take the Liberty to give you this Advance of our Meditations here; whereof you will make what use you shall think reasonable to those Ends we aim at.

Sir, I am with great Esteem and Sincerity

Your most faithful, and

humble Servant,

J. Trevor.

From the Earl of Northumberland.

S I R,

Petworth, Nov. 16. 1668.

I Should be very much to blame if I did not make a more than ordinary Acknowledgment for the last Letter I received from you; wherein I find more Marks of true Friendship than are usually met with in this Age; where Truth is seldom spoken, and Flattery is the only Civility. I do very fully agree with you, that none of the Actions of my Life can be of more Importance to me than those at my first setting out, whereby I may give the World a good or bad Impression of me; and which soever of the two is at first taken up, will hardly ever be altered. If I fail in this, I cannot but confess my self extreme faulty, having lived so many Years under the Examples and Precepts of one who made it his whole Business to inform me of the Difference between Good and Evil, and who was so well able to do it: So as besides the Relation, I can truly say, That I have lost the best Friend I had; and I hope to be believed when I say that I thought so.

I will entertain you no longer on this Subject; but I have entertained my self very well with reading over your Letter often: And I assure you that you cannot bestow your Friendship on any Body that doth more esteem it, and will more gladly embrace it than

*Your most affectionate**and faithful Servant,*

Northumberland.

From the Baron de l'Isola.

My Lord,

Brussels, Dec. 13. 1668.
Monfieur,

IF I were not well assured of your Goodness, and that you know the bottom of my Heart enough to be persuaded, that Time and Absence can change nothing of the perfect Friendship I have vow'd for your Excellency, I might apprehend my long Silence had raised in you an ill Opinion of it: But I will confess to you freely, that while I saw Things take a quite contrary Course to what I wish'd; I had not the Heart to entertain a Correspondence wherein I could furnish nothing but Words in the Air, uncertain Hopes, and Projects without Foundation. But now, when things seem to proceed by Maxims more agreeable to the Circumstances of the present time, I return to my ancient Obligations, and begin to awake out of the profound

SI je ne connoissois bien votre bonté & que vous savez assés le fond de mon coeur pour être persuadé que le temps & l'absence ne peuvent rien alterer de la parfaite amitié que j'ay voué à V. E. j'apprehendrois que mon long silence ne luy en eut fait concevoir quelque mauvaise opinion: Mais je luy avoüeray franchement que tant que j'ay veu les choses prendre un cours tout contraire à celui que je soubaitois; je n'ay pas eu le coeur d'entretenir une correspondance dans laquelle je n'aurois pu fournir que des paroles en l'air, des esperances incertaines, & des projets sans fondements. A present qu'elles semblent s'acheminer par des maximes plus convenables aux circonstances du tems present, je reviens à mes anciennes obligations, & commence à me reveiller comme du profond
6 *sommeil*

profound Sleep wherein the languishing of our Affairs had plunged me; and my first Care is to renew to your Excellency my ancient Services, and to testify my extream Joy for the Hope I have of the Honour very soon to embrace you, and pour into your Bosom my most secret Thoughts. But shall we not have also the Company of your illustrious Lady my Lady Temple? My Wife, who will needs bear me Company, will never be comforted if she misses the Occasion of seeing so dear a Friend: And I confess to you, it would be a sensible Mortification if we should not find her with you. In the mean time I humbly desire your Excellency to believe that I am absolutely yours, and that I have taken part as I ought in the Glory you have acquired in the World by your great and happy Negotiations, wishing you from the bottom of my Heart all the Advantages you ought justly to expect from so generous a Master. These are the most ardent Wishes of,

sommeil où la langueur de nos operations m'avoit plongé; & mon premier soin est de renouveler à V. E. mes anciens services; & luy temoigner l'extreme joye que j'ay de l'espoir d'avoir bientôt l'honneur de l'embrasser, & verser dans son sein mes plus secretes pensées. Mais n'y trouverons nous point vôtre Illustre Madame Temple? Ma femme, qui veut absolument m'accompagner, ne se consolera jamais si elle perd cette occasion de voir une si precieuse amie: Et je vous avoue que ce nous seroit une sensible mortification, si nous ne la rencontrions pas auprès de vous. Cependant je prie tres humblement V. E. de croire que je suis absolument à elle, & que j'ay pris toute la part que je devois, à la gloire qu'elle s'est acquise dans le monde par ses belles & heureuses negotiations; luy souhaitant du fond du coeur tous les avantages que vous devez justement attendre d'un si genereux Maître. Ces sont les voeux tres ardens que fait sans cesse,

My Lord,

Monfieur,

Your Excellency's most

De vôtre Excellence,

humble and most

le tres humble & tres

obedient Servant,

obeissant Serviteur,

De l'Isola.

From my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

London, Jan. 19. 166^s.

I Have two of yours to acknowledge of the 15th and 22^d, I should have said three; for of the former Date I had two, one relating to the publick Affair, the other to you and me; to which I will make Answer at the Bottom of this.

I am glad to see that at your first Entrance with Monsieur le Baron d'Isola, you had worried him out of the Vision he carried thither, to persuade the State and you to a *Quadruple Alliance*; or, as they have christen'd it in Spain, an Offensive and Defensive League with us. The Testimony the World hath justly given him of his Wit, makes him think it sufficient to prevail in any Subject. But your last shews him come to some Reason, and that there are two hundred thousand Crowns already in Hand for the Satisfaction of the Swede. I hope a few Days will make him confess all. Before this, I assure my self you have his Majesty's Instructions upon this Subject; and the Satisfaction of seeing, that you know our Mind before we told it to you, which I observed to his Majesty and his Ministers much to your Advantage.

I have

I have also this Day in the Presence of Mr. Secretary *Trevor*, communicated to some of the *East-India* Company the Paper given you by the *States* upon their Affairs, with the Amendments Monsieur *de Witt* had sent to *Amsterdam* to make it more compleat. They seem at first View to believe it comes up to their Desires in Substance, but have desired it to see whether it be rightly worded, with a Promise to return it to be sent you again by the next Post, if by that time we can agree what Form to give it.

As to what is said before concerns us both, I have little to say; I mean, I am this Evening too much off the Hooks to reply so obligingly to you as you have spoken to me upon the Probability of my devolving my Correspondence with you to Sir *John Trevor*. I cannot but tell you what you know already, that you are under his District; and must therefore expect from him all the formal Dispatches, but shall never be eased of my particular ones, till you give me Cause, which I know you will never do, to love you or value you less. Besides, *Utrumque nostrum incredibili modo consentit astrum*: And I am resolved never to leave you till I have made you able to make my own Fortunes; for which you have Credit enough already, if you had also place for it: And believe me without Flattery, you have enough of the former to deserve Envy, which you must learn betimes to live with.

I have not yet spoken with Mr. *Williamson* concerning the Correspondence you furnish him; he shall himself answer for it and his Omissions all this while; and for my self, believe it, there is no Man living loves and values you more, nor can be with more Truth,

Your most affectionate

and most humble Servant,

Arlington.

From the Lord Keeper Bridgeman.

My Lord,

Essex-House, Jan. 28. 1668.

I HAD the Favour of your Excellency's of the 31st Instant, N. S. with a Copy of your Letter to Mr. Secretary *Trevor*, and am your Debtor for a Letter of a former Date. I am exceeding glad to find the Business of the *Swedish* Subsidies to be brought so near a good Conclusion. Sir *Mark Ognati* came to me about the same time of the Receipt of yours; and gave me the like Assurances, as touching the Concert they were now satisfied with it; but only for Convenience-sake proposed the Change of six hundred Horse into Foot, as apprehending our *English* Horse not so well able to endure the hard Forage in *Flanders*, as the *Flemish*; but our Foot they took to be excellent good. I find (though I would not tell him so) that we shall scarce agree here to send our Foot without Horse to accompany and secure them. As for the time of sending the Forces, I believe (and so I told him) that we shall insist to have it undetermined as to a Day; and they must rest upon the Expressions, *With all the speed we can*; which is enough, where the Stipulation is *Bonâ fide* intended to be performed; and the other is not enough without it. Some two Days ago we received Intelligence that the King of *France* has submitted the Differences touching the *Gondé* and the other Dependances upon his Conquests, to the Determination of the King of *England* and Crown of *Sweden*, so it be done within a Year. I hope we shall have Peace abroad by this means for a Year at least; I wish it may be so at home; and this good News which you sent us, gives me more Encouragement to believe it will be so, than any I have from hence.

I have somewhat a fore Fit of the Gout, which still is in my Hand, and causes me to make use of my Nephew's Pen.

I am with all Faithfulness,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's most

affectionate humble Servant,

Orl. Bridgeman, C. S.

From Mr. Secretary Trevor.

My Lord,

Whitehall, March 7. 166 $\frac{3}{4}$.

I Have now herewith sent your Excellency the Ratifications for the two Instruments you last sent over. Your Lordship will take notice that the Guaranty was ratified once before in *May* last, and left in your Hands: I presume that since this last Ratification is to be the same Guaranty and the Concert together, you will keep the former in your Hands still. I am glad the last Fraction of 20000 Rix Dollars is paid also, and now the whole matter establish'd.

I received yours of the 11th Instant, N.S. and the enclosed Declaration to the Elector of *Mentz*, of which I have not yet had Opportunity to inform his Majesty, and to receive his Commands and Resolutions. To the Concept for *Surinam* he will return you one of our own more full; but such as shall not differ much from what the *States* seem in theirs to intend, but more explicate, and less subject to Evasion. By the next I hope to send it, that this Matter may not be delay'd on our part.

We have little News here. The Parliament makes haste to dispatch before *Easter*. In the Lord's House there is arisen a great Process which fills Mens Heads, upon the Petition of my Lord *Roos*; who having been by Act of Parliament last Year divorced from his Wife, and his Children by her declared illegitimate, and incapable to inherit, doth now press for another Act to enable him to marry another. On *Thursday* will be the great Debate, in which both the Spiritual and Temporal Lords are divided much.

My Lord, I was very sorry to find your Indisposition by your Letter; I heartily wish you a quick Recovery, and all other Advantages, which no Man desires for you more truly than

Your Excellency's most

faithful humble Servant,

J. Trevor.

*From the Duke of Ormond.**My Lord,**Whitehall, May 17. 1669.*

THinking as you did that your Lady's Return to you would be sooner than it has proved, I reserved the little or nothing I have to say to you, till her Arrival with it might make the Diverſion from the Affairs you are full of, more ſuitable.

I have not miſſed a Day at the Committee where your Diſpatches are conſider'd, ſince you went from hence, till yeſterday, that I was kept in my Chamber by an Apprehenſion rather than Fit of the Gout; and that Omiſſion was well ſupplied by a Viſit I received from Mr. Secretary *Trevor*, who gave me a Relation of your laſt Letters, and of the unequal Deſires of ſome of our Allies.

I have all the Reaſon in the World to be very confident that if you were in a Station where your Ability and Induſtry could be as uſeful to me as your Friendſhip is real, I ſhould ſoon find the Effects of it: And this Judgment I make not only from the entire Credit I give to your Profeſſions, but from the Experience I daily have of your Brother the Solicitor's Care of all my neareſt Concerns; which, next to the King's continued Bounty, will owe their greateſt Security and Diſpatch to his Advice and Aſſiſtances. My Wife I hope is now in *Ireland*, both to think and adviſe farther with him.

I am with all Reality,

*My Lord,**Your Lordſhip's moſt affectionate**and moſt humble Servant,**Ormond.**From my Lord Ambaſſador Montague.**My Lord,**Paris, May 24. 1669.*

I Received the Favour of your Lordſhip's of *May* the 16th. I am glad to hear that the Buſineſs ſo long depending is like to come to ſo ſudden a good Concluſion. Both the *Spaniards* and the *Swedes* are obliged to your Lordſhip, for you have proved a better Solicitor for them both, than either of them could have been for themſelves.

This Court is mightily overjoy'd with News that an Expreſs has brought in great Diligence out of *Poland*, almoſt aſſuring the Prince of *Conde's* Election to that Crown. If it ſhould prove ſo, the *Swedes* have done no ill Buſineſs for themſelves in entering into the *Triple Alliance*.

The Succours deſigned for *Candia* they ſay will certainly be embarked and put to Sea the end of this Month.

This is all you ſhall be troubled with at preſent from,

*My Lord,**Your Excellency's moſt**obedient humble Servant,**R. Montague.**From*

From the Constable of Castile.

My Lord,

Brusselles, Feb. 6. 1670.
Monfieur,

I Received your Excellency's Letter of the 30th past, and observed among other Points, that your Excellency there insinuates to me, not to press you any more upon the Specification of Time, nor any other Change in the Instruments, because you had not Orders to do it; in answer to which I will tell your Excellency, that I esteem as I ought the Zeal wherewith you have assisted to the Conclusion of the Guaranty, and to our Advantage; assuring you, that I am very much obliged to you for it: And having farther consider'd attentively what your Excellency has represented to me; and particularly of what Importance it was to finish this Affair: And to manifest farther, the respectful Deference I have to whatever can be agreeable to his *Britannick* Majesty; I have condescended the more willingly and readily to the Payment of 200000 *Patacoons* to the Ministers of *Sweden*, in the Form your Excellency will have learnt more at large from *Don Stephen de Gamarra*. And besides, our Resident at *London* *Don Manuel de Fonseca* informs me by Letters of the 24th and 30th of *January*, that the *Lord Keeper*, my *Lord Arlington*, and Secretary *Trevor*, have all three assured him, that after his *Britannick* Majesty was informed particularly of our Reasons, he had resolved to order you to conclude the Treaty, and to specify the Time in the Act of Assistances, as I had desired of you; and that in Conformity to this, Orders should be sent you, by which there was no Doubt at *London* of the entire Conclusion of the Guaranty. After which Notices, and the Proofs I have of your Excellency's Desire to see this Affair finished to our Satisfaction, I have cause to hope, that your Excellency having already received the said Orders, will be at no farther Pain to specify the said Term wherein his *Britannick* Majesty will give us Supplies in the same Form that other *Confederate Princes* have granted

J'AY receu la lettre de v^{otre} Excellence du 30 du passé, & veu entre autres points, ce qu'elle m'y insinue, de ne la vouloir faire plus presser sur la specification du tems, ni aucun autre changement dans les instrumens, puis qu'elle n'avoit pas les ordres de le faire. En reponse de quoy je diray à V. E. que j'estime comme je dois le zele avec lequel elle a cooperé à la conclusion de la garantie, & à nôtre avantage; l'assurant que je luy en demeure tres obligé & tres reconnoissant. Et ayant en outre consideré attentivement tout ce que V. E. m'a représenté, & particulierement l'importance qu'il y avoit d'achever cette affaire, & pour manifester tant plus la respectueuse deference que j'ay à tout ce qui peut estre agreable à sa Majesté *Bretannique*: Je suis condescendu tant plus volontiers & promptement à la delivrance des 200000 *Pattacons* aux Ministres de la Couronne de *Suede*; en la forme que V. E. l'aura appris plus à plein du *Sieur Don Estevan de Gamarra*. Et d'ailleurs, comme nôtre Resident à la Cour de *Londres*, *Don Manuel de Fonseca*, me mande par lettres du 24 & 31 de *Janvier*; que le *Garde Seaux*, *Milord Arlington*, & le *Secrétaire Trevor*, l'ont tous trois assuré, qu'après que sa Majesté *Bretannique* avoit esté informée en detail des raisons qui nous assistent, elle avoit resoluë de vous ordonner de conclurre le Traité, & de specifier le tems dans l'acte des assistances, comme je l'avois demandé, & qu'en cette conformité l'on vous enverroit les ordres: Moyennant quoy l'on ne doutoit plus à *Londres* de l'entiere conclusion de la Garantie. En suite des quelles notices, & des preuves que j'ay du desir de V. E. de voir vuider cette affaire à nôtre satisfaction; J'ay sujet d'esperer que vôtre Excellence ayant déjà receu lesdits ordres, elle n'aura plus de peine de specifier ledit terme, auquel sa Majesté *Bretannique* nous donnera le secours, en la même forme que les autres *Potentats Confederez* l'ont accordé, soit dans

granted them, whether in the same Act, or in an Instrument apart, as your Excellency offers in your Letter; and I desire you earnestly to do it, that we may acknowledge the entire Accomplishment of this Treaty to his *Britannick* Majesty, and to the Disposition of your Excellency, from whose Hand I still expect this Favour, accompanied with that of your Commands to serve you, as being entirely,

dans le même acte, ou dans un instrument à part, comme V. E. l'offre en sa lettre; & je l'en prie très instamment de le vouloir faire, à fin que nous donnions l'accomplissement tout entier de ce traité à sa Majesté Britannique, & à la disposition de V. E. de la main de laquelle j'attens encore cette faveur, accompagnée de celle de ses commandemens en son service, comme étant entièrement,

My Lord,

Monfieur,

Your Excellency's most

De vôtre Excellence

humble and most

très humble & très

affectionate Servant,

affectionné Serviteur,

Connetable.

From the Count de Monterey.

Monfieur,

Bruxelles, 27 Juill. 1670.

LES témoignages qu'il a plus à vôtre Excellence de me donner de la joye que luy a causé le choix que la Reyne ma Mattresse a fait de moy pour le Gouvernement des ces Provinces, sont si evidents, & accompagnés des avis si salutaires & dignes de la prudence de V. E. que je ne trouve pas des termes propres pour expliquer les sentimens d'obligation & de gratitude qui m'en demeurent: J'espere que cette nouvelle charge me subministrera les occasions frequentes, de luy faire voir plutôt par les effets & mes services, que par des paroles, le desir que j'ay de cultiver non seulement la bonne correspondance & amitié avec V. E. mais aussi d'exécuter les bons conseils & instructions qu'elle a eu agreable de me communiquer en sa lettre du 22 de ce mois, pour tant mieux adresser en cette penible charge selon les souhaits de V. E. à quoy j'appliqueray tous mes soins & mes forces avec autant de chaleur & de passion que je suis,

Monfieur,

De vôtre Excellence

très humble & très dedié Serviteur,

J. Comte de Monterey.

From

From Sir John Werden.

My Lord,

Stockholm, Sept. 17. O. S. 1670.

I Came to this Place about eighteen Days ago, and have not in all this time met with any thing worthy of your Excellency's Notice; the most apparent Reason whereof hath been the Absence of this King and Court, who have made a kind of Progress through some Parts of this Countrey, and are expected here again about a Fortnight hence.

Among other things, I have brought with me and delivered a Letter from the King my Master to this King; reciting one lately sent from *Spain*, wherein that Queen signifies her Assent to the Arbitration of *England* and *Sweden*; but at the same time insinuates her Desires to have *Holland* admitted as a third Arbitrator, and offering to renew their joint Instances to *Spain*, to induce that Crown to consent to the Arbitration, in the same Form as *France* hath all along offered: Both the King my Master and this Crown being persuaded that *France* hath condescended as far already as is necessary for the amicable Composition designed; at least, that the Arbitrators named by *France* are as well qualified for it as any other can be.

Your Excellency will oblige me much to let me have such Notices, relating either to this or any other publick Matter, as your Excellency shall judge proper for me to know: In return whereof, if I am unable to present your Excellency with other than Relations of the *Tartars* Incursions and Success in *Muscovy*, of our future dismal Frosts, of Witches out of *Lapland*, &c. it is the Fault of my Station, and only my Misfortune that I am like to be so useless a Correspondent; being otherwise very really,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's most affectionate

and most obedient humble Servant,

John Werden.

P. S. I should be glad to know what Consequences are drawn from the *French* Seizure of *Lorrain*, which at this Distance affords us much Variety of Discourse.

Also, whether the Subject of Monsieur *de Anjeau's* Ambassy from *France* hither be yet guessed at, and what it is.

From Monsieur de Witt.

My Lord,
Hague, Oct. 21.
1670.

Monfieur,
A la Haye, Oct. 21.
1671.

I Received the Honour of both your Excellency's Letters of the 23^d and 30th of *September*, upon the Subject of the *English Ship*, which the Director of the *West-India Company* in the *Isle of Curaca* has arrested. Messieurs *Boreel* and *Beuninghen* have wrote about it at the same time to the *States General*, who are very much disposed to give Order in this Matter, for all that Justice can suffer to be done, in Consideration of the King of *England*. But whereas the *Spanish Ambassador* has presented them a Memorial upon the same Affair; and that it is without doubt, of Importance for the common Good, to have this Incident terminated by an amicable Concert between the Parties; at least, because the Rules of common Justice will not allow that an Affair should be decided without hearing him or them that believe themselves concerned in it: Their High and Mightinesses have given Direction by this Ordinary to their Ministers at *London*, to endeavour bringing the Affair to an Accommodation between the Ministers of *Great Britain* and Monsieur de *Molina* the Ambassador of *Spain* at his Majesty's Court. I send you the Copy of the Ambassador *Gamarra's* Memorial, that you may see the *Spaniards* do not agree to what others say in their Favour: But this will not hinder the *States* from doing, in Consideration of his Majesty, the utmost that can consist with Justice; as I in my particular, shall contribute all in my Power to his Satisfaction, and to whatever will help to preserve the good Intelligence between his Majesty and this State. To this End I could have wish'd, that there had not appeared on either side, any Libels, Verses, Medals, or other such displeasing Things, and particularly, that the Accidents of the last War might no more be thought on, whereof the Memory should be for ever abolished. And I confess freely, that in this Countrey there is a little too much Licence given

J'AY receu les deux lettres que V^{otre} Excellence m'a fait l'honneur de m'ecrire du 23 & 30 Sept. stile d'Angleterre, au Sujet du navire Anglois, que le Directeur qui est de la part de la Compagnie des Indes Occidentales dans l'Isle de Curaca a fait arrêter. Messieurs *Boreel* & *Van Beuninghen* en ont écrit en même tems à Messieurs les Etats Generaux, qui se trouvent fort disposés à ordonner sur ce Sujet, tout ce que la justice pourra souffrir estre fait, en la consideration du Roy de la Grande Bretagne. Mais comme Monsieur l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne leur a présenté un memoire sur la même affaire, & qu'il importe sans doute pour le bien commun que l'on termine cet incident par un concert aimable entre les interezs; au moins & que l'ordre & les regles de la justice ne permettent pas que l'on dispose dans une affaire sans avoir ouy celui ou ceux qui s'y croient touchés; Leurs Hautes Puissances ordonnent par cet ordinaire à Messieurs leurs Ministres qui sont à *London*, de tâcher de porter l'affaire à un accommodement aimable entre les Ministres du Roy de la Grande Bretagne, & Monsieur de *Molina* Ambassadeur du Roy d'Espagne à la Cour de sa Majesté. Je vous envoie, Monsieur, la copie du memoire de l'Ambassadeur de *Gamarra*, afin que vous y voyiez que les Espagnols ne demeurent pas d'accord de tout ce que les autres disent en leur faveur; mais cela n'empêchera pas que Messieurs les Etats ne fassent en la consideration de sa Majesté tout ce qui se pourra faire en toute l'estendue de la justice, comme en mon particulier je contribueray toujours ce qui sera de mon pouvoir à sa satisfaction, & à ce qui pourra servir à maintenir la bonne intelligence entre elle & cet Etat. Pour cet effet je souhaiterois que de part & d'autre il n'eût point paru des libelles, des vers, des medailles, ou autres choses semblables, qui eussent pû déplaire; & particulièrement que l'on ne songeât plus aux accidents d'une guerre dont la memoire devroit estre abolie à jamais; & j'avoue volontiers qu'en ce pais l'on se donne un

ven in certain things; though after the most diligent Search we could not find that the Libels complained of, were printed in this Province. Besides you know, there are Epidemical Evils which are without Remedy, and that all one can do, is to give some Ease to a Distemper which cannot be entirely cured: You, my Lord, and those who resemble you, are above such *Trifles*, as you properly call them, and consider only the true Intentions of the *State*, where the King shall ever find all the Respect he can desire.

For the rest, I refer my self to what the said Deputies of the *State* will tell you upon the Subject of your last Letters: And for me, I shall ever think it an Honour to let the King know, that after the Service I owe my Countrey, I shall employ my self for that of his Majesty, with all imaginable Zeal, especially if you will please to mix yours with mine, since it is with an Inclination altogether particular that I am,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's most

humble and most

affectionate Servant,

peu trop de licence en des certaines choses: Quoique pourtant après une recherche tres exacte, l'on n'ait point sçu trouver que les libelles dont on se plaint par de là, ayent esté imprimés en cette Province. Mais vous savez aussi qu'il y a des maux epidemiques qui sont sans remede, & que tout ce que l'on y peut faire, c'est d'adoucir le mal que l'on ne peut pas entierement guerir. Vous, Monsieur, & ceux qui vous ressemblent, vous estes au dessus de ce que vous nommez bien, Bagatelles, & ne vous arrêtez qu'aux veritables intentions de l'Etat; ou le Roy trouvera toujours tout le respect & tous les sentimens qu'il pourra souhaiter.

Au reste, je me remets à ce que lesdits Ministres de l'Etat vous diront de plus sur les matieres contenues en vos susdites lettres. Et pour ce qui est de moy, je tiendray à gloire de faire connoître au Roy, qu'après le service que je dois à ma patrie, je m'emploieray pour celuy de sa Majesté avec tout le zele imaginable; sur tout, quand vous y voudrez mêler le vôtre; puisque c'est avec une inclination toute particuliere que je suis,

Monsieur,

De Vôte Excellence

le tres humble & tres

affectionné Serviteur,

Johan. de Witt.

From the Baron d'Isola.

My Lord,

*Hague, Nov. 14.
1670.*

Monsieur,

*A lay Haye, 14 Nov.
1670.*

I Am extreme glad to hear by your Excellency's Letter, of your happy Return from the Countrey to the Court, together with a good Account of your Health; but I confels I should have been much more pleased to have learnt it from your own Mouth than your Letter. Your Absence from this Place begins to be tiresome; and every Body is much concerned at the great Occasions that are lost by it, for advancing the Publick Good.

The

C'est avec beaucoup de joye que j'ay appris par la lettre de Vôte Excellence son heureux retour de la Campagne à la Cour, & la parfaite santé dont elle jouit. Mais je vous confesse que j'aurois beaucoup mieux aimé les apprendre par sa propre bouche que par ses lettres: Son absence commence à devenir enuieuse, & tout le monde est disconcerté beaucoup de bonnes choses qui se pourroient faire pour le bien public.

La

The Readiness that the Parliament of *England* hath shewn in giving considerable Aids to his *Britannick Majesty*, is a Mark of their Zeal and Prudence; and makes it manifest enough, that they know their true Interest; and apprehend as they ought, the Progress and Preparations of the Neighbouring Princes. I doubt not but his Majesty will correspond with their good Desires, by such strong and vigorous Resolutions, as the present Time and his own Interests require. *France* still continues to give out, That *England* is wholly in their Interests, and that all these Preparations are in their Favour. At the same time the *French* publish this, they endeavour to persuade us, that the *Emperor* has no good Intentions, and that they are in a strict League with him. But since their Game is to rule by making Division, ours ought to be that of supporting our selves by uniting. I believe, the Intentions of your Court are very sincere, and I can assure you, that ours are so too: It only remains that we should rightly understand one another, and despise all the Suggestions of those who can only find their Account in our Disunion. I assure you, that your long stay where you are, is very hurtful to Affairs in general, as well as to the particular Service of the King your Master. I dare not mention to you all the bad Effects it causes: And after all, the *French* make bad use of it towards your Court, to publish so confidently as they do, that they are in private Intelligence there, since it is a Thing evidently false; and if it were true, it is a very unfaithful Part in them to divulge it. But they serve *Princes* just as they do *Women*, whose Favours they publish, whether they have received any or no. I protest to you, I think all sort of Commerce with them is dangerous.

Pray believe me to be more than any one in the World,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's most
humble and most
obedient Servant,

La promptitude que le Parlement d'Angleterre a temoigné pour donner des Assistanes considerables à sa Majesté Bretannique, est une marque de son zele & de sa prudence, & fait assés connoître qu'il connoit ses veritables interêts, & qu'il apprehende comme il doit les progres & les preparatifs des Puissances voisines. Je ne doute pas que sa Majesté ne corresponde à leurs bon desirs, par des fortes & vigoureuses resolutions, telles que le tems present & ses propres interêts requierent. La France continue toujours à publier que l'Angleterre est d'accord avec elle, & que tous ces preparatifs se font en sa faveur. Elle publie tout cela en même tems qu'elle tache de vous persuader que l'Empereur n'a point des bonnes intentions; & qu'elle est en des étroites liaisons avec luy. Mais comme son jeu est de regner en divisant, le nôtre doit estre aussi de nous soutenir en nous unissant. Je croy les intentions de votre Cour fort sinceres, & je vous puis asseurer que les nôtres le sont aussi. Il ne reste qu'à nous bien entendre, & à mépriser de part & d'autre toutes les suggestions de ceux qui ne peuvent trouver leur compte que dans nôtre desunion. Je vous assure en verité que votre trop long séjour au lieu où vous estes, est fort nuisible aux affaires publiques, & au service particulier de votre Roy. Je n'ose pas vous écrire tous les mauvais effets que cela cause, & après tout, les François en usent tres mal envers votre Cour, de publier comme ils font tres effrontement qu'ils sont en secrette intelligence avec elle; puisque cela est evidemment faux, & quand il seroit veritable, ce ne seroit pas agir fidèlement de la divulguer: Mais ils en usent avec les Princes comme ils font avec les femmes, de qui ils publient les faveurs receues & non receues. Je vous avoue que toute sorte de commerce avec eux est dangereux.

Croyez je vous prie que je suis plus que personne du monde,

Monfieur,

De Vôte Excellence
tres humble & tres
obeissant Serviteur,

F. d'Isola.

From

From Mr. Blaithwayt.

My Lord,

Hague, March 10. N. S. 1671.

I Received Yesterday Morning your Excellency's Letter of Feb. 19th. and at the same Instant went to Monsieur de Witt, and imparted him your Lordship's Commands: To which he answered, That he knew of no other Papers that Monsieur Van Beuninghen had brought over with him, than one Sheet, wherein the Case was stated in *Latin* by the interess'd Persons. Besides, he had hoped some Agreement might have been made in *England* with the *Spanish* Ministers: But since it is not so, he promised, * *D'y tenir la main,* * ^{To give} as soon as Monsieur Van Beuninghen comes from *Amsterdam*. After which he ^{a Hand to} asked me when we expected your Excellency? My Answer was, That I could not yet assure him of any certain Time, but that I thought it would be very shortly. He replied, † *Qu'on en deutoit bienicy: Qu'il savoit que le Parlement estoit fort zelé pour les interêts communs, mais que la Cour n'y estoit pas trop disposée: Que neantmoins ils avoient fait un dernier effort par une lettre à sa Majesté, ou ils offroient de faire une Alliance aussi étroite qu'on voudroit. Que pour l'absence ou venue de vôtre Excellence, il les prendroit pour une preuve infallible de la bonne ou mauvaise volonté de l'Angleterre.* And as I was taking my Leave, he repeated the last Sentence; and added, * *Faites luy mes baisemains, & dites luy cela de ma part;* which I promised to do.

The Truth is, my Lord, this Countrey has of late generally conceived so ill an Opinion of *England's* Intentions, that they do quite despair of any Succour from thence: Which makes them the readier to put themselves in Posture; so that the Consent of *Zeeland* being come, the Committee Council of *Holland* are swearing the new Officers, and giving out Commissions, intending the latter end of this Week to deliver the Money.

The *States* of *Holland* are expected here to Day, and will be compleat this Week, notwithstanding a general Fast and Thanksgiving, which will be kept to Morrow through the Seven Provinces, as is usually done every Year.

Your Excellency does without doubt know that Captain O-Bryan and Sir Thomas Sands are here; as well as that my Lord of Ossory intends in few Days to pass through *Flanders*, to *Nieuport*, or *Dunkirk*, whether the Yachts are gone to meet him. I am,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's most humble

and most obedient Servant,

W^m. Blaithwayt.

† That it was doubted here very much: That he knew, the Parliament was very zealous for the common Interests, but that the Court was not over-much disposed to them. That however, they had made one last Effort in a Letter to his Majesty, wherein they offered to make as strict an Alliance as could be desired. That for the Absence or Return of your Excellency, they took them for an infallible Proof of the good or bad Will of *England*.

* Make him my Complements, and tell him this from me.

From Mr. Blaithwayt.

My Lord,

Hague, May 5. N.S. 1671.

UPON the Receipt of your Excellency's Letter of the 14th April, I went to Monsieur de Witt to solicit an Expedition in the Business of the English Ship. He promised me, *d'y tenir la main*, and to further it as much as possible; but withal told me that it was true, *Que nous avions raison au fond, mais que nous prenions l'affaire sur un mauvais pied*. That we have no Reason in the World to lay the Blame upon the Dutch, and to demand Satisfaction for the Injury the Spaniards have done us. That we could not at all prove any Breach of Articles in what had passed. That in case (to use his Example) a Man borrowed my Sword, and with it commits Murder or Robbery, I am not in the least Responsible for his Misdemeanors, no more than the Dutch for what the Spaniards have done: And if this be true, we have not exhibited any one Argument that can hold good. But the Argument Monsieur de Witt says we ought wholly to insist upon, is, That Feroni at the letting out his Ship made a Contract with the Genoueses (which I have long since transmitted your Lordship) wherein it is positively said that they should not therein offend or molest the English Nation. So that now the Genoueses having so evidently broken this Contract, and withal bringing their Prize into the Dominions of the States; the same States may with a great deal of Reason oblige them to make good the Contract they have made with one of their Subjects. And, just as, in case the Man that has committed Robbery with the Sword I had lent him, brings into my Hands what he has stolen, I am in Justice to render every Thing to the Owner. By the same Reason the States are obliged to make Restitution of the Ship and Lading to the Owners, as taken contrary to Promise, and by the means of a Ship belonging to one of their Subjects. For the State of the Business your Excellency sent me, I easily guess'd by Monsieur de Witt's Discourse, that he had already seen it; and having been afterwards with Monsieur Schimmelpenning the chief Commissioner, as Monsieur de Witt had advised me, to recommend to him the Business, and to insinuate this Argument; I found he had the same Paper already in his Hands in Latin.

As for the other Point, Whether Monsieur Beverning has offered a Defensive or Offensive League with Spain; your Lordship will please to remember, that in the Intelligence of the 2^d of April, it is said, * *Que cet Etat avoit toujours rejetté une Alliance defensive que l'Espagne avoit offert, & qu'on avoit opiné qu'il la falloit encore rejeter*. But the same Paper says, That at the same time it was resolved, that Order should be given to Monsieur Beverning to propose a Treaty for one Year only. The States cannot yet have an Answer whether this Treaty has been accepted of or no. However, as soon as I can learn any thing farther in this Point, I will not fail to inform your Lordship of it.

Monsieur Pomponne went last Saturday for Dunkirk, where the French King is by this time. I am,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's most humble
and most obedient Servant,

W^m. Blaithwayt.

* * That this State has always rejected a Defensive Alliance offered by Spain, and that it was thought they must still reject it.

From my Lord Arlington.

S I R,

Goring-house, June 28, 1671.

I Humbly thank you for your Cherries, which were so good, that I grieve for the Loss of those that could not find me at *Windsor*.

Having his Majesty's Approbation of your writing to the *States* to take your Leave of them; and he refusing to see your Letter, it was not at all necessary you should shew it me; yet to comply with your Desire I have read and approved it. You are best Judge, having lived among them, whether the Form be good; to the Matter I am sure nothing can be objected; nor to my Profession of being ever

Your most faithful and

bumble Servant,

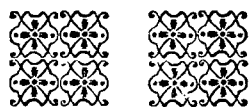
Arlington.

F I N I S.

LETTERS
TO THE
KING,
THE
Prince of ORANGE,
THE
Chief MINISTERS of STATE,
AND OTHER
PERSONS.

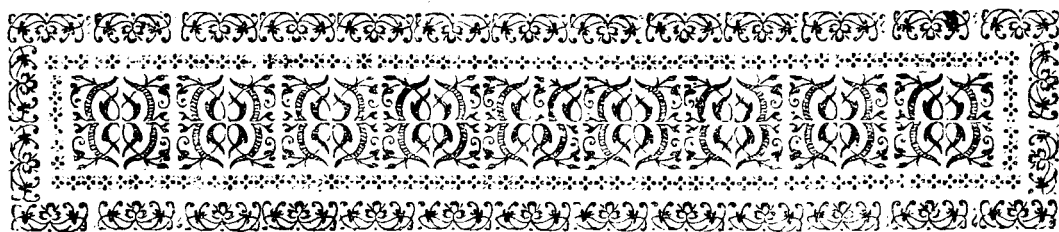
By Sir W. TEMPLE, Bart.

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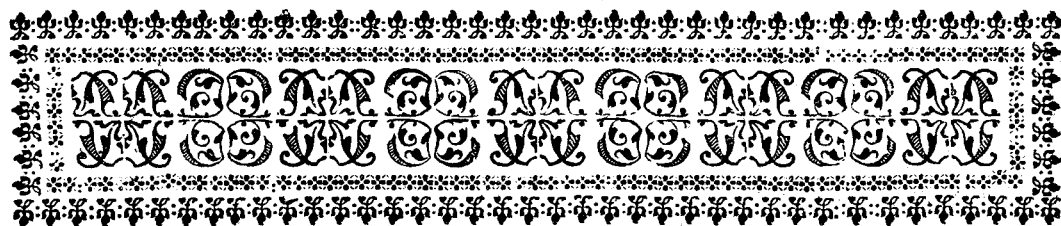
T H E
P R E F A C E.

THE following Papers are the last of this, or indeed of any kind, about which the Author ever gave me his particular Commands. They were Corrected by Himself, and fairly Transcribed in his Life-time. I have in all Things followed his Directions as strictly as I could: But Accidents unforeseen having since intervened; I have thought convenient to lessen the Bulk of this Volume. To which End I have omitted several LETTERS addressed to Persons with whom this Author corresponded without any particular Confidence, farther than upon account of their Posts: Because great Numbers of such LETTERS, procured out of the Office; or by other Means (how justifiable I shall not examine) have been already Printed: But running wholly upon long dry Subjects of Business, have met no other Reputation than merely what the Reputation of the Author would give them.

If I could have foreseen an End of this Trade, I should, upon some Considerations, have longer forbore sending these into the World. But I daily hear, that new Discoveries of Original LETTERS are hasting to the Prefs: To stop the Current of which, I am forced to an earlier Publication than I designed. And therefore I take this Occasion to inform the Reader, That these LETTERS ending with the Author's Revocation from his Employments abroad (which in less than Two Years was followed by his Retirement from all publick Business) are the last he ever intended for the Prefs; having been selected by himself from great Numbers yet lying among his Papers.

If I could have been prevailed with by the Rhetorick of Bookfellers, or any other little Regards, I might easily, instead of Retrenching, have made very considerable Additions; and by that means have perhaps taken the surest Course to prevent the Interloping of Others. But, if the Prefs must needs be loaded, I had rather it should not be by my means. And therefore I may hope to be allowed one Word in the Style of a Publisher (an Office lyable to much Censure, without the least Pretension to Merit or to Praise) that, if I have not been much deceived by others and myself, the Reader will hardly find one LETTER in this Collection unworthy of the Author, or which does not contain something either of Entertainment or of Use.

L E T-



LETTERS

TO THE

K I N G,

THE

PRINCE of ORANGE, &c.

To the Duke of Florence.

Au Duc de Florence.

SIR,

Sheen, Novemb. ----
1672.



I ought at all Times, and in every Manner possible, to shew the Sense I have of the Honour done me by your most serene Highness, in the repeated Instances of your Goodness to me, and the many Expressions of your kind Remembrance of me ; and as it is not long since my Lord Stafford shewed me a Letter of your Highness's writing, in as proper *English*, as if your Highness had been more Years than you were Weeks in *England* ; I resolv'd to send to your Highness the inclosed Papers, which are part of the Fruits of that Leisure and Retirement, which I have lately enjoyed in the Country. They contain the Three last Chapters of the Remarks I have made upon the present State of *Holland* ; the first Thoughts of

Monfieur,

De Sheen, Nov. ----
1672.



Comme je dois toujours, & en toutes manieres, reconnoître l'honneur que Vtre. Altesse Sme. m'a fait par tant des temoignages de sa bonté & de son souvenir ; & qu'il n'y a pas long tems que Milord Stafford m'a montré une lettre de V. A. écrite aussi bien en Anglois comme si elle eût séjournée plus d'années en Angleterre, qu' elle n'en a fait des semaines ; J'ay resolu d'envoyer à V. A. ces papiers envelopés, comme une partie des fruits que j'ay cueilli dans l'oisiveté des nos champs. Ces sont les trois derniers chapitres des remarques, que j'ay tracé sur l'état de la Hollande, dont la pensée m'a été premierement inspiré par l'exemple de V. A. ayant admiré l'application

of which Undertaking, I was inspired with by the Example of your Highness; having with Admiration observed the great Application you used, and the judicious Curiosity you shewed on this Subject, during the Course of those Voyages and Journeys you made with a most generous Purpose, thereby to advance and promote real Knowledge, and not to make a Shew of your own Magnificence and State. I make no doubt, but your Highness has it in your Intentions, to make the Speculations of Strangers Abroad, part of your own Diversion at Home, and to turn them to the Profit of your own Country; since great part of *Tuscany* is so advantageously situated for the carrying on Commerce in the amplest manner. Nor did I think it would be disagreeable, to lay before you in a clearer View, those Occasions and Conjunctions which conspired together to ruin and overthrow, as it were, at one Stroke, that Republick which your Highness so lately saw in so great and flourishing a Condition, and under the Conduct of so wise a Ministry. It was on this Account, that I have chosen to send your Highness these Chapters concerning their Commerce, their Strength, and the Causes of their late Misfortune: and if I continue my Intention of publishing the Treatise entire, I shall not fail to present to your Highness the first Copy that comes from the Press; being ever ready to give all possible Marks of that Devotion, which I always pay to your Person and high Endowments, and to omit no Proof of that Zeal, which I shall ever have for your Service. Your Highness will reflect, That the Fruits of our poor Climate, can never come near those of *Italy*, and are therefore only to be received for their Novelty, as our Apples are served up among the Figs and Raisins of *Florence*: And your Highness will pardon the Liberty I take on this Occasion, to cultivate and enlarge that part which your Highness has the Goodness to give me in your Remembrance, and to renew those Professions, which I have so often made, of that most real Passion with which I am,

Your most Serene Highness's
Most Humble and most
Obedient Servant.

cation & curiosité judicieuse qu'elle a employé sur le sujet, durant le cours des voyages qu'elle y a fait sur un dessein si genereux que l'accroissement de ces belles connoissances, & non pas l'ostentation de sa grandeur. Je n'ay pas douté que V. A. n'ait eu l'intention d'exercer chez elle les speculations faites chez les étrangers, considerant l'assiette d'une partie de la Toscane si propre pour l'établissement de plus grand commerce. Et j'ay cru que vous seriez content de considerer à plus pres les occasions & conjonctures qui ont conspiré à accabler, quasi d'un coup, cette republique, que V. A. a veu depuis peu si grande & si fleurissante, & animée par un si sage ministere. C'est pourquoy j'ay choisi à luy envoyer ces chapitres touchant leur commerce, leurs forces, & les causes de leur dernier malheur: Et si je me resoudray un jour à mettre en lumiere le discours entier, je ne manqueray pas à presenter à V. A. le premier qui en sortira, comme à luy donner toutes les marques possibles de la devotion, que j'ay toujours eu pour sa personne, & ses grandes qualitez, comme du zele que je porteray toujours à son service. V. A. fera reflexion, que les fruits de ce mechant climat, n'approchent pas ceux d'Italie, & ne les doit considerer, que par la nouveauté, comme quelques uns de nos pommes parmi les figues & raisins de la Florence. Et V. A. pardonnera la liberté que je prens sur cette occasion de cultiver la part qu'elle m'a donné en son souvenir, & de renouveler les professions que j'ay fait si souvent d'une passion veritable avec laquelle je suis,

De V. A. Sme.

Le tres Humble & tres

Obeissant Serviteur.

To the Duke of Florence.

S I R, *Dublin, May 20. N. S.*
1673.

THE Letter of the 15th of *February*, which your most Serene Highness did me the Honour to write, found me in *Ireland*, whither the necessary Care of my Family-Affairs had carry'd me, and oblig'd me to continue for Three Months. The Matters to be settled before I made this Voyage, took up so much Time, that I have but just compass'd it; and this has brought upon me a Necessity of returning my most humble Thanks much later than I could wish; but yet with all due Esteem and Devotion. Your Highness does me the Justice to regard me as one entirely belonging to You, and in this View it is, that Your Highness's Judgment concerning my Papers, has shewn it self altogether partial to them: However, I will not presume to gainsay it, and thereby Your Highness will have a fresh Assurance, that, like Your Will and Pleasure, Your Judgment is with me incontestable. When Your Highness signifies, that the Reading my Writings gave You any the least Satisfaction, it gives me the greatest Opinion of my own Glory, and while I possess the Letter You have honour'd me with on this Occasion, I have the greatest Sense of my own Riches. Methinks, I have just made a Voyage to the *Indies*, and have purchas'd Gold and Precious Stones for Toys and Trifles. Even in the dark and dull Climate I am now in, I have Light enough to discover most clearly, that every Line of Your Highness has a far greater Lustre, than the most excellent Compositions, that such a Country as ours can produce; and appears like a Touch from the Hand of *Raphael*, infinitely superior to the confused Designs of our *English* Painters. I did intend to send Your Highness the Book entire, of which You have seen a small part with so much Indulgence; but the Bookseller at *London* being in such haste, as to publish it in my Absence, I found so many Faults in the Print, that I was ashamed even to own it

Au Duc de Florence.

Monfieur, *Dublin, May 20. S. N.*
1673.

L'Honneur que V. A. Sme. m'a fait par sa lettre du 15me. de *Fevrier*, m'a trouvé en *Irland*, ou quelques affaires domestiques m'ont attiré pour trois mois de séjour. Les detours nécessaires à ce voyage l'ont tellement retardé, que j'en suis depuis peu seulement en possession, & me trouve par là, dans la nécessité de rendre à V. A. mes tres humbles reconnoissances plus tard que je n'aurois souhaitté, encore qu'avec toute l'estime & devotion que je dois. Je voy bien que V. A. me fait la justice de me regarder comme une chose qui lui appartient entierement, & que par là elle s'est rendue tout à fait partiale au jugement qu'elle a fait de mes papiers. Mais je ne veux pas me defendre, & de là V. A. se pourra bien assurer que son jugement sera toujours pour moy incontestable, aussi bien que sa volonté. Je me sens trop glorieux de ce que V. A. temoigne avoir trouvé la moindre satisfaction en cette lecture, & trop riche par la lettre dont elle m'a honoré sur cette occasion. Il me semble avoir fait un voyage des *Indes*, & recueilli de l'or & des pierreries en retour de la plus chetive marchandise; & j'ay assez de lumiere en ce climat le plus obscur, pour m'appercevoir clairement que chaque ligne de V. A. ait bien autre éclat que les plus belles compositions qu'un país comme le nôtre pourra jamais produire, & paroît comme un rayon de la main de *Raphael*, au regard des pieces brouillées de nos peintres *Anglois*. J'avois pourtant l'intention d'envoyer à V. A. la piece entiere, dont elle a veu seulement les pieds avec tant d'indulgence; mais la precipitation d'un libraire l'ayant fait sortir à *Londres* en mon absence, j'ay trouvé qu'il y avoit tant de fautes de l'impression, que j'avois honte de l'avoüer pour mien, & me contentois par là de n'avoir pas mandé à V. A. le

pre-

it for mine, and therefore omitted sending to Your Highness the first Copy, which I stood obliged to do, both by Promise and Duty. But by the good Luck of the Bookseller, and through the Humour of the present Times, which at present are mighty inquisitive after any thing that relates to *Holland*, the first Impression has had so quick a Sale, that a second is now printing, and almost finished. I have myself taken care of the Correcting of this Edition; and tho' I am upon my Return to *England*, yet I have sent to my Bookseller an express Order by this Post to deliver into Monsieur *Tivieffi's* Hands the Two first Copies to be sent to Your most Serene Highness. Had I a Capacity to do it, I would have translated it into *Italian*, and have begg'd Leave to dedicate it to Your Highness; the Honour of so great a Name being the only Means to protect so mean and weak a Discourse. But as it was owing to the Favour only which Your Highness has the Goodness to shew to the *English* Tongue, that I presumed to send You the Pattern at first of this Discourse; I send you the rest of it likewise, in the mean and ordinary Dress of its own Country, rather than adorned with the rich Habit of a Foreign one, which would ill become the Simplicity of its Birth, as well as the Meanness of its Condition. What remains, but to intreat Your Highness to receive it as the proper Effect of Your own Commands, as well as a Testimony of that particular Zeal and Passion, with which I am, and shall be all my Life,

Your most Serene Highness's

Most Humble, &c.

premier, selon mon devoir aussi bien que ma promesse. Mais par le bonheur du dit libraire, & l'humeur du tems curieux à present sur le sujet de la Hollande, il s'est trouvé au bout de la premiere impression dans si peu de tems, qu'il va deja achever une seconde, à la correction de laquelle j'ay donné la main, & encore que je me trouve sur mon retour pour l'Angleterre, je n'ay pas voulu manquer à luy envoyer un ordre exprés par ce courier de mettre en main de Monsieur Tivieffi les deux premiers exemplaires pour être envoyé à V. A. Sme. Si j'en étois capable je l'aurois traduit en Italien, & supplie V. A. d'honorer la dedication par un si grand nom, comme le seul moyen de proteger un si foible sujet. Mais comme la seul faveur que V. A. temoigne pour la langue Angloise, m'a donné la hardiesse à luy envoyer le premier échantillon, je fais partir aussi le reste plutôt dans le pauvre habit de son país que paré d'un plus riche des país étrangers; ce que seroit mal assorti à la simplicité de sa naissance, aussi bien que de sa condition. Au reste, V. A. recevra si luy plaît comme l'effet de son propre commandement aussi bien que comme un temoignage de la devotion toute particuliere & passionnée avec laquelle je seray toute ma vie,

De V. A. Sme.

Le tres Humble, &c.

To the Prince of ORANGE.

S I R,

Sheen, February ---- 1673-4.

THO' the Honour I expected of attending Your Highness, upon so great and so happy a Conjunction, has not befallen me; and his Majesty's late Resolutions, for my sudden Journey into *Holland*, have been diverted, by Occasions, that made way for a more speedy Conclusion of the Peace: Yet I could not be satisfy'd, without making use of Sir *Gabriel Sylvius's* Favour to me, in charging himself with this Trouble; by which I might, at the same Time,

Time, give Your Highness the particular Account of all that has pass'd, in this late Transaction here ; and withal rejoice with You upon the happy Successes that have attended Your Affairs on the other side ; in which, I will assure Your Highness, both his Majesty and all his good Subjects, have taken such a Share, as has very much contributed to the easie and sudden Dispatch of this great Affair ; wherein both Your Highness and the States, and indeed the Happiness and Safety of both Nations, are so nearly concern'd. For my own part, I will only say, That as no Man gave so publick and so avowed Testimonies of the Devotion and Honour, I have always had at Heart, for Your Highness's Person and Service ; and of the Esteem that I knew was from all Men due to You, in the greatest Decline of Your Fortune : So, at this Time, when Your Highness will receive the general Compliments and Applauses of all Men ; there is none among them, that can take a more particular Part in Your Highness's good Fortunes, nor make more passionate Wishes for their Continuance and Increase. But I know Your Highness does me so much Justice, as to believe all that can be said from me of this kind, unnecessary. Therefore, I shall proceed to tell Your Highness, That upon Receipt of the States last Letter, with Desire of Passports for their Ambassadors, and Offers of a Cessation of Arms, his Majesty was pleas'd, upon the 3d Current, being *Tuesday* Morning, to declare at the Committee of Foreign Affairs, That having thought of it in the Night, he was resolv'd, for preventing all Delays, that attend the coming of Ambassadors hither, to send over into *Holland* ; and that he would send me with the Project of a Treaty, and full Powers to conclude immediately, if the States were in the Mind they express'd of doing him Justice. This was receiv'd with so great a Concurrence, that I was immediately sent for, acquainted with his Majesty's Intentions, and commanded to be ready to begin my Journey the next Day, and to attend upon the Two Secretaries of State that Afternoon, at the drawing both the Project, and my Instructions. I told the King, I would obey him ; but that I might the better do it, I begged of him, that I might go without any Character of Ambassador ; which would delay me with the Preparations of Equipage here, and embarrass me with Ceremonies there, unnecessary to so sudden a Dispatch. His Majesty thought it reasonable, and so gave Order, I should go without any other Character, than of Plenipotentiary ; but gave me the Appointment of all kinds of an Ambassador, which he told me, I must take upon me, when the Peace was concluded.

The Project and Instructions could not be finished till *Wednesday* at Evening, nor the Commission sealed till *Thursday* at Noon, which was designed for my setting out ; and in order to it, I had kiss'd the King's and Duke's Hands late on *Wednesday* Night, and received their Letters to Your Highness, and sent away my Servants toward *Harwich* on *Thursday* Morning. But about Ten a-Clock the same Day, arriv'd the Pacquet, by a Trumpeter from *Holland*, which brought full Powers to the *Spanish* Ambassador, to treat and conclude the Peace : Upon the Knowledge whereof, I went immediately to the King, and told him, how inconvenient it would be, to expose the Treaty to the Accidents of a Journey, of Seas, and of Weather, when it might be finish'd here, perhaps, before I could be at *Harwich* : Besides, that it would be more Honour for his Majesty to treat it here, than at the *Hague*, which was an Expedient only for Dispatch, and therefore begg'd of his Majesty, that no Consideration of me, might divert him from falling into the Business here, at least, till he saw it could not be effected. The King was pleas'd with what I said, sent me immediately to the *Spanish* Ambassador, to bring an Account of his Powers, and has done me the Honour to make me treat the whole Thing with his Excellency in all its Points, so as to leave Occasion only for the Commissioners to meet once on *Saturday*, to agree upon drawing up the Treaty ; and Yesterday again at Four a Clock for signing it. But after all this was agreed, and before that Hour was come, I was forced by an Accident in Town, to come down into the Country for two or three Days, and so have the Mortification of not seeing Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*, before his going away

with the Ratifications, which I left the King resolv'd he should do this Night.

It is not fit to entertain Your Highness farther from the Country ; but I hope, upon my Return to Town, to have his Majesty's Leave to send Your Highness, by next Post, the Letters he was pleas'd to encharge me with ; as likewise that from the Duke, with very particular Expressions from them both, which, I suppose, You will not be willing to lose, though You may receive of a later Date. In the mean Time, I beg Your Highness to believe, That upon all Occasions, I shall be infinitely proud and pleas'd to give You the best Testimonies, of the sincerest and devoutest Passion, wherewith I have been so long, and shall ever be,

S I R,

Your Highness's, &c.

To the Duke of Florence.

Au Duc de Florence.

London, February 11.
1673-4.

S I R,

DURING my Retirement into the Country, it was not possible for me to find any Pretence for a Letter ; so that I have not for some time been able to make use of that Liberty which Your most Serene Highness has had the Goodness to allow me of writing ; but since my Return to Town, having within these few Days met with an Affair of great Importance, the Particulars of which I thought Your Highness would be pleas'd to know ; I would not lose any one of those few Opportunities that I have, of giving Proof of the Passion which I have had so long, to discharge faithfully that Duty that I lye under, to do every thing that may be any ways for Your Highness's Service or Entertainment.

On Monday the 2d of this Instant, the King receiv'd certain News of the Resolution taken by the States General, to make the Office and Dignity of the Prince of *Orange* Hereditary ; and with this Account, a Letter from the States, desiring Passports for their Ambassadors, and an Offer to agree to a Suspension of Arms. About the same Time, the Two Houses of Parliament had formally given the King their Advice to make Peace as soon as possible, and to enter upon a Treaty upon the Foot of those Propositions offer'd by the Ambassador of *Spain*, which his Majesty had communicated

to

Londres, Fevr. 11.
1673-4.

Monfieur,

N' Ayant rien trouvé dans la solitude des champs pour me fournir de pretexte ; je n'ay pas aussi depuis peu pris la liberté que V. A. Sme. m'a autre fois donné de l'entretenir, mais ayant ces jours passés rencontré en ville une grande conjoncture, & dont j'ay crû que V. A. seroit contente de savoir le detail ; Je n'ay pas voulu perdre une occasion qui se presente si peu souvent, pour faire valoir à V. A. la passion que j'ay eu si long tems à me bien acquitter de toutes sortes des devoirs qui luy pouroient être ou de service ou d'entretien.

Lundi 2d de ce mois, le Roy receut d'Hollande les nouvelles asseurées de la resolution prise par les Etats, de rendre hereditaire la charge & dignité du Prince d'Orange, & une lettre de la part des Etats avec la demande des Passeportes pour leurs Ambassadeurs, & l'offre d'une suspension d'armes. Environ le même tems, les deux Maisons du Parlement avoient donné au Roy leurs avis formels de faire la paix au plutôt, & d'entrer en traité sur les propositions offerées par l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne, lesquelles sa Majesté leur avoit mise en

main

to them, when he asked their Advice. On *Tuesday* the 3d in the Morning, the King declar'd in Council, That having the Night before consider'd of the Importance of the present Conjunction, he had resolv'd to avoid all Delays, by sending an Ambassador to *Holland*, and that he had pitch'd upon my self for that purpose. This Resolution of the King's meeting with the Approbation of the whole Council, I had notice of it, and Directions given me to promote the Project, and act in pursuance of his Majesty's Design, which was to conclude the Peace, and sign it at the *Hague*. *Thursday* the 5th, about Noon, was the Time appointed for my Departure. I waited for my Dispatches, but sent my Attendants before, resolving to follow them Post to *Harwich* (there being no going down the River, because the Wind was contrary). I had received the Money for my Equipage, and his Majesty's Letters, and had kissed the King's and the Duke's Hand, when, about Ten of the Clock in the Morning on the same *Thursday*, a Trumpeter arrived from *Holland*, bringing full and entire Powers to the Ambassador of *Spain*, to treat here of a Peace, and bring it to a Conclusion, if it could be done. I immediately waited upon his Majesty with this News, and begged of him to lay aside all Regard to me, and not expose a Treaty of such Importance, to the Accidents of Time and Voyages, when it might perhaps be finished here, before I should get even to *Harwich*, and when the doing it here at *London*, would be more for his Majesty's Honour, than at the *Hague*. His Majesty received me very graciously, and was pleas'd to send me forthwith to the Ambassador of *Spain*, to see his Powers, and discover, as far as I could, his Instructions, to form a Judgment, whether the Peace could be now concluded. I have laid before his Majesty my Opinion concerning the Validity of his Powers, and the Likelihood I found there was of bringing this Affair to a Conclusion here. Hereupon, his Majesty ordered me to treat with the Ambassador; which I have done Point by Point, and we have brought Matters so well to bear, that Commissioners appointed by his Majesty and the Am-

main quand il demanda leur avis. *Mardi* 3me. au matin, le Roy declara au Conseil secret, qu' ayant songé la nuit à l'importance de cette conjoncture, il avoit resolu pour eviter les retardements, d'envoyer en *Hollande*; & me nomma pour cette Ambassade. La chose ayant rencontré la concurrence entiere de tous ceux du Conseil; on me manda aussitôt, & me donna part de la resolution, & ordre d'assister à la digestion du projet, sur laquelle sa Majesté seroit contente que la paix se fit, & se signât à la *Haye*. *Jeudy* 5me. à midy étoit le tems pris pour mon partement; & en attendant mes depêches j'avois fait partir mes gens pour leur suivre en poste à *Harwich* (le vent étant contraire à la sortie de la Riviere). J'avois receu l'argent de mon equipage, & les lettres de sa Majesté, & baisé la main au Roy & au Duc; quand sur les dix heures du matin dudit *Jeudy*, arriva un trompette d'*Hollande*, portant à l'Ambassadeur d'*Espagne*, les pleins & entiers pouvoirs à traiter & conclurre la paix icy s'il en pouvoit convenir. Je m'en allois aussi tôt au Roy pour luy porter la nouvelle, le suppliant de n'avoir aucune consideration de moy en cette affaire, & de n'exposer un traité si important, aux accidents du tems, & des voyages, quand il le pourroit peut être achever icy devant que serois à *Harwich*, & même avec plus d'honneur à *Londres* qu'à la *Haye*. Sa Majesté le prit en bonne part, & m'envoya aussi tôt à l'Ambassadeur d'*Espagne* pour voir ses pouvoirs, & le sonder tant que je pourrois sur ses instructions, à fin de juger s'il y avoit apparence de conclurre icy. J'ay rapporté au Roy mes sentimens sur la validité des pouvoirs, & l'apparence que j'ay trouvé d'achever l'affaire. Sur cela sa Majesté m'a chargé de la traiter avec l'Ambassadeur, ce que j'ay fait de point en point, & nous en sommes si bien demêlés que les Commissaires de sa Majesté & l'Ambassadeur ont signé le traité le *Lundi* suivant. *Mecredi* Monsieur Syl-

Ambassador, have signed the Treaty the *Monday* following. On *Wednesday* Monsieur Sylvius (who was to have accompanied me to wait on the Prince of *Orange*, and congratulate him on his Accession to the Hereditary Dignity) went away with those Compliments of Congratulation, and carry'd with him the Ratification of the Treaty ; so that we expect the Ratification back again in two or three Days, signed by the States, after which the Peace will be proclaimed ; which, I beg Leave to assure Your Highness, will be both Honourable and Advantageous to his Majesty. The Affair of *Pavillon* and *Surinam* is adjusted entirely to his Majesty's Satisfaction. There is so much the more Likelihood of the Continuance of this Peace, because the Queen of *Spain* is not only Guaranty of it, but also is appointed Arbitrator of those Differences which may happen among the Commissioners which are to be appointed within Three Months, to determine all Points concerning Commerce to the *Indies*, and the Maritime Affairs.

I thought, That Notice of an Affair of this great Weight and Consequence to all *Christendom*, and of the several Steps taken therein, would not be disagreeable to Your Highness, which made me encharge my self with the giving it You ; intreating Your Highness, by these small Services, to judge in what Manner, and with what Satisfaction, I should most willingly acquit my self in Matters of greater Concern, if Fortune should ever be so much my Friend, as to put it in my Power ; for no one can be with more Justice, or more Passion, than my self,

Your most Serene Highness's

most Humble, &c.

vius (qui me devoit avoir accompagné pour rejoûir avec le Prince d'Orange de la part de sa Majesté sur son avenement à la dignité hereditaire) partit avec lesdits complimens, & la ratification du traité ; de sorte que nous attendons en deux ou trois jours que la ratification viendra de la part des Etats, & que la dessus la paix sera publiée ; laquelle je pourrois assurer V. A. être faite honorable & avantageuse pour sa Majesté. L'affaire de *Pavillon* & de *Surinam* luy est tout accordé entierement à sa satisfaction. Aussi il y a tant plus d'apparence de la durée, que la Reine d'Espagne ne soit non seulement constituée dans la garantie de la paix, mais aussi dans l'arbitrage de differens qui pourroient succeder sur une commission qui se doit faire en trois mois de tems pour decider quelques points sur la matiere de commerce aux Indes, & de la Marine.

J'ay crû que la notice & les mouvemens d'une affaire si grande & si importante à toute la Chrétienté, ne seroient pas desagreables à V. A. c'est pour quoy j'ay voulu m'en charger ; la suppliant de juger par les petits services de quelle maniere & avec quelle satisfaction je m'acquitterois volontiers de plus grands, si la fortune me seroit jamais si favorable que de m'en faire naître les occasions : car personne ne peut être avec plus de justice ni avec plus de passion que moy,

Monsieur,

De V. A. Sme. &c.

To Monsieur Gourville.

London, Febr. 12. N. S.
1673-4.

S I R,

I Never enter'd into an Acquaintance with more Pleasure, nor left off one with more Regret, than Yours. I flatter my self, that the Beginning of it arose from that Similitude of Humours and Opinions, that is in us ; as the Interruption of it was owing to those unhappy Circumstances, which have so long kept us asunder. I am not willing to think my self, however, either so Old, or so Unfortunate, as to be without Hope of enjoying once more in my Life, Your good Company, which I rather wish might be in France, than in any other Place. While I live in the Expectation of this Pleasure, I have given my Son an Advantage which I am not so happy as to have my self : He will, at the same Time, give you an Assurance of my ready Services, and make you an Offer of his own ; that so the entire Possession you have of me, may, as it were, become an Inheritance. If you have any Commands either for the Father, or Son, I intreat you to lay them upon us, with the same Freedom you ever did, during our long and strict Friendship in Flanders ; and if he stands in need of your Protection, I assure my self, that you never will refuse it him ; there being no one in the World with more Esteem and Passion, than my self,

S I R,

Your most Humble, and

most Obedient Servant, &c.

A Monsieur Gourville.

Londres, Fevr. 12. S. N.
1673-4.

Monsieur,

JE n'ay fait aucune connoissance avec plus de plaisir, ni perdu aucun commerce avec plus de regret que le vôtre. Je me flatte tant que d'attribuer le premier à quelque ressemblance d'humeurs & d'opinions, & le dernier au seul malheur des conjonctures qui nous ont éloignés depuis si long tems. Je ne me veux pas croire encore si vieux ni si malheureux, que de ne vous voir pas encore un jour de ma vie, & j'aimerois mieux qu'il fût en France qu'en tout autre lieu. Mais en attendant j'ay voulu donner à mon fils un avantage que je ne puis pas avoir moy même : il vous assurera en même tems de mes services, & vous fera l'offre de siens ; à fin que la possession que vous avez acquis si entierement de moy, vous puissiez passer en heritage. Si vous avez quelques commandemens pour le pere ou le fils je vous supplie de nous en charger avec la franchise de nôtre amitié de Flandres ; & s'il aura besoin de vôtre protection, je say que vous ne la luy refuserez point, puis qu'il n'y a personne qui peut etre avec plus de passion ni plus d'estime que moy,

Monsieur,

Votre tres Humble, &

tres Obeissant Serviteur.

To

To Sir John Temple.

S I R,

London, February 17, 1673-4.

I Did not think, a fortnight ago, that you would hear from me, at this Time, from this Place, having been unexpectedly designed another Way, which you have had some Account of from my Sister : But 'tis fit you receive a more particular one from me, upon an Occasion, which I know you will not be displeased with, both as to what concerns the Publick, and my Self. You will easily imagine the Necessities, that prevailed with the King and his Ministers, to fall into the Councils of making a sudden Peace with *Holland*. So soon as this Resolution was taken privately among them, my Lord *Arlington* sent for me, and told me of it ; and that, at the same Time, the King and my Lord Treasurer, both together, at the Foreign Committee (so as he could not say, which of them named me first) propos'd my being sent over, upon this Occasion ; and the King added, That there was no Man else to be thought of ; and so had commanded him to send for me, and acquaint me with it. I told him, I should obey His Majesty, as became me, and much the rather, upon a Point by which I thought He fell into His true Interest, wherein my Opinions were but too well known. After this, I went to the King, and said the same Things ; and what else I esteem'd proper upon that Occasion ; and that I would serve Him, as well as I could, though I doubted I was grown a little rusty, by lying still so long ; and begun to shrink at a hard Journey, in such a cruel Season, after having given my self all the Ease I could, for three Years at home. The King smiled, and said, He would answer for me. I told Him, That would give me Confidence ; but there was another Point, I desired to govern my self ; which was, that my Lord *Arlington* having told me I was to go Ambassador, I had no Mind to charge my self with that Character, upon so sudden a Journey, and an Affair, that ought to be sudden too. That the greatest Piece of Service I had ever done Him, in all my Employments abroad, which was that of the Tripple Alliance, I had treated and concluded in five Days, and with the Character of Envoy ; and I was confident, I could never have done it, if I had been Ambassador : That the Ceremonies of it hindred the Business where it press'd. That having been twice Ambassador, I needed not to value my self upon this Occasion, especially in *Holland*, where I was well enough known : And therefore, I desired I might go with the Character of Envoy Extraordinary, and for this particular Affair only of the Peace. That when this was made, His Majesty might send what Person, and what Character He pleas'd over, to reside there, and go on with the Measures He should have taken.

The King seem'd very much to approve what I said ; and told me, That of Ambassador was only thought of, because I had been Ambassador before ; and they thought I would not be content to go without it ; but He saw, I was a wiser Man, and I should not lose by it ; for though I went without the Character, yet I should have the Pay of an Ambassador ; and if I should stay in *Holland*, after the Peace was made, I should then have the Character. Hereupon, in two Days time, my Instructions were drawn up, my small Equipage prepared, and my Servants sent before to *Harwich*, where I intended to follow Post the day after : But I would not suffer either my Wife or Sister to engage in so hasty a Journey, and at so ill a time of Year ; though they were neither of them willing to let me go away alone, out of care of my Health, which I promised to take my self, and deserve their good Opinion in it.

The very Day I was to go, came in an *Express* from *Holland*, with full Powers from the *States* to the Marquis of *Fresno* (the *Spanish* Ambassador here) to treat and conclude the Peace. My Lord *Arlington* immediately acquainted me with it, and desired, I would go to the King, who was then at the House of *Lords*, and tell Him this new Incident, and know his Pleasure upon it ;

his

his Lordship seeming a little in Pain at my Part in it. But I told him, I thought the Business had this way a better Turn than they themselves had given it : That it would not only be dispatch'd here with less Time, but with more Honour to His Majesty than at the *Hague* : That for my Part, I was so far from being disappointed, that I was very glad of it ; that I confess'd I wish'd the Thing, but so it were done, was not fond of having any Part in it ; and therefore was of Opinion, they should presently fall in Treaty with the Marquis, and so I would go and tell the King.

I will not tell you how pleas'd my Lord *Arlington* was with this Answer, nor how obliging Things he said to me upon it ; but I was sorry he knew me so ill, as not to expect it, the Thing being so right : I went to the King, said the same to Him, which found the same Reception ; and He told me, though I did not treat it at the *Hague*, yet he was sure I should treat it here ; and accordingly He sent for the Marquis that Afternoon, and told him, He would send me to him that Evening, to fall into the Treaty ; and that if he could agree with me, He should reckon upon the Thing done.

I had my Orders, went to the Marquis, and we concluded all Points in three Days, though there was one of some Difficulty : The Instruments were dispatch'd with the same Diligence, and signed by the Marquis and the King's Commissioners. And so that great Affair ended, to the infinite Satisfaction of all People here, as I doubt not, it will be in *Spain* and *Holland*, and give a great Turn, to the Conjunctions abroad.

Some Days after this Conclusion, my Lord *Arlington* told me, the King thought fit to recal Sir *William Godolphin* out of *Spain*, upon several Considerations, but chiefly upon Reports that had run of his Religion, which would not be very pleasing in the Parliament, with whom the King was resolv'd to live well ; and therefore had order'd him to make me the Offer of going into *Spain*. That having been Ambassador in Ordinary so long ago, the King thought it was but Reason I should make some Advance, and so would have me go Ambassador Extraordinary ; which, to that Crown, was the Employment of most Dignity, and most Advantage of any other abroad.

I desired his Lordship to make His Majesty my most humble Acknowledgments, for so many and such unsought for Honours, which were beyond what I could deserve. But that the Thing was new ; and that I had learnt, by a *Spanish* Proverb, not to make a sudden Answer to a sudden Question. That besides, the Journey was long, and You formerly had an Aversion to my undertaking it ; that I could not do it now, without first consulting You, whom I would not disobey. That I therefore desired his Lordship to excuse my answering the King, till I had written, and had an Answer from You.

This is all I have to say, but that I leave it with you, to consult if you please, with my Brother, and send me your Resolution as soon as you can. I find my Wife inclin'd to it, both upon Respects of Advantages to my Fortune and my Health, which she thinks suffer'd much in *Holland*. My Sister, though the better *Spaniard*, has no great mind to it. For my own Part, I am pretty indifferent ; I like the Climate ; but you know I never cared for a Remove, being ever apt to like the Place and Condition I am in ; and if I have a Mind to mend it, I believe I cannot want Occasions, upon this great Revolution, and the Return of our Councils to the Point where I left them three or four Years ago.

I shall give you no farther Trouble at this Time, but expect your Answer, and remain ever,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To the Prince of ORANGE.

S I R,

London, February 28, 1673-4.

I Thought, Your Highness would not be displeased, with receiving those Marks of Kindness, from his Majesty and the Duke, which they intended You by me, though You have, I know, receiv'd others of a fresher Date. Therefore, by Leave from them both, I send You inclosed the Letters I had the Honour to be charged with, when I kist their Hands, upon my intended Journey into *Holland*. The Compliments I was commanded to carry Your Highness from their Mouths (besides what went from their Hands) were, I will assure You, very particular. Especially those from his Majesty; to tell you, How great an Inducement to the Peace, Your Highness's Advancement to the Hereditary Dignity had been, and with how much more Confidence He could now fall into good Measures with *Holland*, than before. And those from the Duke, when at the End of a great deal spoken, very kindly, he bid me assure You, That he lookt upon Your Highness's Interests, as the same with the King's and his own; and that if there were any Thing, wherein You could use his Service, You might be sure of it. I replied, Pray, Sir, remember, there is nothing You except, and You do not know how far a young Prince's Desire may go; but I am resolved to tell Him what You say, and, if there be Occasion, to be a Witness of it: The Duke smiled, Well, well, you may tell him what I bid you: Upon which I said; At least I will tell the Prince, that You smiled when I told You so, which, I am sure, is a great deal better, than if You had frowned. I know Your Highness will easily pardon me, for entertaining You with these Circumstances; but I will say no more of this kind, unless You give me Encouragement; nor of any other, to encrease Your Trouble, at this Time; unless it be, that if in any Thing, either small or great, Your Highness can find my Services useful to You here, You will ever find them at Your Devotion, in a Manner very particular; and that no Man alive, can be with more Passion, or more Truth,

S I R,

*Your Highness's most obedient,**and most humble Servant.*

To Sir John Temple.

S I R,

London, March 27, 1674.

U Pon your Expression of so much Dislike to my Journey into *Spain*; I acquainted the King with it; and gave That, for the only Reason, of my excusing my self from it. I made his Majesty, at the same Time, the greatest Acknowledgments I could, for the Honour he had done me, by the Offer of it; and assured him, how glad I should be, to deserve so good an Opinion, as he had pleased to express, in thinking me worthy of an Employment, which, for my own Part, I esteemed one of the best he had to give. The King was pleased to reply very graciously, That he thought so too, but yet he intended me a better; that he had been long engaged in the Remove at present designed, but that upon the next, he was resolved, I should have it. He was pleased to say no more, but walked away; and I seemed to take no Notice of what he meant. But the Day after, I told all that had pass'd to
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my Lord *Arlington* : He seemed a good deal surpris'd, at my refusing the *Spanish* Ambassy, and said, He believed the King had few Subjects that would not be glad of it : That he had so little expected it, that he had told the Marquis of *Fresno* of the King's Resolution in it : That for his own Part, unless I was sure of his Secretary's Place, he should not yet advise me to refuse the other.

This was said, with a Face, and in a Way, something graver than his had been of late towards me ; and, I confess, surpris'd me more than he pretended, I had done him. I told him, That I did not at all know what he meant, by saying, If I were not sure of his Secretary's Place : That it was a Thing I never had once in my Thoughts, but when he had put it there, a great while ago, upon the Resolution of Sir *John Trevor*'s coming into the other : That my Circumstances had been since much changed ; and he knew I had thought of nothing, but my Garden and a private Life, for these three or four Years past, till the King sent for me upon this Peace with *Holland*. That he knew what had pass'd since, and he knew all ; for I was no Man of Mystery nor Intrigue ; That I went abroad, when the King called me, and I liked my Errand ; and when these did not happen, I stay'd at home. But I was still desirous to know what gave him Occasion of saying that to me ; for what the King had said could not be interpreted to mean any such Thing.

He told me, That he knew I was related to my Lord Treasurer, and heard I was much in his Favour ; that he was now the Great Man, and could do what he pleas'd, and thought he might do this among other Things ; and could not imagine I would refuse the *Spanish* Embassy, unless my Lord Treasurer and I had agreed upon the other. I found where this Matter pinch'd, and said, smiling, That he was never more mistaken in his Life : That it was true, my Wife was related to my Lord Treasurer ; and that we were great Companions, when we were both together young Travellers and Tennis Players in *France* : But that for near twenty Years past, we had not at all fallen in one another's Way, till upon what had pass'd since the late Councils, about a Peace with *Holland*, in which our Opinions seem'd to agree : That since, we had met sometimes, but not often, nor in any Confidences. That I knew he was a great Man, but could not tell yet, to what Points of the Compass he intended to steer : That I left him, as I did every Body else, to take his own Measures ; and for mine, he knew very well how little I troubled my Friends about them.

Upon this he began with another Countenance than in the Beginning of this Conversation, to tell me, That he easily believed all I told him ; that he was so far from disliking my being well with my Lord Treasurer, how ill soever he was with him, that he advis'd me, as a Friend, to be as well with him as I could. That he confess'd, he thought, I might have enter'd with him into a Concert, of getting into his Place, instead of Sir *Joseph Williamson*, which would have been no Injury to him ; for he knew I would not think of it, but upon the same Terms as the other : That since we were fallen into this Discourse, he would go farther with me, and tell me, 'twas true he had a good while had a Mind to leave the Toil of his Place, and, perhaps, the Envy ; and so had agreed with Sir *Joseph Williamson*, to come in, and give him six thousand Pounds, when my Lord St. *Albans* should be willing to part with the Chamberlain's Staff, for which he was to give him ten. That my Lord St. *Albans* had been of late very much unresolv'd in this Matter, and he knew not when he would fix : That whenever he did, he was engag'd in the other to Sir *Joseph Williamson*, by the King's Consent, and would do nothing to break it. But if I had a Mind, and could make Interest enough in my Lord Treasurer to turn it another Way, and bring my Lord St. *Albans* to a Resolution, he would leave me wholly to play my own Game ; and, for his own Part, it should be all one to him, from whom he received the six thousand Pounds : And he would not only be passiv'e in it, but if the King should ask his Opinion, as to the Fitness or Capacity of the Persons, he would tell it him freely, with all the Preference to me that I deserv'd.

I gave his Lordship many Thanks for the Kindness and Frankness of this Discourse ; but I told him, I believed it need go no farther. That, for my own Part, I was both against his going out of the Secretary's Place, and against my own, or any Body's, coming into it for Money ; and I ended this Conversation, with saying a great deal, to dissuade him from leaving his Place.

About three or four Days after, Mr. *Sidney* told me, That my Lord *Arlington* had spoken to Mr. *Mountague*, about what had passed between us, and with a great deal of Kindness of me, especially for being so earnest with him to keep his Place, and the Reasons I had given him for it ; but yet in the Belief, that I ought not to neglect this Occasion, because he was resolved. Mr. *Sidney* was mighty earnest with me to resolve too ; and next Day Mr. *Mountague* spoke to me himself ; and believing nothing could stick with me, unless it were taking up the Money, he offer'd to help me to it ; which was more than I had Reason to expect, from him or any Man else. My Wife is enough inclined I should do it, though she and my Children run most Hazard in it, if I should die, and leave my Estate charged with such a Debt, which, though small at present, yet, I thank God, is clear. For my own Part, I confess, I find no Motions about me towards it, and should have thought the *Spanish* Embassy a much better Employment. I have ever detested the Custom grown amongst us of selling Places, and much more those of so much Importance to the Crown. I think it no great Honour to be preferred before Sir *Joseph Williamson*, and yet I would not do him an Injury neither, as this would seem to be. I have seen such Changes at Court, that I know not yet what to make of this last ; and still remember poor Monsieur *de Witt*'s Word of, *Fluctuation perpetuelle dans la conduite d' Angleterre* ; which of all Things in the World I am not made for, and had rather, once for all, break my Head with going on, than be wrenching my self continually with sudden Turns. I need say no more of this Matter ; it lies before you. Pray please to talk with my Brother about it ; 'tis what the Family is concerned in more than I, and, therefore, pray let me receive your Judgment upon it, which in this, as all Things else, shall ever have the greatest Weight, with,

S I R,

Your most obedient Son, &c.

To Sir John Temple.

Sheen, May 16, 1674.

S I R,

I Have wholly followed your Opinion, both in declining the Motion about the Secretary's Place, and in fixing that of *Holland* ; since I find That the only present Employment you are content with for me, and you are not content with none. My Lord *Arlington* seemed to take what I said to him upon both very indifferently, and though at first he raised a Scruple about my going into *Holland*, in regard of a certain Lord's having been very hot, for some Time, in the Pursuit of it : Yet when I persisted in it, upon the King's having in *February* designed me for it, of his own Motion, he advised me to take my Measures, as well as I could, with my Lord Treasurer, about the main Point, which was, what related to the Exchequer ; and for the King, he knew very well there would be no Difficulty. Both these are now settled : The King has resolved to send me over Ambassador Extraordinary to the States : And my Lord Treasurer is, after some Contest, fallen into the Terms I insisted, which is, to equal me with the other Embassies of the Crowns ; and so I engaged in my Preparations for this Journey. His Majesty is resolved I shall offer

offer his Mediation to the States, in their present War with *France*. If it be accepted by them and all the Parties, I reckon he will be Master of the Peace, and the Parties be hindred from making their separate Treaties, when they are once engaged in a general one. I hope you will like what is done, as much as you seemed before to desire it; which is all I ask, and leave the rest to God Almighty, for what is to come.

I resolve to take my whole Family over; but yet that my Wife and Son shall first make you a Visit, since I see you will not think of coming over. 'Tis their Turn now, and my Sister and I will go first into *Holland*, though we should both be very glad to wait upon you again, if it could have been allowed us. But my Wife will not consent to my going without either her or my Sister; and she has a great Mind to carry over her Son to you her self, after having been so long in *France*, and at an Age when commonly the great Changes are made, which you will judge of when you see him. I shall, at present, give you no farther Trouble than the Professions of my being ever,

S I R,

Yours, &c.

To Mr. Secretary Coventry.

S I R,

Hague, July 17, S. N. 1674.

I Ordered an Account of my Arrival here, on *Friday* last, to be given Mr. Cook, by that Night's Post; which being all I had then to say, I thought might well save you any farther Trouble at that Time. On *Saturday* Morning I sent to the Pensioner *Fagel*, to desire an Hour of seeing him some Time that Day: He excused it, but sent me Word withal, that he would not fail of coming to me some Time in the Evening; which he performed, in a Visit about two Hours long. After the Compliments on both Sides, I fell upon these Points with him: The Satisfaction his Majesty had received in the late *Peace* with the *States*; his Desires and Resolutions to continue and cultivate it; the Reason he had to content himself with the Posture and Advantages in which he stood, by a *Peace* with all his Neighbours, while they were all engaged in a War; that if his Bounty and Piety did not prevail with him, farther than his Interests, he should sit down with his own Peace, and not trouble himself farther about that of *Christendom*; but these Dispositions, and the Desire of so general a Good, had engaged him to offer his Mediation in the present Quarrels: That it had been accepted by *France*, and promised to be considered of by the *Emperor* and *Spain*, in Concert with their *Allies*: That the *States* Ambassadors in *England*, who understood our Constitutions, and the Dispositions of the King my Master, better than Strangers could do, had promised all their Offices, that his Majesty's Offer might be accepted here, and that the Parties might consent to the Choice of *London*, for the Place of Treaty; and thereupon, I had brought over a Letter from his Majesty, to the *States*, with the Offer of his Mediation: That they ought to believe, that if his Majesty were partial to any Side, it must be to that wherein his own Nephew was so nearly concerned; and that they ought to think so the rather, since his Majesty made the Offers of Mediation, at a Time when all the Advantage of the War had run so high on the *French* Side, and were, in all Appearance, likely to do so still: That, perhaps, if his Majesty had seen *Flanders* like to be defended, by the Arms of the Confederates, he might have spared or delayed this Office: That they knew he understood his Interest too well, to be content to see *Flanders* lost; and that his Honour would not suffer him, no more than the Condition in which the last War hath left him, to go about preserving it any other Way, than that of a Peace. That his Majesty would be

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very glad such a one might be made, as would leave *Flanders* in a better Posture of defending it self, than it was before, by laying the *Spanish* Territories together more in a Round, than the last Peace left them: And, that when this should be concluded, I did not doubt, but they would find his Majesty ready to enter into the best and strongest Guaranties of it, they could desire.

I need not trouble you, to tell you how this Matter passed between us; but sum up together, what all I drew from him in the last Conference amounted to. He first gave me Thanks for the Advice I had given their Ambassadors there; and said, he should be glad I would always be their Counsellor, how they ought to comport themselves to his Majesty upon all Occasions. He fell into a Relation of the Forces of their present League, especially by the Conjunction of the Duke of *Brandenburgh*, whose Treaty with the Emperor and them, he assured me, was absolutely concluded, so as to bring him into an Offensive Part of the War. That though they could not expect another so great Conjunction, and had but too great Testimonies of the Ill-will of *France*, particularly to this State; yet they had no other Thoughts but only of gaining such a Peace, as might leave them and their Allies out of Danger, upon a new Invasion from *France*: That for their own Part, they had recovered all they had lost, except *Grave*, which they hoped suddenly for a good Account of, being already invested by Monsieur *Ralenhoupt*; for *Mastricht* they had given up by Agreement to the *Spaniards*. That it was impossible for them to leave their Allies, who, under God, had saved their State from absolute Ruin; but whatever Terms of Peace they would consent to, would satisfy the States. That they believed *Spain* would be moderate, and though their Treaty with that Crown, obligeth them to the Terms of the *Pyrenees*, yet there is a Clause, which alloweth it to be altered by Consent: That they apprehend *Sueden* as too partial to *France*, but are content to make his Majesty Arbiter in all their Affairs; and to this End, that they were resolved to accept of the Mediation, were willing that *London* should be the Place of Congress, and that they would leave it to his Majesty there, either to propose the Scheme of a Peace himself, or to retrench and adjust, according to his Prudence and Equity, what Propositions should be made on each Side, by the Parties themselves: That they would perform all the Offices they could, to induce the Emperor and *Spain* to agree with them in these Points, both by the States writing effectually to their Ministers in those two Courts, and by his speaking earnestly, both with the *Imperial* and *Spanish* Ministers here. That he was satisfied how safe their Interest would lye in his Majesty's Hands; and that this State would ever make it their Endeavour, to deserve the Friendship and Protection of the Crown of *England*; by which they knew it could best be preserved, as well as it had at first been raised.

After this Conference with the Pensioner, I thought it best to neglect no Time in the Delivery of my Letters, and so went that Evening to the President of the *Week*, and put into his Hands, both that of Credence, and the other of Mediation; which were both received by him, with great Applauses, upon the Subject of the Peace, and the Recovery of his Majesty's Favour and Friendship to this State.

Upon *Sunday* Afternoon, the President, to whom I had delivered my Letters, came to me, and told me, He was ordered by the States General to attend me with the Account of their having perused his Majesty's Letters: Upon the first, he made me their Compliments, which being chiefly personal, need no Relation. Upon the Letter which carry'd his Majesty's Offer of Mediation, he said, Without doubt, the States would receive it with Joy and with Thanks; but being engaged to several Allies, they could not do it, without first communicating it to them; which they would do immediately, and in such manner, as they questioned not to induce them to accept it too. I told him, That the Emperor and *Spain* having put their Delay in accepting of it upon their Allies, by whom I understood the States to be meant; I expected, at least, that the States would have accepted it, as to themselves, or
their

their Part in the Quarrel. But he said, That it self could not be done by their Agreement, without a Communication, which they hoped his Majesty would not interpret ill, since it could produce but the Delay of some few Days, and was meant to extend the Acceptance to their Allies. I desired him, to let the States know, however, what I had expected in this Point; and asked him, Whether they would not have been glad, that upon his Majesty's Offer of Mediation to all the Parties, *France* had refused it, or made Difficulties upon it, and the Confederates had accepted it with the best Grace that could be? He confess'd, He would: Upon which, I told him, Then they had Reason to be sorry, that just the contrary had happen'd. He seem'd to be touch'd, and said, He would likewise report this to the States.

I have not since been able to see the Pensioner, nor the President of the Week; and therefore shall only say in general, That though the Assurances I received from the first, and the Account I had from the last, seem a little different, yet I am confident, his Majesty may reckon, that an Obstruction of the Peace will not arise from hence. For, besides the general Dispositions and Interests of Traders, and the Jealousies natural between the Civil and Military Power, I find their Payments are on all Hands too great, to be long continued; their Hopes are very moderate from the Successes of their Armies or Fleets; and I see no Advantages, that they propose to themselves, tho' both should prosper, besides the running *France* a little more out of Breath; so that the Peace may be probable to last the longer.

I find, the Pensioner is the Great Man here, and acts all under the Prince's Influence, though not without some Dislike among the richer sort of People in the Towns. He is a Person whose Dispositions may, I am confident, be improved, to make him as partial to *England*, as those of his Predecessor were esteemed to *France*, in case there were any Competition of those Two Interests here. The Point upon which I judge this to turn chiefly, is that of Religion, in which I find him, by his Discourses, very warm; and hear by others, that he hath it very much at Heart.

I am ever, Sir,

Your most, &c.

To the Prince of ORANGE.

Hague, August 1. 1674:

May it please Your Highness,

THough I could not kiss Your Highness's Hands, in the Way I desired, immediately upon my Arrival here, yet I could not forbear the doing of it this way, upon the very first Occasion; and assuring Your Highness, with how much Ambition, both of attending and serving You, I enter upon this Employment; which without those Motives, would be but a Point of mere Obedience, and not at all of Inclination. This, I am sure, Your Highness will believe, when I have the Honour of entertaining You upon those Points, wherein his Majesty has pleased to instruct me, and which makes me so impatient to attend You, that I shall not stay to satisfy the Forms here, but only to recover Health enough for another Journey and Passage of Sea, that used me very ill. I hope this will happen within a Day or two, and give me the Occasion both of acquitting my self of his Majesty's Commands, and of expressing some part of that Devotion wherewith I have been so long, and shall be ever,

S I R,

Your Highness's, &c.

To

To the Prince of ORANGE.

Hague, August 18. 1674.

May it please Your Highness,

Whatever the Successes of the late Battel have been, or the Consequences shall prove, Your Highness may be content to hear from a plain Man, and who has no Vein of Flattery about him, that the Accounts of Your Friends, Your Allies, and Your Enemies, how much soever they differ on other Points, yet agree perfectly in giving Your Highness all the Applauses and Renown upon this Occasion, that are due to the greatest Captain and boldest Soldier. I cannot but give Your Highness the Joy of it, and put You in mind, at the same Time, how reasonable it is, that in such Adventures hereafter, You should manage Your Life something the better, for having managed Your Glory so well in this *. 'Tis not fit to give Your Highness longer Interruptions, and therefore I shall end this, with my Wishes for Your Safety, since those for Your Fortunes and Honour, have succeeded so well. I am ever with that Devotion and Truth which become me,

* The Battel of Se-
neffe.

S I R,

*Your Highness's most Humble,**and most Obedient Servant.*

To my Lord Arlington.

Hague, September 4. S. N. 1674.

My Lord,

I Was very glad to find, by Yours of the 11th past, the good Intentions, with which the Marquis de Fresno parted from you. If he can infuse them into the Ministers at Madrid, it will be a great Point gained toward the Peace, and such as joined to the Dispositions we shall meet here, will not leave room for the Imperial Councils to avoid the Progress of it. In the Discourses I hold here upon this Subject with the chief Persons of the States, when I tell them, how the Peace is like to be hinder'd by Interests wholly foreign to theirs, it is grown a common Word among them, *Je ne dis mot, mais je voudrois fort la paix*: And you may certainly reckon upon all that can be done towards it from hence, when this Campaign ends; and before that, I am apt to think so much, that nothing will be done, as to believe, the less 'tis offer'd at, the better. Sir Gabriel Sylvius left the Prince in the Belief, that there would be another Battel; and they tell me here, there is some great Design resolv'd of by the Confederates, which must be suddenly executed; because all agree, That the Imperial Troops have Orders to march towards the Rhine by the middle of next Month. Sir Gabriel tells me likewise, That at his coming away, he ask'd the Prince, Whether he would be willing I should come to him any where, while he continued in the Field? but that his Highness answered, *Qu'il seroit fort éloigné, & ces marches incertaines, que la campagne s'achèveroit bientôt, & qu' alors il me verroit à la Hay*. Notwithstanding all this, which is no more than I have known long enough; yet I have so well followed your Lordship's Advice, in understanding what had pass'd, just as the Prince was willing I should, that I am pretty confident I shall be as well with him at his Return, as the King can wish, for the Advance of the Service I have in Charge. I am assured by one, to whom Monsieur de Maresques (the

French

French Minister here, who has great Credit with the Prince) told it a little before his Highness left the *Hague*, that upon Discourse, in private, concerning the Affairs of *England*, and my coming over, the Prince said, *Qu'il avoit telle opinion de ma probité qu'il croiroit tout ce que je lui dirois là dessus*: What the late Accident between us may have produced, I know not; but by a Letter I received this Morning, in Answer to one I wrote upon the late Fight, I could not believe any thing amiss there: I send your Lordship a Copy of it, because this is his own, though the last might very well be another Style, as you guessed.

I likewise inclose what I said to the States at my Audience, which, I hope, his Majesty will find conformable to what he intended, which I should be glad to know: And for the rest of that troublesome Ceremony, I will only tell you, that it pass'd very well on all sides; and I am sure on mine, with a great deal more Expence, than any Embassy I have ever seen here; which (considering the Course of my natural Humour, when I am private) his Majesty may very well attribute to the Regard of his Honour; that ought to be the greater, the worse I found the Representations made from *England* hither, of the Posture of our Affairs, and especially of the Revenue. After this, I am like to be idle for a Month or six Weeks, that is, till the Return of the Prince; and if I am left to my self, I will not be too busie; which is a Part rather over-acted by my Brother-Ambassador here, upon the Point of Mediation, and is grown to be taken for so much, of little to the purpose. But when the Prince comes, if his Majesty gives me Leave to take my Times and Ways, and continues in the Mind I left him, of desiring such a Peace as might leave *Flanders* defensible, and can but procure Powers from *Spain* to any Person within my Reach here; I am pretty confident, by all the Prospects I have on every side, that it will be a Business within Compass. I am not less confident of setting all Things right between his Majesty and the Prince, and thereby preventing the Seeds of any future Mischiefs in the Royal Family; both which Works, I desire you will assure his Majesty, shall be pursued with all my Skill and Industry, and in the Ways I conceive most conducing to their Success; and if I have the Honour of atchieving them, it will be enough for such a Life as mine. And the King will then give me leave, I hope, to go and sleep at home, and leave my Son in the busie World, which requires Men spirited with some other Heats, than I have about me. If upon his coming over, you can find any thing you would have said to me, tho' he be Young, yet I am pretty confident, he may be trusted with it; for he has a good plain steady Head, and is desirous to do well.

I do not trouble You with any current News, having cast a Digestion of all that occurs here of that kind upon my Secretary; as being unwilling to answer for what one hears, though, perhaps, it may be fit to tell, with the very Uncertainties that attend it. However, I take care, he shall be as well informed, as can be compassed in this Place.

I am ever, most affectionately,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Keeper.

Hague, Sept. 4. S. N. 1674.

My Lord,

I Know so well how many necessary Troubles attend so great Persons as Your Lordship, that I have been very unwilling at all to increase them by any that are unnecessary from hence; and such, I was sure, all must be that come this way, since Your Lordship has whatever You are content to be troubled with

with of my constant Dispatches to Mr. Secretary. However, I could not satisfy my self to be wholly out of Your Memory, and therefore resolved to make an ill way to it, rather than none; though I had much rather put in my Claim to it, by serving Your Lordship, than by troubling you. The Dispositions here are strong towards a Peace, and, I hear, they are not weak in *France*. *Spain* would be glad to make a good War, but fears an ill one; which, by the Division of their Councils and Ministers, may well fall to their Share. The Emperor is most eager of the Four, to keep up the Ball, being armed at others Cost, and growing into greater Consideration by it at Home, whatsoever he does Abroad. *Sweden* would, I believe, be glad to draw the Stakes they have in their Keeping, without entering into the Game; and though they have Treaties concluded with *France*, and begin to arm with their Money, yet they press on the Mediation with all the Instances they can, in hope that way to excuse themselves from any Share in this Year's Action. *Denmark* only observes the Motion of that Crown, and will be ever in the other Scale.

The Prince of *Orange* is, I doubt, resolved to have more Honour yet before this Campaign ends, though he had his full Share of it in the last Action of *Seneffe*, and more than his Share of the Danger. This makes us here expect another Battel or Siege very suddenly; and while so great Adventures are stirring, no Man can judge of the Events of the Year. I inclose a Copy of what I said to the States last Week, at my publick Audience, that Your Lordship may judge whether it be conformable to his Majesty's Intentions, which You are better acquainted with.

Among the many Pieces of Justice Your Lordship does every Day to indifferent Men, I hope you will not refuse me that, of believing me always what I am with Passion and Truth,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most Faithful,

and most Humble Servant.

To Mr. Secretary Coventry.

Hague, Sept. 17. S. N. 1674.

S I R,

THIS Day I received a Visit from the Pensioner, wherein he told me, First, That by Letters from *Vienna* he had great Hopes given him, that his Majesty's Mediation would be accepted by that Court, and that this Advice was seconded by the Emperor's Ministers here; though he said, he found by both, that his Majesty's Subjects having had so great a Share in the last Action between Monsieur *Turenne* and the Imperial Forces, was taken very unkindly by that Court, and other Princes of the Empire. He told me besides, That he had a particular Advice from the States Ministers at *Vienna*, that Monsieur *Puffendorf*, the *Swedish* Envoy there, endeavoured under-hand all he could, to hinder the accepting his Majesty's Mediation by that Court, which he (the Pensioner) could not apprehend the Reason of; unless it were, that the *Swedes* had no mind to see the present Game end, without making yet some more Advantages of it; or that they had a Desire to remain the sole Arbiter of the *Munster* Peace; whereas the Interpretation of some Articles of it might be referred to his Majesty, in case his Mediation should now be accepted by the Empire. But upon this Point the Pensioner concluded, That if this Matter should be much longer delay'd, by either the Court at *Vienna*, or *Madrid*, this State would let them know, that they absolutely accepted his Majesty's Mediation,

Mediation, which he did not doubt would be followed by a Concurrence from them both.

After this, he told me, That upon the Representations he had made to the Prince of what had pass'd between us here upon the Subject of the Peace, he had received Orders from his Highness to come to me, and desire to know more particularly what his Majesty's Intentions were in this Matter, and upon what Terms his Majesty desired the Peace should be made; and to assure me, that when he knew them, his Highness would endeavour that this State should comply all that could be with them; and that, as to what concerned themselves, he knew they would be content to leave all to his Majesty's own Arbitrage; and he did not doubt, though they could not treat apart from their Allies, yet they might go a great way in disposing them to receive any Overture that should be made of a safe and lasting Peace. He told me farther, That his Orders from the Prince were to enter into this Matter only with me, and without the Communication of their Ambassadors in *England*, because he thought it was the better, the fewer Hands it pass'd.

I told the Pensioner, I would not fail letting his Majesty know all that he had said to me from the Prince, and returning him an Answer more particularly, so soon as I received it: in the mean Time, I was sure, that it would be taken kindly by his Majesty; and that the more Confidence he express'd of the King's Kindness to him, as well as of his Justice in the Business of the Mediation, the more Reason he would have to rely upon both. That for the Terms of the Peace, I could only say in general, That his Majesty desired, as well as they, that it might be lasting and safe, being equally concerned in preserving *Flanders*, which was only in Danger: But for Particulars, I thought it was not the part of a Mediator to propose the Terms, but rather receive such as should be proposed by both Parties, and endeavour to agree them, by moderating what should seem excessive, and finding Expedients for what was difficult in either of these Demands. That on the *French* side, all being in the Hands of one Prince, it might be resolved in a Day; but the Interests and Intentions of several Confederates, were harder to agree upon; and therefore, I thought the Propositions towards a Peace ought to begin from thence; which if his Majesty were once possess'd of, he would endeavour to make them go, as far as they could with *France*: Therefore I told him, That as I would transmit to his Majesty the Prince's Desire of knowing the King's Intentions in this Matter; so they ought to know what Terms *Spain* proposed to themselves, after a Campaign past, with so great Expectation, and so little Advantage on the Confederate Side.

The Pensioner told me, I had Reason in all I said, and that he would speak with Don *Emanuel de Lyra*, who he found had so much Credit in his Court, that he had never yet been disavowed in any thing he had undertaken for. He said, He knew it was a disadvantageous Time for them to talk of a Peace now, but that, he hoped, they might yet have some Success before the Campaign ended; which he desired for nothing so much, as for the sooner obtaining the Peace; since it might look unreasonable for them to demand the Restitution of Places conquered in *Flanders* last War; and yet it was absolutely unsafe for them to have that Country in the Posture it was upon the Treaty of *Aix*: That if this could be admitted, they were sure of the Peace; for he had received new Instances from the Count *d' Estrades*, by the Pensioner of *Mastricht*, who had been with him again that very Morning, and assur'd him, That what the Count proposed, was not only from himself, but by Orders from his Master; and hereupon he repeated to me what I wrote to You before of that Proposition, which was grounded upon the Treaty of *Aix*, the restoring Commerce to the State as it was in 1662; and *Mastricht* to the Prince of *Orange*, but not to the *Spaniard*. From this he fell into the Scheme of their present Affairs, assuring himself of *Grave* in a Fortnight's Time; of the Imperial Army on the *Rhine* growing very strong, and Monsieur *Turenne*'s very weak; as likewise Monsieur *Schomberg*'s in *Roussillon*, where the Campaign was but now beginning; and for the rest, excusing, as

well as he could, the ill Success of their Fleet under Monsieur *de Ruyter*, and saying, They should draw Four thousand Men out of it, upon their coming home, for reinforcing their Armies: And a great deal of this kind, which signified no more, than the Resolution of making the rest of this Campaign.

In the mean Time, His Majesty has it in his Choice, to open a Negotiation of the Peace, either by telling them here his own Thoughts or Intentions, as to the Terms of it; or else, by receiving from them such Propositions upon it, as may be first digested here between Don *Emanuel de Lyra*, and the Pensioner; and this I shall endeavour all I can to bring to some Head; and let it be as rough as it will at first, it will be the proper Part of a Mediator afterwards to work it into the best Form, that it is capable of receiving. For this End, I am resolved to find out some Expedient or other to meet with Don *Emanuel de Lyra*, who hath not yet seen me, upon the Points of Ceremony that lie between our Characters. For the present, I shall only say, upon the whole Matter, That, I believe, in case *France* can be induced to leave such a Frontier in *Flanders*, as may be thought defensible, and so leave no Suspicions of their Design to begin a new War when they are in a better Posture, and these Countries in a worse to pursue it, the Business of the Peace will hardly fail; nor any Interest, either private or foreign, prevail with this State to go on with the War. But, on the other side, if this Point cannot be gained, I believe, the Dispositions here, how passionate soever towards a Peace, will not have the Force to bring it about; but that they will rather content themselves to lessen their own Charge, by setting out no more Fleets, and only maintaining a Body of Five and twenty, or Thirty thousand Men at Land, which, as Auxiliary Forces, may, upon Occasion, join with the Imperial or *Spanish* Troops, who shall be left as Principal in the War. I am ever,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To Mr. Secretary Coventry.

Hague, September 13. S. N. 1674.

S I R,

IN one of my late Letters I gave You Notice, of the many Complaints made me by the *English* Merchants here, concerning the Seizure of their Ships by the *French* and *Spanish* Privateers, to the great Discouragement of our Trade, and Damage of his Majesty's Subjects. The Merchants here were not content, it seems, with the Promises I made them, of representing this Matter to the King; but have since sent me a formal Petition upon this Subject, (which I here inclose) and written to me, at the same time, a very earnest Letter, to recommend it to Your Favour, which I could not refuse to do, believing it indeed my self, to be a Business of the same Consequence they represent it, and therefore, very well worthy of his Majesty's Consideration. For the Matter of Passes, mentioned in their Petition, I have hitherto refused to give them, as having received no Orders in that Point; though the Merchants here pretend to have Notice from *England*, that such Orders have been transmitted to me. When they come, I shall obey them; but in the mean Time, have excused my self, notwithstanding all their Importunity.

I shall

I shall increase this Trouble no farther, than by my Professions, of being always,

S I R,

Your most Faithful

Humble Servant.

To Mr. Secretary Coventry.

Hague, October 5. S. N. 1674.

S I R,

I Have none from You of late to acknowledge, and doubt, I lie too much out of Your Way, to expect any longer the Honour of that Correspondence, with which my Employment here began, and which I esteemed one of the best Circumstances that attended it. Sir Joseph Williamson gave me Notice last Post, both of his Promotion, and of the Affairs of this Province being fallen under his Care; as likewise, of what Commands his Majesty had that Day ordered to be transmitted to me; whereupon I make him this Day the usual Dispatch in return. I know not whether by this Change You will be able to get wholly out of my Reach; because, You know, 'tis hard for a Man to lose a good Haunt, or an ill Custom; and I shall not be content to forfeit the Possession of Your Favour or Memory, for want of sometimes laying claim to it. I must, however, rejoice with You upon Your Removal to better Climates, and more prosperous Scenes; especially, at a Time, when the Affairs of this have so very ill an Aspect, by the Dissentions and Distrusts among the Generals of the Confederates; which, I may tell You, are to the last Degree, and the most Criminal; and such, as have not only ruined their Affairs this Campaign, but must do so, while these Men are in Play. I will not give You both a long and an unnecessary Trouble: What Use You will make of me here, and in what Degree, shall be in Your own Disposal; for no Man is with more Truth nor Esteem than I am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, October 5. S. N. 1674.

S I R,

THO' I gave You Joy of the Secretary's Place before I came away, and desired Your Protection, as looking then upon it as a Thing done; yet, finding by the last Ordinary, that You were but now newly enter'd upon the actual Possession of it; I could not forbear renewing the Expressions that become me upon both those Subjects; and wishing You the Honour, and his Majesty the Service, that You both propose to Your selves by this Promotion. I know very well, the Compliments I can make You, will be lost, as they deserve, among many others You will receive upon this Occasion; and therefore I shall not increase them, or give a long and unnecessary Interruption in the midst of so much, and so various Business, as must have fallen upon

F f f f 2

You

You with this Advancement ; but shall end this Trouble, with the Professions of my being,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To the PRINCE.

Hague, October 15. S. N. 1674.

May it please Your Highness,

I Cannot forbear rejoicing with Your Highness, upon Your nearer Approach to these Countries, and wishing You all Success in the Designs that have brought You where You are, and hinder'd Your coming farther at present, tho' Your Highness's Person may be necessary here, as well as in other Places. In my last, I gave Your Highness an Account of what I said to the States at my Audience, and therein the general Scope of my present Ambassy, as to what concerns his Majesty's Dispositions, both in relation to his own Peace with these Countries, and to the General Peace of *Christendom*. Your Highness will have received, before this comes to You, from his Majesty's own Hands, and at length, what You could desire more of his particular Kindness to Your Highness's Person and Interests, and of his Intentions upon the Subject of the Peace, both as to the Preservation of *Flanders*, and *Guaranty* of the Peace, if it were once concluded, towards which Your Highness must furnish the first Materials.

If, upon this Occasion, Your Highness has any Commands to lay upon me, I should be very glad to know, whether You please to have me attend them here, till Your Return to this Place, or think fit to convey them to me by Monsieur *Fagel*, or any other Person ; or whether You will command me to wait upon You at any Place or Time You shall please to appoint : In the mean Time, I pray God, continue Your Highness's Health and Safety, according to the constant Wishes of,

S I R,

Your Highness's, &c.

To my Lord Chamberlain.

Hague, October 16, S. N. 1674.

My Lord,

THE last Packets brought me Yours of the 29th past, which was in all Parts of it both useful and welcome to me, excepting only the Excuses it began with, upon the Arrear You mention, of so many Letters during Your Illness and Absence from Town. How unnecessary any such Expressions were to me, You will easily judge, by my having continued constantly the Course of writing, whenever I had any Occasion ; which I did, and shall do, upon the Belief You are content it should be so, whether You write or no, till You discourage me in it. I was very glad to find by the Style of Your Letter, that Your Health was grown better, and Your Temper not at all worse, since the ill Accidents that have lately fallen out ; enough, indeed, to shake them both, if they had not been firm at Bottom. The best Wish I can make You, is, That You may long enjoy and continue them both ; especially that *aquam rebus*

rebus in arduis servare mentem ; which I take to be either the best Profession we bring with us into the World, or the best Acquisition we can make while we are in it.

I must acknowledge the Honour his Majesty does me, and, indeed, the Credit he thereby gives me with the Prince, by the Communication of what was the Substance of his last Letter ; which, I think, was the rightest understood that could be, and cannot but produce some good Effect ; either by procuring a direct Answer from the Prince, upon the main Point ; or, at least, by introducing me, in the very best Manner, into the Overtures and Negotiation of it, when I see the Prince, which cannot be far off. In the mean Time, I have immediately upon the Receipt of Yours, written to his Highness just the Points you directed me in ; and, in a Manner, the very Terms you give me ; desiring to know, Whether he will have me attend his Return hither ; or send me his Commands by Monsieur *Fagel*, or any other Person ; or have me wait upon him in any Place, or Time, he shall please to command.

I have never heard from him, since I gave his Highness an Account, of what I said to the States at my Audience ; and therein the Scope of his Majesty's Dispositions concerning the Peace, with the Offers of his Mediation ; which made me think he would be stanch in all that Matter, till the Campaign ended ; and, perhaps, the colder he is, the less he should be press'd, till the Course of Things, and Occasions bring him about, and dispose him, rather to sollicite his Majesty's Offices, than decline them. This, I believe, may happen, at his Return hither ; especially if *Grave* should be taken ; which would still increase the violent Inclinations to the Peace, which grow every Day in these Provinces ; especially that of *Holland*, and most of all, in the Town of *Amsterdam*, which begins to apprehend a Loss of Trade, that will be hardly recovered, after any long Course into another Channel.

By what I can find, from *Don Emanuel de Lyra*, the Dispositions at *Madrid* are strong towards a Peace too, so it might leave no Prospect of a new War ; and though I suspect the Intentions at *Vienna*, upon the Emperor's Power at home, as well as his Consideration abroad, encreasing so much, and so evidently, by the War ; yet, knowing how absolutely that Court must depend upon *Spain* and *Holland*, from whom they draw the Subsidies that maintain their Armies ; I am of Opinion, That not only his Majesty's Mediation would be easily accepted by all Parties ; but the absolute Arbitrage of all Matters in difference, would be left in his Hands ; in case the Confederates were but possess'd with an Opinion of his Majesty's being impartial in the Matter ; to which, I hope, his last Discourse with the Marquis de *Fresno*, and Letter to the Prince, may have a great deal contributed.

The Emperor's Resident here, told me two Days since, That Court was resolved to accept his Majesty's Mediation ; *Mais toujours sous l'aveu de l'Espagne* : And that they were upon Choice of a Person, to be sent over suddenly, with publick Character into *England*. The Dutch Minister writes to the States, That the Emperor will not accept the Mediation, till his Majesty's Forces are recalled out of *France* : But the Resident here says, There is no such Condition mentioned ; though he adds, modestly, It would be a great Inducement to the Emperor, and help to satisfy the Princes of *Germany*, with the Emperor's coming to that Resolution ; who took it to Heart, to see such a Body of *English*, *en tous les d  m  ls durant toute cette Campagne*. Besides, I must needs tell You, That the Dutch Ambassadors have made such Representations of the Dispositions and Intentions of our Court being so absolutely in Favour of *France*, that they are very apt here to interpret the Instances we make towards a Peace, to be concerted with *France* ; and some of them tell me, plainly and frankly, They knew the King would not make them, if *France* did not desire the Peace, and find it necessary for their Affairs. When I say, Their Ambassadors, I do not mean Monsieur *Odyke*, nor what they have written since his being there : But I reflected upon a Passage, which, one of the States told me, was in a late Letter from the other Ambassadors ; which was, *Monsieur Odyke nous assure, que le Roy a des fort bonnes Dispositions pour n  tre Etat*.

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The late Action near *Strasburgh*, will prove, I believe, at last, to have been a drawn Business, and leave each Party the Pretence of a Victory ; as, I see, it has done of the Field : I am sorry to hear his Majesty's Subjects have suffered so much in it ; and doubt it will make Way for a greater Battle shortly, in case the *Brandenburgh* Forces came up on the *Imperial* Side ; and both the Troops of the *Ban*, and Detachment from the Prince of *Condé*, on the *French* ; both which, I find, are suddenly expected. They begin now to apprehend *Sweden*'s entering into the War ; which must engage *Denmark*, and open a greater, and longer Scene, in all Appearance ; and leave his Majesty the only Mediator in so general a Quarrel.

This is too long a Letter, to one that is but newly recovered, and engaged in so many other Thoughts ; and yet it must not end, without my being ever,

Your most Faithful,

and Humble Servant.

To my Lord Keeper.

Hague, Oct. 16. S. N. 1674.

My Lord,

THE Bearer hereof, Mr. *Edmund Curtis*, has an Opinion, That my Recommendation may have some Value with Your Lordship ; and I have too much Vanity in this Point, to disabuse him. Your Lordship will, on the other Side, I hope, do me so much Justice, as to believe, I would imploy my Intercession to no Man, but least of all to Your Lordship, where I were not invited to it, by what I esteemed very evidently just and reasonable ; as I do, indeed, think his Affair ; which is a Demand of Satisfaction from the Town of *Newcastle*, for having saved their Haven from being utterly spoiled ; and by a Piece of Skill, peculiar to himself ; which was the Reason of his Majesty's commanding him down thither, upon that Occasion. He is a Person who has deserved well from his Majesty, in several Matters ; and in whose just Support, I must confess to have concerned my self, especially his Affairs of this Nature ; as having been the first that put him upon this Invention of Wreck-fishing, for the Recovery of his Majesty's Tin, cast away before *Ostend*, in the Year 1666, which he performed with great Success ; as he has done several others likewise since, upon his Royal Highness's Patent for fifteen Years ; and a Contract his Highness commanded me to make with him, in 1669 : And upon which, I doubt not, but he would have made greater Advantages to himself, than he demands from the Town of *Newcastle* ; besides considerable ones to the Duke this Summer, if this Pursuit had left him in Purse, and at Liberty. Your Lordship's Favour and Countenance to him in this Affair, which I left his Majesty very much inclined to, will, I am sure, agree with Your eminent Justice, in all other Cases ; and will do me a great deal of Honour, in letting him see, that You are pleased to own me, for,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Privy Seal.

Hague, October 16, S. N. 1674.

My Lord,

THE Bearer hereof, Mr. *Edmund Curtis*, having an Affair depending before the Council, with the Town of *Newcastle*, for Satisfaction of clearing and saving their Harbour, by a Piece of Skill peculiar to himself; which was the Cause of his Majesty's sending him thither, to that Purpose. He has desired me to recommend him to Your Lordship's just Protection; and I was very glad of an Occasion of pretending thereby to be in some Degree of Your Lordship's Favour; and of supporting, as far as I could, a Man I have known long, and a Case I esteem very just; and, at the same Time, of professing my self,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most Faithful,

Humble Servant.

To my Lord Treasurer.

Hague, October 26, S. N. 1674.

My Lord,

MY Letters could never pretend more than your Lordship's Pardon, and have had too great a Return, in the Honour I received of one from Your Lordship, intended me by my Son; who, I doubt, will be grown too proud, by Your Lordship's owning him: But he is young, and may live to deserve some Place in Your Service; which when You please to allow him, I shall own him no longer, than while he acquits himself well. I should be extremely glad to receive the smallest Command from Your Lordship, in that Particular You please to mention, or any other; that so by my Diligence in small ones, I may deserve greater; and thereby find some better Ways of acknowledging the Favours I have received; and the Troubles I have given Your Lordship, than by increasing them.

The Notices You please to command from Time to Time, of any Thing that happens extraordinary, shall not fail You. As to the Enquiries in Your last, concerning the Dispositions to a Peace, and their tampering with *France*; I may assure Your Lordship, That the first grow very violent; and will, I believe, appear so more, if they come to be Masters of *Grave*, where they are engaged, both upon Honour, and Revenge of so many Men as it has cost them; and being the only Place of theirs, remaining among the *French* Conquests, (since they have, by Treaty, quitted *Mastricht* to the *Spaniards*) whenever they recover it, they will, I believe, begin to play the Mediators in the rest of the Quarrel. But that which makes the Bent of the People in general, so passionate for a Peace, is the unmeasurable Burden of their Taxes; and the Interest of the Trading Towns, that say, upon all Occasions, There is none gets by this War but *England*; and that if it should continue a Year or two longer, the general Course of Trade would run so far into our Channel, that they should be in Danger never to recover it. Besides, the rich Men here are generally of the *Arminian* Party, and jealous of the Prince's Greatness, which must encrease by a War. So as all these Humours flowing together, make a
Current

Current that nothing can stem, but the Force of their Engagements to their Confederates ; and of their Interest in preserving of *Flanders*, to such a Degree, and in such a Posture, as may leave *France* without the Design of another War that way ; or, in case they attempt it, may prove a strong Bulwark to these Countries, and easily defensible by their Assistances, without entering as Principals into the War.

By this Your Lordship will easily conclude, That no Obstruction to the Peace is like to come from hence ; but from *Spain*, or the *Emperor*. For *Spain*, their Government is so broken, by the Faction of the Ministers, and Minority of their King, that they find themselves very unfit for any great Action in the World ; and so would, I am confident, be very glad of a Peace ; provided it might leave them, out of Fear of another Invasion from *France* ; and so they may neither be compelled to so vast an Expence, as the maintaining of great Armies in Time of Peace, nor despair of defending their Country, whenever a War should begin : And they think neither of these can be brought about by a Peace, upon the Terms of *Aix la Chapelle* ; which left *Flanders* neither of a Size to keep great Armies, nor of a Figure to be defended by small.

For these Reasons, though the Want of Success this Campaign has made them, I believe, willing to come to a Peace, much under the Terms of the *Pyrenees* ; which were fix'd by the Confederates, upon the last Treaty between the House of *Austria*, and this State ; yet, I doubt, they will rather try another Campaign, upon the Hopes of what their present Conjunction may yet produce, than end the War just where it begun.

For the *Emperor*, I doubt more the Dispositions to a Peace on his Side, than any of the rest ; finding himself powerfully armed, and at others Cost ; and thereby his Consideration growing greater every Day in the Empire, whatever it does abroad. Besides, whatever Battles may cost, the Resources of Men are so great in *Germany*, that they can never fail, whilst *Spain* and *Holland* can furnish the Money ; or the several Circles of the Empire, continue animated in the Quarrel. Besides, the *Emperor* foresees himself engaged in a War with *France*, upon the Succession of *Flanders*, if the King of *Spain* should fail without Issue ; and, therefore, had rather drive on the War, till he can see *Flanders* secured, and *Lorraine* in safe Hands, than leave those Points to be disputed by a new War, at a Time, perhaps, when he may not find himself so strong ; either in Confederates abroad, or the Concurrence at home of the several Princes and Circles ; nor so disengaged from the *Turk*, or the Troubles of *Hungary* at his Back.

For the Princes of the Empire, though they seem a good deal spirited in the present Quarrel, by the late Invasions of *France*, and the Exchange of many Cruelties between the two Nations in the *Palatinate* ; and by the Possessions given them of the Safety, as well as Honour of *Germany*, being engaged in this War ; yet, I believe, after the first Heat is over, the Dissentions natural to Bodies that have so many Heads ; the Jealousy of too great a Growth of the *Emperor's* Power ; and the Fear of drawing the *Swedes* again into the War, or Spoils of *Germany*, will incline them generally enough to a Peace, and without straining further than the Treaty of *Munster* ; beyond which *France* has not pretended any Design, that I remember, in the Course of the War.

For *Sweden*, I look upon them as engag'd with *France* by Treaty and Money ; both already received, and more lying ready at *Hamburgh*, upon their entering into Action ; which, I believe, they will be glad to avoid, at least, for this Year, if they can any Way excuse it to *France* : And this makes them so earnest upon the Mediation, and use so great Instances towards agreeing a Place of *Congress* ; which might look like the Beginning of Treaty, and make their Offices in it, pass for some Satisfaction of what they owe to *France*. If they engage in the War, they will, I believe, try to set the Bishop of *Munster* again upon his Legs : And, on the other Side, the King of *Denmark* will join with the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, and Dukes of *Lunenburgh*, to make Head against *Sweden*, in these Western Parts of the Empire.

For

For these States tampering with *France* ; All I have found of it with Certainty, I gave Notice to the Secretaries about six Weeks since ; which was a Negotiation begun by the Count *d' Estrades*, Governor of *Mastricht*, and formerly in the Service and Ambassage of this Country. He assured the Pensioner here, of his Master's restoring, not only the *Grave*, but *Mastricht* too, provided it might not be given to the *Spaniards* : Of returning all Points of Commerce to the State they were in by the Treaty of 1662 : Of advancing all that could be any Interests and Advantages of the Prince, upon a Treaty ; and of making the Peace with *Spain* upon the Terms of *Aix la Chapelle*. Tho' I saw a very earnest Letter upon this Occasion, in general, from the Count *d' Estrades* himself, yet no Particulars have passed further, than between the Pensioner here, and the Person to whom it was writ, and who was sent to him from *Mastricht* : And the last Answer I could hear of, was, That when they saw any thing in Writing, they would give an Answer to it. Upon the whole, I do not doubt of this State's having very advantageous Terms from *France*, if they would make a Peace separate from their Allies ; but I see not how that can be done, either with Honour or Safety, considering the Opinion they have of our new Intelligence with *France*, even in all our Offers of mediating the Peace ; and which their Ambassadors in *England* have long infused into them. On the other side, the Dispositions on all Hands considered, I am confident, if the Confederates were possess'd with any Belief of his Majesty's being impartial in the Business, they would not only accept his Mediation, but wholly remit their Differences to his Arbitrage.

I beg Your Lordship to believe, I do not intend You many such Troubles, or would have given You this, without Your encouraging me : And that, by opening the Scene for once, Your Lordship might the better judge, as any Actors come in, what Paces they are like to make.

I beg Your Lordship's Pardon, and the Belief of my being, with great Passion and Truth,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, November 6. S. N. 1674.

S I R,

I Was extremely glad to find by Yours of the 20th and 30th past, that his Majesty had resolved to support me in the Claim I had made here of a free Trade for all our Ships, and the Merchandize they carry (if not counterband) without any Exception of their Trading from one Enemy's Port to another ; which cannot, I am sure, be drawn from the Words of the Articles. This made me confident, even before the Arrival of Your Letters, by a second Memorial to the States General, to demand the Restitution of the *Rebecca* ; and to tell them, very plainly, That if any Doubt might arise upon the Sense of any Article in Treaties subsisting between his Majesty and them, it could not be resolved without his Majesty's Consent ; and till that was obtained, they could not make themselves the Sole Judges or Interpreters against the plain common Sense of any Words, and to the Prejudice of his Majesty's Subjects. This was the Point I put all the Weight upon in my Memorial ; but having the Day after received his Majesty's Pleasure, with Your Account of what had passed here in Your Return this Way, and Your Arguments upon this Subject ; I demanded an Hour of the Pensioner, and run through a very long Debate with him upon this Matter. The Heads of his Arguments

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were,

were, The Judgment, he pretended, of several Authors upon the Point : The Practice of *France*, and *Spain*, and *Sweden* with them, and ours, in the Time of his late Majesty and King *James* ; which he undertook to give me Examples of : And, lastly, That it could not be the Meaning to drive an Enemy's Trade, but only to preserve a Friend's. I easily eluded this last, by the Answer You made it, and by my own very true Protestations, That at my signing the Confirmation of those Articles, I had no such Sense of them, as he would now give them ; but took the Meaning of them to be just the same with the Words : That free Ships made free Goods, in all Cases, unless that of counterband. For the Sense of Authors writing upon general *Themes*, and for their own Credit, or that of their Professions, I said, They could not be admitted to interpret any particular Treaties between Princes and States ; who might make what Agreement they pleased between themselves, and very different from what Authors call *Jus Gentium*, or General Reason ; by which, I think, they commonly mean their own : That, for the Practice of other Kings with Them, it was no Rule of Theirs with his Majesty ; nor any Agreement, that We should not have Justice from Them, because They could not obtain it from Others : But, on the contrary, though they had it not, yet they ever demanded it both of *France* and *Spain* ; which was a certain Proof, that they esteemed that Just in their own Case, which they will not allow to be so in ours : That, for the Practice he offered to produce on our Parts, in his late Majesty's Time, I should be content to see it, but could not tell how it could square with the present Case ; since it was grounded upon Articles never in Force between his Majesty and this State, till the Treaty of *Breda*. I added to what I said in my Memorial, How unjust their Pretences were, to make a wrested Interpretation of plain Words, without his Majesty's Consent : That it was not fair to do it at a Time, when the Advantage of such an Article was only cast on our side by the common Revolutions of War and Peace, which might be in their Favour to Morrow, as they were in ours to Day ; whereas, when the Advantage was, by like Accidents, cast on their side, as it had been with *France* and *Spain*, they had ever insisted on the very same Point that we do now, and never given over the Instances upon it, whether they received Satisfaction or no. After a long and a warm Debate, I gained this from the Pensioner ; That, for his own part, he was content it should be as I desired it, since the King understood it so, and it was to be reciprocal between us : That he could do nothing upon it in the States General, till the States of *Holland* assembled, which would be about a Fortnight hence : That he would then propose it there, and endeavour their Compliance with his Majesty, especially if the Prince, at his Return, approved of it ; and that, in the mean Time, he would endeavour to have the Goods in the *Rebecca*, or the Product of them deposited, till the States came to a Resolution in this Matter ; the Ship it self being already free and gone, pursuant to a Resolution taken by the State in *May* last upon this Point.

I have been larger in stating this Matter, as it stood between me and the Pensioner, that, being of so mighty Importance to our Trade at this Time, his Majesty might both see the Right he had on his side, and be the firmer in maintaining it : And You may please to instruct me in any further Arguments, against I enter the Lists with Commissioners here, if they should prove difficult, tho' the Pensioner be satisfied with it.

For the Passes and Orders to be sent with the Ship of Advice for *Surinam*, he assures me, They shall be ready against I receive the Names of Ship and Person ; but excuses their going with Blanks, as a Thing contrary to the constant Forms of this State ; which, indeed, I doubted of before, and therefore took the Liberty to desire Your instructing me thereupon as soon as You could.

Tho' the current News here be still favourable to the Strength, or, at least, good Countenance of the Confederate Troops in *Alsatia*, yet I saw a Letter Yesterday, from a very good Hand, which makes a different Story, and says, They had given over all Thoughts of fighting Monsieur *Turenne* ;
and

and that tho' the *Brandenburgh* and *Lunenburgh* Troops talk'd of taking up their Winter Quarters in the *Upper Alsace*, while those of the Emperor and the other Circles designed theirs in *Suabia*; yet, it was believed at *Strasburg*, Monsieur *Turenne* would still keep the Field, and either engage the Confederates, or else force them all to retire beyond the *Rhine*. All the Countenance that has been made by the Horse of the Confederates Armies in *Flanders*, has been, I suppose, only to keep the *French* a little alarmed, so as to send no more of their Forces towards Monsieur *Turenne*. The Prince came to a House he is building in the Province of *Utrecht*, on *Sunday*, made a great Hunting Party for Yesterday, and intended to be here, as some say, to Day; but as others, not till *Thursday*, being the Day after the Bonfires intended for *Grave*. Yesterday were sent into my Yard about forty Pitch Barrels upon this Occasion, being said to be sent by Order of the States; and the like, or in proportion, to other foreign Ministers; but I ordered them to be sent back, and told some of the States, That whenever I made any such Fire, I would do it upon his Majesty's Charge, and no others: That, in the mean time, I did not think fit to do it at all upon this Occasion, when his Majesty had offered his Mediation in a Quarrel lying between Two of his Allies; and, that it would not look like the Part of a Mediator, to have his Minister thus concern himself in Successes of either side. They pleaded an old Form in this Matter, and that it was intended to be done by those the States employ'd, and especially in the chief open Places of the Town. Upon which I told them, They might do it how they pleased, but that I should no way concern my self in it.

I ask Your Pardon for so long a Trouble, which I shall end, with the Professions of my being always,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To the KING.

Hague, Nov. 30. S. N. 1674.

May it please Your Majesty,

HAVING seen the Prince twice since his Return hither, and at Leisure, I thought it became me to give Your Majesty an Account of what I could observe, as to his present Dispositions, both in general, and more particularly, in what concerns Your Majesty, and the Business of the Peace. In general, I believe, he is pleased with the Life he has led this Summer, and loves the Trade, and thinks himself better in Health and Humour, the less he is at rest: so that, I doubt, the Motions towards Peace, must be made from his Interests, rather than his Inclinations. For what touches Your Majesty, I find all the Expressions of Duty, and Service, and Affection, to be such, as You can desire, and to have all the Appearance that can be of Sincereness and Truth. And I believe them so the more, by his Highness's enlarging so much upon the Interest of a near Conjunction with Your Majesty, and between the Nations; which, he says, would make You both safe at Home and Abroad, and in need of no other Alliances: And a great deal more of this kind.

For the Business of the Peace, tho' he complains very much of the ill Performance of the *Spaniards* and *Imperialists*, yet I find him positive upon these Points: That this State can make no separate Peace upon any Terms that *France* can offer them: That a general Peace cannot be made without leaving *Flanders* in a Posture of defending it self from any new and sudden Invasion of *France*, against which no Guarantees could defend it: That *Spain* cannot quit

the County of *Burgundy* nor *Cambray* upon any Exchange ; nor any thing in *Flanders* beyond the Terms of the *Pyrenees*, unless it be *Aire* or *St. Omer*. That he had written to Your Majesty all he yet knew of the *Spaniards* Intentions ; but if he might know upon what Terms You thought a Peace reasonable, and desir'd it, he would do all in his Power to bring it about, as he had done in the Business of the Mediation, which, he told me, was now accepted at *Madrid*, as well as *Vienna*. When I said, Your Majesty having been the Author and Guarand of the Peace at *Aix*, and not having seen the *French* yet beaten out of any one Town that was given them by that Treaty, could with ill Grace propose any thing to *France* beyond those Terms, or something equivalent. He said resolutely, That 'twere better going on with the War, let it last as long, and cost as much as it would ; and that he believed all Men of any Sense in this Country were of the same Mind. I told his Highness, That I doubted it, and wish'd, that, upon Trial, he did not find it otherwise. But seeing him unmovable upon these Discourses, I turned them another way, and said, Tho' Your Majesty would omit nothing that became a Christian King and a Friend to his Highness, in the good Offices towards a Peace, yet, if they were not understood to be so, Your Majesty might, perhaps, content Your self to grow rich by the Encrease of Your Customs and of Trade ; and let them and their Neighbours knock their Heads together as long as they pleased. He smiled, and said, He believed so ; and for that Reason, I talked of Terms which I knew the *Spaniards* could not accept of : And then he fell into Talk, How easie it was for Your Majesty to bring *France* to such a Peace as You pleased, and how much it was Your Interest to leave *Flanders* safe ; and many Things upon that Theme, that Your Majesty hath heard enough of before from Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*. The End was, That he would expect to know Your Majesty's Mind upon his last Letter, to which he could add nothing till then. And I thought Your Majesty by this Account, and the Knowledge of Your Mediation being accepted now by all Parties, would the better resolve what Step to make next in this Matter ; which was the Occasion of this Trouble. It is already too long, but must not end, without the Marks of that Devotion wherewith I am,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most Loyal,

and most Obedient Subject,

and most Humble Servant.

To my Lord Chamberlain.

Hague, November 13. N. S. 1674.

My Lord,

I Have given his Majesty a particular Account of the best Observations I could make upon my first Audience from his Highness, and a Visit he has since made me ; besides what I writ to Mr. Secretary *Williamson* the Day of his Highness's Arrival. By all which, You will judge what sort of Dispositions You have to deal with in this Prince ; little favourable, I doubt, to the Designs of a general Peace, as little inclined to the unactive Life which such a Scene must introduce. Besides, he finds his Authority rise with his Credit among the People here, by every small Success of his Arms, which is attributed personally to him ; while the Want of it in the Confederate Armies, is laid wholly upon the Conduct or Qualities of the other Generals. He hath a very good Opinion of his own Troops, and a very great one of the *Germans* ;

believes,

believes, if the Count *de Souches* had pleased, the Prince of *Condè* had been certainly beaten at *Seneffe* ; and reckons, that by a better Constitution of the Imperial Court and Ministers, the Confederates may hope for more Honour next Campaign, than they had this. On t'other side, He thinks *France* will find it hard to furnish so many and so good Men as *Germany* ; and that if the Confederates lose this Conjunction to free themselves and *Flanders* from any further Fears that way, they are never to hope for another. Besides what I gather from my self, I hear, all that have attended his Highness this Campaign agree, That he is pleased with the Life, both the Fatigue and the Dangers he meets with, which have great Effects upon the Soldiers Kindness to him, and must cost him but little, if it be true what the Ministers say, That he believes the Point of Predestination the firmest that ever any body did, and laughs at any of them, that speak modestly of it.

All these Points look dangerous to the Peace. Now those that look favourable, are, The General Dispositions of the Towns here, upon the Point of Trade ; The Jealousie of our getting into a Possession of it too far to be retrieved ; and, underhand, Of the Prince's growing too far into the sole Influence upon the State : The Revolt of *Messina*, which, if it grows higher, and the Contagion should reach *Naples*, as well as other Parts of *Sicily* (as is discoursed here) would make *Spain* glad to secure those Parts, by the exposing of *Flanders* a little more than they would otherwise be content to do : And, lastly, The engaging of *Sweden* in the Party of *France*, by open Action, (since the Agreements between them are no longer, I think, a Secret any where) which might change the Scene in the Affairs of *Germany*. I know not what to say to the Talk here, that runs privately (but among Persons of the State) of the Conspiracy of Prince *Lobkowitz*, and others, at *Vienna*, having reach'd as far as the Emperor's Life ; or, of the sharp Resentments of that Court against *France*, upon such Pretences. But I look for all the Difficulties that can be given the Peace from thence, upon several Regards, which I have formerly touched, and am still as apprehensive of as before, by what I hear from all Hands.

I thought it not unnecessary to mention all these Points, that his Majesty might have the fullest Light towards the first Steps he shall make in this Matter, after the Acceptance of his Mediation from all Parts, and the Answer he hath received from the Prince to his last Letter upon this Subject. And tho', perhaps, his Majesty may not think fit to signify upon what Terms he would have the Peace made, as the Prince hath desired him ; yet, since some Ground to work upon will be expected from his Majesty, it may not be amiss to say, That upon such or such Terms, his Majesty hath some Hopes of inducing *France* to an Agreement, and leave the Draught of them with the Prince of *Orange*, whose Answer upon it will give, at least, some Entrance into this Negotiation.

I am ever, and very unfeignedly,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To

To my Lord Treasurer.

Hague, December 4. S. N. 1674.

My Lord,

*Lord Ar-
lington^{es}
Earl of Of-
fory.

THE Unkindness I complained of from Your Lordship, in giving me no Knowledge before-hand of my Lord *Latimer's* Journey, has been by his Lordship fully made Amends for since : When upon his Arrival he was so kind as to come straight away to my House, as to his own, and use it so, as he at least makes me believe ; which I shall, I am sure, love him for as long as I live, and serve him as far as I shall ever be able, both for Your Lordship's sake, and for his own. I waited upon his Lordship to the Prince, who received him not only well, but kindly ; and, I am sure, will use him so while he stays in this Country. I knew the other * Two Lords had no need of any Introduction, though they were pleased to desire it, and therefore, by Agreement between us, it was excused ; and the Two Conferences they have had with his Highness have been without my Intervention, or any other part, than what my Lord Chamberlain has since given me. By all I yet know, there is nothing deeper in this Business, than what Your Lordship was pleased to tell me, so frankly and so kindly, in the Letter I had the Honour of receiving by my Lord *Latimer* ; for which I return Your Lordship my very hearty Acknowledgments, as I am sure becomes me : And, I may say very truly, That the Lights You pleased to give me there, were more than I have yet received any other way : For tho' I am told the main Errand of the Journey to be the same, as I receiv'd it from Your Lordship ; yet, I hear nothing of a Letter from the Prince to Monsieur *Odyke*, having given a Rise to it ; and if Your Lordship had not told me so, I should be apt to doubt it, and to believe, that other Circumstances must have had their part in the first Conception of this Matter. I find by the Prince, as well as my Lord Chamberlain, that what Your Lordship says only, You believe, is true, of their having no Powers or Instructions written, but a Credential as ample and honourable as can be. And upon the first part that was given us hither of this intended Journey, I remember the Prince told me, what Your Lordship says with more Ground, that he was sure Monsieur *Ruvigni* had his part in it. For what Your Lordship says of these Two Lords Acquaintances and Interests so great with the Prince, having occasioned the Choice of their Person ; all I know is, that if they doubted it, they did well to try ; because Friends that have been long asunder, know not how they are together till they meet, especially if they parted last, no better than I know some of these did.

Upon the whole, I am of Opinion, that this Business will produce no Effect at all, proportion'd to the Noise it has made both in *England* and here ; and that it may not go much farther than Expostulations and Compliments on both sides : And, perhaps, if it were upon any great Business, the less of both might not be the worse. When I said Compliments, I intended not such Expressions of Kindness as are not meant, but such as are more or greater than there is need of ; and if what passes of this kind, have no farther End than I know of, I cannot tell whether there has been any great Occasion for them ; since the Prince cannot say much more than he has done to me ever since our Meeting, of his Affection and Service to his Majesty. And on the other side, I take him to be an unmovable Person in all Points of what he esteems his own Honour and Interest, and not to be talk'd into, or out of any Points, where he esteems either of them much concerned.

This is all I can yet say upon this Occasion, and may be too much to have troubled Your Lordship with, had not You given me the Encouragement. If I meet with any thing more important to Your Lordship's Knowledge, I shall make use of the Way You present me by a Servant of my Lord *Latimer's*, and should have been glad Your Lordship had sent me a Cypher over, which might have been necessary upon some Occasions. My Wife is Your Lordship's most

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Humble Servant, and acknowledges the Honour of Your Remembrance : We are both so to my Lady. My Son will, I doubt, take notice of us no longer, having the Honour of being absolutely retained in my Lord *Latimer's* Service since his Arrival here.

I will add no more to Your Lordship's present Trouble, besides the Assurance, That the Confidence Your Lordship is pleased to use me with, shall never be forgotten, nor undeserved, as far as lies in the Reach of so much Sincereness and Passion, as that wherewith I have always profess'd my self,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To the KING.

Hague, December 4. S. N. 1674.

May it please Your Majesty,

I Received so great an Honour by a Letter which my Lord Chamberlain brought me from Your Majesty, that I am sure I shall never forget it, whether I live to deserve it, or no. Though his Lordship might justly have pretended to my Services here, from the Friendship between us, yet, I hope, Your Majesty believes Your Commands are so sacred to me, as to need no Help from my Inclinations, to make them obey'd : And therefore I shall only say, That if his Lordship fails of any Assistances or Services that I can give him here, it shall be his own Fault ; since I resolve to go on as I have begun, in desiring from him the Knowledge in what Manner, and to what Degree, he would use them. I esteem this Journey of so great Persons, and so much my Friends, the best Fortune, and most Honour that could have befallen me in this Place, and hope the Success of it will be whatever Your Majesty proposed to Your self by it ; and beg Your Majesty to believe, That so Your Business be well done, and Your Majesty grow as Great and as Happy as I wish You, I shall have nothing left to ask for my self, by whose Services soever that be atchieved.

The Two Conferences my Lord Chamberlain hath had with the Prince, have pass'd by Concert between his Lordship and me, without my Intervention, or having had other Part in them than what his Lordship has since given me. All the Light I have offered to give to a Person that knows his Way so well, hath been only my Opinion not to go too far in Expostulations : For, besides what I know of the Prince's Nature in that Point, I have observed them apt to end well between Lovers, but ill between Friends.

The Knowledge of all worth Your Majesty's Trouble from hence, will, I know, be transmitted from my Lord Chamberlain, and leave me no other Part, than that of my Humble Acknowledgments upon the Confidence Your Majesty has been pleased to express of me in so great Occasions, and the plain Offers of that very sincere Devotion wherewith I am, and shall ever be,

Your Majesty's most Loyal Subject,

and most Obedient

Humble Servant.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, December 21. S. N. 1674.

SIR,

UPON a long Conference Yesterday with the Deputies of the States, I agreed, in the first Place, upon the Instrument for continuing the Marine Treaty of 1668, until the expiring of the Time appointed for the Exchange of the Ratifications of the last Treaty concluded at *London*; wherein I have pursued his Majesty's Commands transmitted to me in Your last, without reasoning at all upon them.

The Instrument will, I hope, be signed before the Closure of this Dispatch; and the Publication of it made immediately here, as the Notice of it is already sent to the Admiralties of the several Provinces. After our Agreement upon this Matter, we fell upon the several Heads transmitted to me from the Commissioners of Plantations, upon the Affair of *Surinam*. I obtained, in the first Place, That new Orders shall be sent to the Governor there, by the Person to go along with the Advice Yacht, and containing the very Words transmitted to me in the last Paper; with the Addition only, Of using no Threats to such as desire to stay: Which I find my Lord Chamberlain, as well as I, understands to be agreeable to his Majesty's Intentions.

In the next Place, I gained the Consent of all the Deputies, excepting him of *Zeland*, That his Majesty should send a Man of War to convoy the three Fly-boats, and lie out in the River till they were ready to return. And tho' the Deputy of *Zeland* would not absolutely consent, without the Communication of the other Deputies of his Province; yet he gave me Reason to be confident the Thing would be yielded to, though it pass'd with very much Contest; not upon any Jealousy, as they pretended, of his Majesty's good and fair Intentions; but of such Persons as might be employ'd in the Execution of them: And thereupon would have enter'd into greater Complaints of Major *Bannister* than he made of them; but that I cut them off as no Part of my Business.

After this, we fell upon the Heads of the Orders desired for the Commissioners his Majesty intended to send. Upon the second Article they insisted, to have our Riding in their Rivers and Creeks, and moving from Place to Place, to be with Consent of their Governor. But I found this Expedient, To have it only with his Communication; which Words are added to it upon the third Article. The Deputy of *Zeland* affirming, That it sometimes happened, that there was so great a Scarcity of some Sorts of Provisions, that they had not enough for the Use of the Colony; we added these Words, That they might buy them at the usual Rates, *en telle quantité que cela n'incommoderoit pas la Colonie*. Upon the twelfth Article we agreed, That it should be reciprocal on our Side as well as theirs. All the rest we agreed in our own Words; except the sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth, which run all upon the same Foot. Nor could I obtain them, after all our Debates; but, on the other Side, the Pensioner *Fagel* was peremptory, and positive in it, That they could not possibly be agreed to: And that, not only because there was no Ground for them, in the Article of our last Treaty; but because, he said, The States themselves, or, at least, those which are called so here, as representing the States, have not the Power to do it, or to alter the Course of Judicature amongst any of their Subjects. As for Example; Not to order Men to be tried, in any Cases of Contract or Debt, before any others, besides the usual and constituted Judicature of the Place. Not to force any Man to accept of another Creditor, than him to whom he had lent his Money. Not to force any Man to accept of Land or Houses, in Payment of Money he had lent: And so the other Matters, relating to the rest of those fore-mentioned Articles. And these Points they argue to be not only out of the Power
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of the States; but contrary to the known Constitutions of the Civil Law, from many common Places, not necessary to repeat. All they offer upon these Points is only, in the first Place, To order the Accomplishment in full of the Words of the Article in the last Treaty; whereby it was agreed, His Majesty's Subjects there, should be tied to no other Rules and Laws, in Points of Buying, Selling, or Commutation of Goods, than what were practised among all the other Inhabitants of that Colony; but should in all Points of Civil Justice, have the same Privileges with the rest. In the next Place, they offered to give Order to certain Commissioners of their own, to assist any of his Majesty's, with the utmost of their Power, towards the disposing any Parties concerned in any such Debts, to adjust them, either by Exchange of the said Debts for others; or by taking Satisfaction for them in Lands or Goods; so they might be agreed by the Consent of the Parties concerned. But if that could not be done, they could not force their Subjects, nor deny them the Right of having Recourse to the Justice of the Place, for the final Determination of all such Matters. And in this they were unmoveable, as a Thing out of their Power. And, on the other Side, I told them, What they offered was not at all what I could accept of: So that I had nothing to do, but to represent it to his Majesty, and pursue the Orders I should thereupon receive. In the mean Time, I am assured, That the Orders necessary to the *Advice Vacht*, shall be in my Hands before the closing of this Pacquet. I am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To the KING.

Hague, January 22. S. N. 1675.

May it please your Majesty,

SINCE my last, I heard of a long Letter, come hither from the Count *d'Estrades* to the late Pensioner of *Mastricht*; by whose Intervention the said Count at first began, and hath since managed, a secret Correspondence here, with the Pensioner *Fagel*, and, by his Conveyance, with the Prince. I gave Your Majesty some former Notices of it by Your Secretaries; and I find, that since that Time it has run coldly, and most upon a Treaty of Commerce, and a Cartel of Prisoners. But hearing this last Letter run into Things more general, I fell into the Discourse of it, with the Pensioner *Fagel* yesterday; and, at last, engaged him to send me a Copy of the Letter, which he confess'd to have by him; but that the Prince had the Original. I caused it to be transcribed immediately, and send it Your Majesty inclosed. Upon the whole, I find the Pensioner fixed, That this State must venture all, rather than quit their Allies; but for what concerns themselves, not only desirous, but impatient for a Peace. For the Match proposed in the Count's Letter, I find him little inclined to it; but very much to that of *England*. Upon this Talk I asked him, Whether he had not heard of another, between the King of *Spain*, and *Mademoiselle*. He confessed he had, and seemed to wonder at this in the Letter; because he thought the Advice of the other came the same Way, though not directly. I asked him, What he thought of the Match with *Spain*? And when he said a great deal of wishing and applauding it, upon the Conditions of *France's* endowing her with the Conquests of *Flanders*; I told him, He had Reason; and that the State might very well give a Queen's Portion, to have the Match, and the Peace, made upon those Terms. He confess'd it, and said, at last, *Je me fais fort de faire donner deux cent mille Jacobus a cette condition*; and when I said, They might very well undertake for *Spain's* giving as much more, we ended this Conversation.

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I thought it became me to give Your Majesty Knowledge of what pass'd ; and only to say upon it, That, in my weak Opinion, this were an Adventure worthy Your Majesty's Atchievement : By which alone, in all present Appearance, the Peace of *Christendom* may be restored : By which *France* may come out of the War with Honour, and *Spain* with Safety : By which Your Majesty leaves a Neice, with one of the greatest Crowns of *Christendom* on her Head : By which You may draw a mighty Treasure into Your Purse : And by which, after the Applauses of all the World abroad, and all Your Subjects at Home, upon a Peace whereby *Flanders* is secured ; Your Majesty will have Glory and Ease together attend all the rest of Your Life. And so I leave it to Your Majesty's Thoughts, and beg Your Justice in believing me,

Your Majesty's, &c.

I beg of Your Majesty the inclosed Copy may be secret, whether it be useful, or no.

To the K I N G.

Hague, January 29. S. N. 1675.

May it please Your Majesty,

UPON the Discourses with the Pensioner, of which I gave Your Majesty an Account in my last, the Prince took Occasion to enter with me upon the same Subject, just upon his leaving the Town. He spoke of it with great Hopes, That Your Majesty would fall in with such a Project of the Peace ; with Confidence, That You might most certainly and easily effect it, if You pleased ; and with Despair, of seeing it brought about any other Way. Upon my mention of Money, in general, he said, That should not fail : And upon my raising Difficulties, of *France* quitting so many conquered Places, though upon Consideration of such a Match ; he said, If all would not be consented to, he believed it might be done upon those that were most necessary to the Security of *Flanders*. That he knew so much of the Condition of *France*, as to believe they would be glad of a Peace, if they could have it with Honour, which this would give them ; and that, however, he was sure they would not refuse it Your Majesty, if they saw You desired it. He spoke of it as a Thing that would give him Assurance of Your Majesty's Impartialness in the general Affair ; of Your good Meaning to his Highness, and the Safety of these Countries ; and of that which would make Way for the firmest and closest Measures between You, for ever after. He desired me to write of it personally to Your Majesty, and to give him immediately an Account of what Answer I received ; which makes me give Your Majesty more Trouble than I should have presumed to do, upon any other Occasion ; and take Notice of it to no other Hand, till I receive Your Majesty's Command upon it, what I shall say to the Prince. I confess, I took it for a Scheme of great Honour, Happiness, and Ease to Your Majesty. And if You should effect it, and after a general Peace fall into those close Measures with the Prince and this State, which my Lord Chamberlain so much discoursed of here ; I should not despair of seeing them brought to give Your Majesty, upon a defensive League, a Clause of Guaranty upon all Quarrels You might have by Your Right to the Flag : Which would be certainly the Way to give Your Majesty an undisputed Possession, of what hath been hitherto a disputed Claim ; and thereby leave to Your Majesty's Crown and Reign, the greatest Glory that hath arrived to any of Your Ancestors.

I had troubled Your Majesty with this by last Post ; but that hearing something more had passed in the *Mastricht* Correspondence, I resolved first to speak

Speak with the Pensioner *Fagel*; which I could not do till *Sunday*. He told me, There was another Letter come from the Count, and all the Arguments that could be, used to draw this State off from the Measures with the House of *Austria*, and into the old ones with *France*; and that besides all other Advantages of Trade, it was proposed to give them a Port in the *Mediterranean*, upon the Coast of *Italy*. But upon the whole he said, They could not leave their Allies; discoursed much of the Forces they should have next Campaign; of the little Appearance to make a Peace, at present, any other Way, than by the Project mentioned. And concluded, That if all Success failed, so as their Allies should break into separate Treaties; he doubted not, but they could take better Measures with *France*, than any of the rest.

I humbly beg Your Majesty's Pardon for these Troubles; and Your Acceptance of that Devotion and Truth, wherewith I am, and shall ever be,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most Loyal,

and most Obedient,

Subject and Servant.

To Sir Joseph Williamfon.

Hague, February 22. S. N. 1675.

S I R,

SINCE my last, I have received Yours of the 3th, which brought me a Copy of the most Christian King's Answer to his Majesty, upon the Proposal of *Meurs* for the Place of Congress, and his Majesty's Commands how to proceed farther with the States in this Matter. The best Account I can give You of my obeying them, will be by the inclosed Memorial; which being the first I have put in to the States, upon the Subject of his Majesty's Mediation, I thought might be fit to trouble You with; that so I might know, whether, being left so much at large in this Commission, the Conceptions I have upon it, agree as they ought to do with those of his Majesty; both as to the main Scope, and as to the Manner and Circumstances of proceeding in it. One of the great ones, and most to be considered, I take to be that of persuading the Confederates, that his Majesty is as impartial as a Mediator ought to be, in the Conduct of this Affair; and, therefore, You will find this Design run through the whole Contexture of this Memorial: The rest is, I hope, just what his Majesty commanded me to pursue upon the Point of *Nimeguen*, and the Instances as strong as I could make them; and may not possibly be less successful for the Pensioner's Absence; if the States think fit to come to a Resolution upon it, without his Communication, which I may yet know before the Closure of this Letter: In the mean Time, I shall give You the State, as well as I can, of the *Swedish* Mediation, in Answer to the latter Part of Your Letter; and Your Commands of doing all by Concert or Communication with him.

Hitherto he has always brought, or sent me, Copies of all the Memorials he has put in upon the Subject of his Master's Mediation, within a Day or two after he delivered them; but without any Communication before of what they imparted; though they have been many, since he knew and complimented me, upon his Majesty's Mediation being accepted by all Parties. I have observed the same Course with him, and still give him Part of what passed at the Conferences between me and the States Deputies upon the same Subject; and we live in all Points the best and the friendliest that can be together.

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gether. But upon the whole Matter, I take his Majesty's Mediation, and that of the Crown of *Sweden*, to be different so essentially, as well as in Circumstances, that I know not how they can be so absolutely joined as You seem to intimate ; nor whether it ought to be endeavoured farther than maintaining the best Correspondence that can be with them, and making, as near as we can, the same Pace, though separately, in the Course of this Affair.

For the first ; You know when the *Swedes* Mediation began, We, and *France*, and these States, were all the Parties in the Quarrel : That during the Mediation at *Cologn*, by an Alliance with *Spain*, the House of *Austria* came, with other Princes, to be Principals in it : That after this Incident, though the *Swedish* Mediation continued, yet it reached no farther in the Negotiations of their Ambassadors, than the first Parties : And though it was endeavoured (whether it failed upon Punctilioes, or more important Speculations) 'tis certain, that neither the Emperor, nor the Court of *Spain*, have ever yet been induced to accept of that Mediation. So that neither they on one Side, being refused by some Parties, nor the Pope, who will be refused by others, can pretend to make the same Figure in this Business as his Majesty does, who is accepted by all.

In the next Place ; though Monsieur *Ehernsteyn* has since his Arrival here, very industriously kept up the Part of a Mediator, by very frequent and voluminous Memorials, which he has lately printed all together ; yet they have been considered by the States little farther, than either as general Discourses, or Declamations upon the Theme of Peace ; or else Diligences affected purposely to preserve the Figure of Mediation in that Crown, with this State, while they were at first preparing, and since engaged in open Hostility, with the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, one of their Allies : For whose Defence, they knew this State was by Treaty obliged to employ all their Forces ; and come to an open Rupture with the Invader.

Ever since I came hither, I have been frequently entertained by those of the States, and particularly by the Pensioner, with very sharp Complaints of the *Swedes* towards them ; and their open and avowed Partiality to *France*, in the whole Course of the Mediation. But more of the *Dejhonnetetè*, as they term it, to continue the Offers and Paces of Mediator, after the Treaties formerly concluded with *France* ; their Money so openly received, and their hostile March into the Duke of *Brandenburgh's* Country. But after the News of this last Adventure, the Pensioner, at the Head of the States Deputies, in the next Conference upon their Desires upon his Majesty's proposing *Meurs*, told me, The States had at first ordered the same Desire to be made to the *Swedish* Ambassador, but had since resolved that should be omitted ; because they could not consider that Crown any longer as Mediator, after their being engaged actually in a War with one of their principal Allies, and upon Measures formerly taken with their Enemies.

You know since, how this Motion of the *Swedish* Army has been a blind sort of Business on both Sides ; they, on the one Side, apprehending the resolute Professions of this State to declare open War by Sea and Land ; and not only to engage their Confederates, but endeavour it with the *Muscovite* too, in case they did not retire their Forces out of the *Brandenburgh* Country, have seemed of late very irresolute how to go on, or come off from the Adventure : And by a middle Course of only quartering in his Country, but attacking none of his Towns, and paying sometimes for what they take, that they might not be said to live wholly at Discretion, as in an Enemy's Country ; they have seemed to design the giving just so much Satisfaction to *France*, as might preserve their Treaties with that Crown ; and so little Offence to the Confederates, as might keep off a general Breach with the Emperor, as well as *Spain* and this State ; and, perhaps, most of the Princes of the Empire too, in Conjunction with *Denmark*.

On the other side, This State, tho' they have, from the first March of the *Swedish* Troops, declared positively to the Ambassador here, That they would open the War, unless his Master recalled his Forces out of the *Brandenburgh*

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Territories; yet they have delayed it all this while, upon pretence of that Resolution's running the Circle of all the Provinces with some more than usual Delay: But in Truth, that before they begin an Action of such Consequence, they may be first assured of their Confederates Intentions, take their Measures with them, for beginning, as well as carrying on the War; and in the mean time, give *Sweden* Leave to avoid it, by recalling their Forces. As this Matter has played upon these Circumstances and Dispositions, so You will easily imagine the Business of their Mediation has sometimes appeared alive, and sometimes dead; and whether it be one or t'other, for my part, I cannot tell. For, notwithstanding what the Pensioner told me, as I before mentioned, and what I hear was replied at a Conference by the Deputies to the *Swedish* Ambassadors upon that Occasion; yet, I find, he still continues his Memorials in the same Style, and will, I know, make all the Paces imaginable, to preserve this Figure of Mediation as long as can be done.

Now, whether this continue or no; which yet I will formally ask the Pensioner at his Return, as You desire; yet, I doubt, for my part, whether it will not weaken the Force of his Majesty's Mediation (which will chiefly consist in the Opinion of its being impartial), to join it openly and formally with that of *Sweden*; which, whether the War go on or no, will ever be interpreted not only partial to *France*, but even to be managed by the very Motions they shall receive from thence.

I am ever, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

Hague, February 26. S. N. 1675.

My Lord,

I Was extreme sorry to find by Your last of the 9th, that Your Illness was returned, after I had flatter'd my self, with its having left You, from what Your former told me. God send Your next may bring me better News of it, which will be welcomer to no body, than me. I am very glad to find his Majesty has that Proposition still in his Thought and Endeavour, and hope, he will pursue it till it falls one way or other: For, in all Business of publick or private Concernment, I have always thought the best Rule is, as in Hunting, one Thing at a Time, and see the End of it before another begins. I am very proud to find his Majesty's Opinion, as well as Yours, agree with what I had at the first upon this Business of *Gelderland*: 'Tis now over; but the Smart of it will not wear off, without further Time; and bending the Stick a contrary way, must make it right. I think his Majesty, for his own sake, as well as the Prince's, has Reason to be of the mind he is, in this Matter: For all Offers of that kind, lose us as many Friends in this Country, as they gain to *France*: And it was a common Voice of *Amsterdam*, That they had better be under the Subjection of that Crown, than of an absolute Sovereignty at Home. In those few Days the Noise lasted, there was above Three hundred thousand Pounds drawn out of the Bank of *Amsterdam*; the *East-India* Actions fell above Thirty; and those upon the *Cantores* of *Holland* fell from a Hundred to Seventy five, which was Five lower than at the most desperate Crisis of the last War. Which are Effects that might amaze such as do not either understand or consider, how much Trade, and indeed all Government, depends upon Opinion.

The Prince has, in his Letters to the Province of *Utrecht*, thanked them for their Kindness express'd to him in their Advice, and fallen very sharp upon those in other Provinces, who could ground such Suspensions, as they had, upon that Occasion: Which makes me fear, He does not yet know enough
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of the Temper of his Patient, nor how little any sort of rough Physick agrees with it. And, let me tell You, between us, That among some younger or warmer Heads, they say, our Friend has been the chief Consulter of this Affair; which, for my part, I think, agrees very well with what others say, of his being at Heart as much a Republican as *Monfieur de Witt*. For, I am sure, nothing could have given so great a Check to any Designs of Dominion here, as this has done. Whereas, by a Course of very popular Councils, with some Successes in the War, the States themselves, in some little Time, might have been the Instruments of increasing the Prince's Authority, or the People might have forced them to it, by their Trust and Kindness to the Prince, and thereby preferring his Government before their own.

I cannot tell You any thing yet, what is like to be done about his Majesty's Proposition of *Nimeguen* for the Place of Congress; the States having sent it to the Prince, as I had done at the same time I put in my Memorial to them. I have press'd it both with his Highness and here, as the only way of meeting: But, after all, I am apt to think, the Campaign will begin before the Treaty; and the Events of one, will be governed by those of the other. I believe, the Method of the next Action will be, To have the Emperor's Army act either by it self, or in Conjunction only with that of the Circles; and for the *Brandenburgh* and *Lunenburgh* Troops to fall in as Auxiliaries only to the Prince of *Orange*; who shall command alone, and, upon Occasion of a Siege or a Battel, receive other Auxiliary Troops likewise from the Duke *de Villa Hermosa*; who will live in the best Intelligence, and, I believe, with very great Deference, to his Highness, in the Councils and Actions of the Campaign.

I write You particular Things, which go no other way; but such as I imagine his Majesty, as well as You, may be content to know.

I am ever, &c.

To my Lord Chamberlain.

Hague, March 22. S. N. 1675.

My Lord,

I Have newly received Yours of the 8th Current, and rejoice with You upon Your Journey to *Huston*, where I wish You the Health and Satisfaction You propose to Your self, and which is necessary both to the Service of our Master, and to the Contentment of Your Friends. What You wonder so much at, both as to the Prince's saying, You had given him no Answer to what he propos'd to You about the Peace; and as to my suffering him to say it; I must tell You, That I very well remember what You writ to me about *Monfieur Ruvigni's* Scheme of that Matter; and I told it the Prince, whether You writ to him, or no. But his Highness never took that for any Answer to what he had advanced to You, at Your being here; which, he says, was not to *France*, nor, to know their Mind upon it, but his Majesty's. Therefore the Answer the Prince expected upon it, was, To know whether his Majesty thought that Proposal, or something near it, a reasonable Ground for such a Peace, as his Majesty judg'd safe and lasting: And, Whether his Majesty would thereupon endeavour it with *France*, while his Highness did the same with the Confederates. If his Majesty should be of this Mind, then the Prince expected, He would propose it to *France*, and signifie their Answer upon it: If that should be just what *Monfieur Ruvigni* sticks to, and no Appearance of going less, I suppose, in plain Terms, the Treaty ends, before it begins, and is not to begin again till the Campaign ends. This, at least, is my Opinion; and that, whatever the Success of the one side, and Disasters of the other, have been the last Year, yet the Confederates will rather throw away the

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Sheath, and buckle again to the War, than take a Peace upon such Terms, before they are absolutely beaten into it.

I have, upon Mr. Secretary *Williamson's* Order, at Two Conferences, desired of the States, to propose a Plan to his Majesty, upon which, or near it, they think their Allies will consent to the Peace. By next Post, You will see it from them in Writing: In the mean Time, I may tell You, It will be much such another on the one side, as Monsieur *Ruvigni's* is on the other: And so must all be, that comes in this open way from the States. Nor should I have desired it, but by Mr. Secretary's Orders, or expected an Issue from any thing here in this kind, but what is first privately concerted between his Majesty and the Prince.

What the States will do, as to interposing for Prince *William of Furstemburg*, I know not: But I hear it talk'd among the Foreign Ministers, That the Emperor will not part with him, unless a Peace be made; and, in that Case, he will oblige himself to give him his Liberty, and pardon him. I have very good Reason to believe the *Swedish* Ambassadors, both at *Paris* and here, make it their Business to hinder the Congress at *Nimeguen*, by throwing in this Incident, as well as other ways, and stomach his Majesty's being left the sole Mediator, by their being so formally rejected; as well as having obtained this Point from the States, after their having failed of *Breda* so long contended for. However, Monsieur *Ebernstein* and I live the best that can be together; which I do, not only by his Majesty's Command, but by my own Disposition too, having visited him four or five times, and communicated all that has pass'd in his Majesty's Mediation, since he has stirr'd out of his Chamber, where he has lain sick either of the Gout, or of Trouble, since he is grown, as he calls it, *tout à fait inutile*: And, I think, indeed, I never saw a more dejected Man than he has been upon this Occasion.

For my own part, I think You have ended Your *Indian* Treaty the best You could: And You know very well, I ever told You, The State here would break, rather than come up to what our Merchants (or the Contrivers of some Unkindness between the Nations) resolv'd at first to ask, and have since stood upon just as You say, either to have All they asked, or Nothing. Nor do I believe, there will be much Use of the Commissioners to decide the Quarrels of the Companies, when other Quarrels are not intended on one side or t'other.

I am ever, &c.

To the KING.

Hague, March 22. S. N. 1675.

May it please Your Majesty,

I Have this Day received the Honour of a Letter from Your Majesty of the 5th, for which I return my humble Acknowledgments, and esteem it much the greater, for having been written upon a Subject, which I knew Your Majesty would not treat otherwise than in Confidence; being, indeed, a very tender Point, and which touches the Strings; upon the good or ill tuning whereof, very much of Your Majesty's greatest Concerns at this Time depends. I will confess, that I was extremely surprized, to read what Your Majesty says has been whisper'd to You, concerning an intended Journey of the Prince this Spring into *England*; and I should be extremely ashamed to be found ignorant here of a Matter of such Consequence, that were known so far off. I have very little Belief of Infallibility, and less of no Man's than my own: But I am as confident as I can be of having any of my Five Senses about me, that the Prince has never had yet One Thought of such a Journey this Season; unless it had happened, that the Peace had been absolutely made, which

which he has not lately had much Reason to hope for ; and for the present, I believe, he thinks no more of a Journey to *London*, than to *Venice* ; nor indeed of any thing, but how to get out of this War with a little Honour and Safety ; towards which, I am confident, he reckons upon pleasing Your Majesty, as a much better and nearer way, than disobliging You in any kind.

This is my Opinion, and I have not yet been out in any of my Calculations here. But because I cannot reckon any thing to be neglected, that deserves Your Majesty's Thoughts, I will, at my first seeing the Prince upon his Return (which is expected after to morrow) let him know, that I hear such a Thing has been whisper'd to Your Majesty, and how I conceive it must be understood, and will, upon this Occasion, talk it to the Bottom, if I find it needs, either from what I meet in his Discourse upon it, or can observe from his Countenance. But if I find it wholly, as I expect, without any manner of Ground, I shall, with Your Majesty's Leave, neither shew him Your Letter, nor speak of it as a Thing Your Majesty believed, or reflected upon. And of all this, I hope to give Your Majesty an Account by the next.

I can easily imagine, what Errand the Whisperers of this Story must have pretended, to give such a Journey of the Prince, about the Time of the Parliament's Sitting : And I will not answer for Monsieur *Van Beuninghen's* busie Talk at such a Season ; tho' he may have as little Thanks for it here, as for all he has lately entered into of his own Head with Monsieur *Ruvigni*. But I should be very sorry to serve Your Majesty in this Figure, upon a Scene where any Motions should arise towards the discomposing Your Majesty's Affairs, either at Home or Abroad, or those Measures You shall think fit to hold, in a Point so material to the Happiness of Your Reign. And, on the contrary, I am pretty confident, that I could prevail both with the Prince and the State here, as to all that concerns themselves, to refer the Business of the Peace wholly to Your Majesty, not as a Mediator only, but as Absolute Arbitrator, and without thinking of any other Recourse, but to Your Majesty's personal Dispositions, and Judgment of what You esteem safe for them and their Neighbours. And if the Point of Honour, and thereby, indeed, of Interest, were not in it, not to abandon their Allies, to whom they owe their own Preservation, and are tyed by so many Treaties, I doubt not but I should be able to send Your Majesty such a Scheme from hence before I am a Week older.

If my Opinions are right, and Your Majesty be so safe and so easie here, as I believe, it will then be possibly worth Your Majesty's observing, from what Quiver this Arrow came, and whether there be no Poison in it, that You may know the Hand another time. If I am mistaken, and there was Reason for such a Suspicion, Your Majesty, I am sure, has a very ignorant Ambassador here, and who has lost the Talent of serving You with the Success has formerly attended him ; though, I am sure, he has lost none of that hearty Zeal, wherewith he has been, and shall be ever,

S I R,

Your Majesty's

most Faithful, &c.

To

To the KING.

*Hague, March 25. S. N. 1675.**May it please Your Majesty,*

IN pursuance of what I writ last Post, I waited on the Prince Yesterday at his Return, and took Occasion to tell him what I heard had been whispered to Your Majesty about his intended Journey this Spring into *England*, without taking notice of having heard any thing of it from Your Majesty. The Prince told me, He knew very well what must be the Meaning of such a Report: That he was very sorry to see some Persons about You resolved to do him all ill Offices to Your Majesty, and endeavour to make Things ill between You, let his Carriage be what it will: That, for his part, he would never deserve it, but he knew not how to help Peoples Talk: They might say, if they would, *That a Cow could catch a Hare*; but he did not know why any body should believe it. I interrupted him, and said, He might be confident, Your Majesty would be the last to believe any thing of his Highness's ill Intentions towards You in any kind: And that, I was sure, You believed nothing of this, whatever had been told You: That he knew very well, how glad Your Majesty would be at all times to see him; but that it might be at some times inconvenient to You both; and therefore, Your Majesty was confident, that whenever he had any Thoughts of it, the first thing he would do, would be, to acquaint You with it, and know Your Opinion, and Your Pleasure upon it. The Prince reply'd, That he would be sure to do so, whenever there was Occasion, but hitherto there had been none: That, it was true, when my Lord *Arlington* was here, they talked sometimes of his going into *England* this Spring, in case the Peace were made; or that, if it were so far advanced, as to let him see it would be done, he should have been content to go and conclude it in *England*: But this was only talk'd at their being here, and that my Lord *Arlington* had first begun it, and put him upon these Thoughts: That, since that Time, he had never thought more of it: And that I can tell very well, as Affairs went, if he had the greatest mind in the World to go, he could not; and that if he could, he was sure he should never think of it, without first asking Your Majesty's Leave, and knowing that You liked it. With that, he said in some Heat, Would to God none about the King had worse Intentions to his Service, than I have: But if he will not believe me, what can I do? I would be very glad to see the King, and have but too much Reason to desire it; but I have something else to do at this Time, than to think of such Journeys.

I tell Your Majesty, as just as I can, his own Words; by which You will best judge of his Meaning: And upon this, I told his Highness, I was very glad I was not mistaken in him; for, upon hearing what had been told Your Majesty upon this Subject, I had written to You the last Post; and thereupon repeated some of the Assurances I had given You, both of his never having had any such thing in Design; and of his Duty and Intentions towards Your Majesty, being in all Points what became him. The Prince told me, He was very much beholden to me for it, and swore, He would always make my Words good; and that he would never deceive You.

May it please Your Majesty,

I had written thus far in the Morning, and thought I had very little to add; but about One a Clock Afternoon, the Prince came to me, and sent for me out of my Closet, where I was locked up. When I came to him, he made me Excuses, at first, in good Humour enough; but suddenly changing Countenance, he told me, He had received a Letter from my Lord *Arlington*, that he could not but come and shew me; for he knew not, for his part, what to say to it, nor what he meant by it: Thereupon he read it all to me; and

upon that part which concerned his Journey into *England*, he said, His Lordship knew well enough, how far that was ever thought of, for he was the first that put me upon it. Then he went on, and read a long Period in Cypher, that begun about *du Moulin's* being still about him, and fomenting the Designs of engaging the Parliament, this next Sitting, in the Affairs of *France*; telling him thereupon, His Highness knew best, whether such Friendships were to be relied on, that were made *à coups des bâtons*: And that he knew very well, there were Discontents here, as well as in other Places; and that, *Si on les touchoit on les pourroit faire saigner encore*. I repeat the Words as near as I can remember, because I know not whether this was written or no by Your Majesty's Communication or Command: And the Prince reading it with some Stammering upon the Interlining of the Cypher, and yet with a good deal of Emotion, I will not answer for every Word; but I am sure I am right in the gross, upon reading the last Words, *On les pourroit faire saigner*. The Prince said, He understood this very well; for it was the same with what my Lord *Arlington* told Monsieur *Reed* in *England*; That if the King would go about it, He could make him be served as Monsieur *de Witt* was: Then he swore in a Rage, That he could not bear this Language from my Lord *Arlington*, nor live any longer with him as he had done: That under Profession of Friendship, and of dealing plainly with him, he saw very well, that he did him all the Mischief he could; and that he could bear it no longer. When I told the Prince, That what my Lord *Arlington* writ, was upon what others had said, and endeavoured to make Your Majesty believe, he said, No, he believ'd it was my Lord *Arlington* himself; and that he had made his Brother *Odyke* hinder *du Moulin's* going to *Surinam*, on purpose that he might still have that Pretext of doing him ill Offices to Your Majesty: That, however, if he had been such a Friend as he pretended, whenever any body else offered at doing him such ill Offices to Your Majesty, my Lord *Arlington*, that knew his Intentions so well, should have given them the Lie, and have answered to Your Majesty for him, and not gone away himself with the Belief of them, or write him such impertinent Language upon no manner of Grounds: Then he wish'd he might die on the Place, if he, or any Man he knew here, had the least Thoughts of making any Intrigues with the Parliament, or offering at any sorts of Application to them; or if ever he had thought or done any thing in the War it self, that deserved any such Language as this. But then he stopt, and said, He would write to my Lord *Arlington* what was fit to be said to such a Letter: But he would write to Your Majesty too; and desired me, I would convey it to You, so as it might be delivered You in private; for, unless he could enter into a personal Confidence with Your Majesty, he knew not how to live with You; for he knew not which of Your Ministers he could trust, since my Lord *Arlington* used him after this manner. I promised his Highness to convey his Letter to You: And, after a great deal of Passion vented, and with all the Professions imaginable, not only of his own Innocence, but that no Man should dare do any thing against Your Majesty's Service, whilst he had any Power; he left me. And I thought it my Duty to give Your Majesty this bare Account of all that pass'd, which I thought of so great Concernment.

What is so to Your Majesty's, will ever make me lose all other Regards. I told Your Majesty at my coming away, I would depend upon none but Your Self: When that fails, I know the Way to my Garden again. In the mean Time, You shall be served with the sincere and particular Devotion that becomes,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most Loyal,

and most Obedient Subject and Servant.

To the Governor and Company of Merchant Adventurers.

Hague, March 26. S. N. 1675.

S I R,

I Received not long since a kind Letter from You, in the Name of the Company of Merchant Adventurers of *England*, and should be very glad to deserve the good Opinion You therein exprefs of me, and of my good Intentions towards the Service of Your Company, in its juſt Pretensions here. It would be an Honour to me, during my preſent Ambaſſy, to retrieve them, after what happen'd to their Prejudice before my laſt Arrival; as it was one to me in my laſt Ambaſſy to reprieve them, which, I think, indeed, I may wholly attribute to my ſelf. I am ſure, no Man can be a greater Servant, and Well-wiſher to all Deſigns of advancing the Trade of our Nation, than I; nor, conſequently, to the Proſperity of Your Company, and of the City of *London*, where it reſides, and where I eſteem it an Honour to have been born. But as to the particular Branches of it, eſpecially this at *Dort*, I dare not take upon me to judge, how much the Eſta bliſhment of it in its former Conſtitutions, imports the Advancement of our Trade; becauſe his Majeſty and Council ſeem to have put ſome Diſcountenance upon that Opinion, by the Liberty or Connivance given, for ſo many Years paſt, to the interloping Trade, which makes it look, as if the preſent Intereſt of Your Company here, were no more than the bare Intereſt of ſome few Merchants habituated at *Dort*, and their Enjoyments of certain Exemptions, which are conſiderable, perhaps, to their Domeſtick and Perſonal Concernments, but very little ſo to the Woollen Trade of the Nation, in which they have but a very ſmall Share, in proportion to what the Interlopers drive.

I may have Leave to ſay, That in what Tranſactions have paſſ'd thro' my Hands upon this Subject, during my laſt and preſent Ambaſſy, I have gone to the Bottom of this Affair, and ſeen by what Springs it has moved: And being a very plain Man, I will deal ſo with You in this Matter, and tell You, That I believe, the Diſcouragements given to Your Company in *England*, by the Liberties allowed the interloping Trade, both at firſt raiſed, and have ever ſince fomented, the ill Talent that You know has been born to it for ſeveral Years, by this Province of *Holland*: For, as to the reſt of the Provinces, they have none at all againſt You. I believe, the Bottom of it here is, That they ſee plainly, whatever Privileges are allow'd Your Company at *Dort*, will be given by the other Towns, either openly or covertly, to all thoſe Interlopers, who bring their Woollen Manufacture directly thither: And in this, the very States themſelves cannot hinder what each Town will do for their own particular Advantage. And the Effect they apprehend from this, is, A general Encreaſe of the imported Manufactures from *England*, and thereby a proportionable Decay of their own; upon which the Intereſt of this Province very much turns: So that I have had it ſaid to me, almoſt in plain Terms, by the Penſioner here, That if the King will forbid the interloping Trade, and reſtore Your Company to its full Rights and Privileges from his Majeſty, they will do the ſame to all they have formerly enjoyed from the States.

When I have ſaid this, I have told You all I know in Your Affair, the States General having deferred their Answer to my Memorial, till the Representations upon it ſhall come from the States of *Holland*: But I have not told You all I ſuſpect; which is, That in the preſent State of Your Company in *England*, it will be very difficult to reſtore it to the former State here, both from what I have already ſaid, and from the Conſtitution of this Government; by which it is very eaſie to prevent a Reſolution of the States in any ſuch Matter, becauſe the engaging of one Town in a Province, or of one Province in the States, may do that: But, on the contrary, 'tis very hard to revoke a Reſolution paſſ'd, becauſe the Conſent of all is neceſſary.

Upon this, You will best judge what Reflections, as well as what Paces, to make in Your Business. And, for my part, as my Duty must ever engage my Obedience to whatever Commands I receive from his Majesty upon this Matter, so my Inclinations will always improve it, all that may be, to the Service of Your Company, which bears, at least, the Name of our Nation and Commerce, tho' many would have it believed, that neither of them are much concerned in it. I am very much so, in the Good Will and Opinion of so Worthy and Honourable a Society ; which I desire You to let them know, and how much I shall, upon all Occasions, endeavour to observe them ; being to them, and to Your self,

S I R,

An Affectionate

Humble Servant.

To Sir Joseph Williamfon.

Hague, April 16, S. N. 1675.

S I R,

I Am to acknowledge Yours of the 30th past, but cannot take upon me to justify, or to clear any part of that *Paper* given me by the States, concerning the Terms of a Peace : They would have been glad to have been excused from doing it at all ; and when 'twas done, were glad 'twas off their Hands ; and, I suppose, have thought little of it, either before, or since. I press'd them to it, because You were pleased to press me ; but knew very well, it could be nothing but a Piece of Form, and that the secret Hinges of such an Affair could not turn before Forty People, but must fasten first between his Majesty and the Prince, and then pass the Forms of the States. His Highness is now perfectly well, has been up, and eat Flesh these Four or Five Days, and shifted to Day ; so that his Life may be reckoned much safer, than it has been these Seven Years. The Stories, You say, are much wonder'd at there, of his having been visited by the Foreign Ministers, and others, every Day in his Sickness, were so far from having any Ground, that there were but Four People, besides the Physicians, that ever went to him ; which were, the *Rhingrave*, Monsieur *Odyke*, Monsieur *Overkirke*, and Monsieur *Bentinck*, of which the Two last were all that watch'd with him a-Nights in turns ; and, indeed, I never knew any Sickness of a Great Man so well govern'd as his ; for, You know how apt they are, upon these Occasions, to be endanger'd by the officious Exercise of too much Care and Skill. Mr. *Skelton* and Mr. *Alston* arriv'd here on *Sunday*, and deliver'd their Letters that Night ; but the Prince excus'd seeing them in Two or Three Days, so as they are gone to *Amsterdam*. The Elector of *Brandenburgh* will, I hear, come hither either the End of this Week, or Beginning of next ; and I hear for a Secret, That the Two Dukes of *Lunenburgh*, that is, *Cell* and *Osnabrug*, will be here too at the same time, upon an Interview with the Prince, in which the Marquis *de Grana* intervenes from the Emperor, to agree upon the Measures of this next Campaign. The *Danish* Ministers have received the Money, or the greatest part of it, agreed by their late Treaty to be paid them before they take the Field ; that is, the whole *Quota* of *Spain*, amounting to 85000 *M. Crowns*, is paid by Don *Emanuel de Lyra*, and the *Quota* of *Holland* and *Zealand* is likewise paid ; but whether they will immediately break with *Sweden*, or stand upon this State's doing it first, or at the same Time, I cannot tell ; or whether this State will go so high or no :

I have

I have one from You by Monsieur *de Bas*, who shall want no Assistance I can give him here. I have likewise a Letter from his Majesty, counterfigned by You, in Favour of the *Elizabeth*, a Ship taken upon the same Pretence with the *Rebecca*, concerning which I wrote in my last, and desired the Declaration of his Majesty's understanding that Article to include the Trading from Enemy's to Enemy's Ports: When this is done, I hope to retrieve these Two Ships, if the Owners are not wanting to themselves in attending the Prosecution.

I am ever,

S I R,

Your most Faithful,

Humble Servant.

To Sir William Lockhart.

Hague, April 18. S. N. 1675.

My Lord,

I Am obliged to Your Excellency for the Favour of one of the 5th past, with the Account of Your ill Usage on that side, in point of Your Letters; which, methinks, does not agree very well with the good Intelligence between our Two Courts, deserving more Confidence, and fairer Appearances, as far as I understand. Your Lordship knows best the Ways of redressing it, tho' the Loss or Delay of my Letters hardly deserve that Care.

The Tumult at *Bordeaux* was, in my Opinion, very prudently appeased; tho' I know not whether the Success or Example of such an Adventure, may not stir Humours, or raise Hopes of the same kind in other great Towns. I confess, as much as I have read and thought, makes me of Opinion, That those Governments are safest and happiest for those that govern, which are easiest for them that obey; and which engage Subjects to love and support them, by the Opinion they shall lose by any Change. And the contrary of this might be possibly felt in *France* it self, if ever they should meet with a Misfortune from Abroad: But that is very unlikely from the present Prospect of their own great Force, and wise Conduct, compared with the ill Concert and ill Success of their Enemies; and the last is like to continue as long as the first, which, You know, is natural to all Confederacies. Yet, whoever goes to Sea, or to War, runs a Venture; which is all I shall say of Matters out of my Way, and my Reach; and not trouble You with the great Things said here by the Marquis *de Grana*, of his Master's Army this Year like to act under *Montecuculi* in *Alsatia*. All the News I can tell Your Lordship from hence, is, The Safety of the Prince; whose Illness has passed without the least ill Sign or Accident; and his Carriage in it, with so great Equalness of Temper, and Constancy of Mind, tho' it be not a Thing of moment; yet has much confirmed the great Opinion I ever had, of his Personal Qualities being very extraordinary. I believe he will be Abroad to morrow, unless he keep in one Day to take Physick, which he is but hardly persuaded to.

Mr. *Skelton* and Mr. *Ashton* came hither on *Sunday* from the King and Duke upon this Occasion of the Prince's Illness; but have not yet seen him, and will not return till next Week.

I am ever with great Respect and Truth,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's most Obedient Humble Servant.

To

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, August 13. S. N. 1675.

S I R,

Since my Return on *Sunday* last, after a slow Passage in very calm Weather, I find my self obliged, by the Advance You have pleased to make me in Yours of the 30th past ; which, by bringing me Excuses there was no Occasion for, hath given me a very just one of making my Acknowledgments : This I should do more at large, if I thought the Omission of Ceremonies were not allowed in an Intercourse of Business ; and were not, indeed, the best Manners to a Person that hath so great a Share as You have always upon Your Hands.

I have since my coming hither, performed in Two Conferences with the Pensioner, what I found my self encharged with in the Instructions I now brought over ; and acquainted him with his Majesty's Resolutions concerning the Warranty of *Flanders*, whenever the Peace is made, even with a Rupture upon any Invasion ; as likewise the Defensive Alliance with this State. I valued them both so far, that I left him extremely satisfied with the first, and not unsatisfied with the other, tho' it went not up to the Height he could have wished, and, as he saith, was in Proposal when my Lord Chamberlain was here. He will be ready to fall into the Consideration of both these, whenever I desire it, which I shall do, when his Majesty thinks fit to possess me with the Project or Heads of them, and to send me further Instructions how far to proceed upon them. For the Peace, he expresseth still the same Disposition towards it in this State, he hath ever done ; and the great Deference they will always have for the Sentiments of his Majesty upon the Conditions of it. Though he says, He doubts not but the State will be induced to furnish the Expence of another Year's War, if *France* continue the Height of their Demands, and the Success of the *German* Army answer the Expectation they have given by the late Encounters. He told me, He would speak with the Ministers of the Confederates here, and acquaint them with the Continuance of his Majesty's good Dispositions and Offices, towards the Advance of the Peace ; and endeavour to find, whether any nearer Approaches might be made towards it, by any new Overture they could agree in, and should be content to put into his Majesty's Hands.

I fell afterwards into the Discourse of the Two Points our late Marine Treaty is still a little lame in ; The Liberty of Trade from Enemy's to Enemy's Port ; and, The manner of Revision. For the First, I found, he did not at all understand where the Difficulty lay ; and that Monsieur *Van Beuningen* had never yet informed the State of the Difference he had so long entertained You with there, between concluding the future and the past. After opening the whole Matter, and reading at last the Declaration as You had drawn it up, I prevailed with him to fall in with it, upon these Conditions : That, on our side, it should not extend to any thing that happened before the last War : And, on their side, it should extend to the Release of all taken upon that Pretence since the last Peace. And the first of these I was easie in, because I knew very well, there could be no Case that concerned it before the last War, when both We and They were in Peace with all our Neighbours, from the first Conclusion of this Article in 1668, till the last War began. Hereupon he resolved, (tho' it cannot be absolutely concluded till an Assembly of the States of *Holland*) however, to propose it to the States General, and endeavour to have it agreed by them, under the Approbation of the States of *Holland* at their next Assembly, which will be about a Month or Five Weeks hence.

For the Point of Revision : When I found him constant that the Forms of Judicature could not be changed here ; which did but agree with what You told me, concerning ours in the Admiralty there, however the Words of the Treaty may seem to own : I at first made him sensible of the great Inequality in

in the Expences of our Revisions and theirs ; and thereupon proposed the only Expedient I can possibly think of in the Case : Which is, That instead of Seven of the first Judges, and Eight Revisors added to them, according to the present Forms ; all Revisions should be made by Three of the first Judges, and Four Revisors joined with them ; which reduceth the Number from Fifteen to Seven, and thereby abates one half of the Charge. This, I told him, was only an Expedient of my own, and which I had not yet offered to the King ; but that I would do it, if he would offer it to the States, and with the Favour of his own Opinion falling in with it. And this we agreed to do on both Hands : So that You will please to let me receive his Majesty's Opinion upon it, as soon as it may be without Trouble ; the Business of the *St. Joseph*, and others, depending upon the Conclusion of this Affair.

I ask Your Pardon for beginning Your Trouble of this kind with so much Length, and Your Belief of my being always,

S I R,

Your most Faithful

Humble Servant.

To the KING.

Hague, Aug. 13. S. N. 1675.

May it please Your Majesty,

SINCE my Return to this Place, I have had Two very long Conferences with the Pensioner, which I will not trouble Your Majesty with the Detail of. The Issue was, That tho' they are grown here into better Heart, by the Success in *Pomerania*, and upon the *Rhine*, yet I found him so sensible of the Hazard this State runneth in the Person of the Prince, and of the Advantage they will receive by the *Guaranty of Flanders*, and defensive Alliance Your Majesty is resolved on with them, in case they come to a Peace by Your Intervention ; that he at length fell in so far with what I told him were Your Majesty's Thoughts upon the Conditions of the Peace, as to assure me, That he would represent them to the Prince of *Orange* with all the Advantage he could. Besides the Difficulties he made about *Burgundy*, in the Consequences of it both to the Emperor and *Spain* ; he fell on himself, with great Perplexity, upon that of the Prince's own Patrimonial Estate in that County ; and said, Those Lands, with *Orange*, would give him too great a Dependance upon *France* ; whereas, he desired to see his Highness have all upon *England*, and none there. Upon the whole, we both concluded, That it was a Matter which could not be so well deduced to the Prince by Letter, as by Discourse ; and that it were best for the Pensioner to find some other Pretence of attending his Highness, and as soon as he could. The Pensioner, tho' he agreed with me in it, yet said, The Prince was so unwilling he should leave the *Hague*, that he would not do it without first asking his Highness's Leave, which he would do by an Express immediately ; by whom I writ likewise to the Prince upon the same Occasion ; but referring all Particulars to the Pensioner, when he should attend him. We expect a Return of this Dispatch on *Thursday* ; and whenever it comes, the Pensioner will away the same Day, and in the mean time, start some Pretence, that may give no Jealousie to the Confederate Ministers here, with whom we agreed this Matter should not take Air, but by Consent between Your Majesty and the Prince. I see more Appearance of a Peace than a Truce ; for I find the Pensioner as averse from this last, as inclined to the other. His chief Reasons are, That there needs as much Negotiation to obtain the one, as the other : The Charge of a War will not

be lessened by a Truce ; and if the People here fall once into the usual Course and Security of Trading, they will not be prevail'd with to return again into the War, tho' *France* should insist upon the most unreasonable Terms.

For what concerns the *Swede*, the Pensioner is of Opinion, that nothing can be negotiated with them, separate from the Confederates on both sides ; tho' he saith, A private Overture has been made, that in this Case this State will procure a Peace between that Crown and the Confederates, *Sweden* will employ not only their Offices, but their Forces too, if there be need, to induce *France* to a Peace upon the Terms of *Aix la Chapelle*, with an Exchange of *Aeth*, *Charleroy* and *Oudenarde*, for *Aire* and *St. Omer*. Whether this have any Ground or no, so much is, I think, out of doubt, That the *Swedes* have an extreme Desire to get out of the War, and into the Mediation again, but will, I believe, find Difficulties in both. I have entertained Mr. Secretary *Williamson* by this Night's Pacquet upon those Matters which were pointed at by my Instructions ; but thought it became me to trouble Your Majesty with the Account of such as I had the Honour of receiving from Your own Discourses ; and chose this Conveyance by the Captain of the Yacht, as both surer and speedier too, if not hindered by cross Tides in the River.

I cannot end this Trouble without my humble Acknowledgments for that particular Confidence wherewith Your Majesty hath been pleased to honour me, in my late Attendances upon Your Majesty in *England* ; and which I am much prouder of, than I could be of any Titles or Advantages that are the common Objects of other Mens Pursuit and Ambition. I assure Your Majesty, mine shall never go farther, than to deserve, or, at least, acknowledge the Honour You are pleased to do me, by all the Services of my Life ; and by the most constant Devotion and perfect Truth, wherewith I am, and shall be ever,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most Loyal,

and most Obedient

Subject and Servant.

To Mr. Sydney.

Hague, September 3. S. N. 1675.

S I R,

I Writ to You from *London* two or three times, whether acknowledging any of Yours or no, I cannot tell ; for the Thoughts of those common Forms enter not into our Commerce, farther than to make the coming safe of what is intended between us. Therefore 'tis fit to tell You, That I had Two from You while I was in *England* ; one by Mr. *Greenwood*, and the last, of *July 21*, just before my coming away. I stay'd there just Seven Weeks, which was much longer than was intended when I was sent for ; as, I must tell You, I was by the King, though, I think, not above Two knew of it ; and I was to make my Journey a Thing of my own Desire, and designed for my private Occasions ; which, You know, I do not much trouble my self about. The King happened to have no Business so much in his Head, all the Time of my stay, as what turns a good deal upon my Hands ; and so, by falling very often into very long Conversations, and privately with me, gave Occasion for a great deal of Talk both There and Abroad, and Expectations of some very decisive Measures taken upon the Business of a Peace ; which, when all is done, both as to Conditions, Place, Time, and Manner of Treaty, will depend much upon what shall

shall prove the final Event of this Campaign. Things have hit something worse of late for the *French* than before : But the Armies, both in *Alsatia* and *Flanders*, having been left by our last Letters in sight of one another, will tell us how the Year, and the Hopes of both Parties will end. Before this can come to You, 'tis likely, You will hear the Success a shorter way ; for I send this by Mr. *Lock*'s Conveyance, having found no kind of Encouragement to use the *French* Posts between this and *Paris* ; and so intending this for no further Intelligence, than of what passes between our selves ; that it self is nothing more, nor like to be, it seems, in haste, than the very needless Assurances, of what, I know, we both feel at Heart, in the Continuance and Warmth of our Kindness and good Wishes to one another, where-ever we are ; and the Satisfaction we shall receive in the Knowledge of what becomes of us.

There seems not yet any Certainty of the *Congress*, and till then, I suppose, I am fixed here : Whenever that happens, 'tis intended I shall make a Part of it, with what Company I know not ; my Lord *Berkley*'s Ambassy into *France* being like enough to break that Designation. Mr. *Fenwick* has my Lord *Clare*'s Regiment, and will find Advantages here, if he deserve them ; being the only *English* Man of Quality in the Prince's Service. I expect You shall be as good as Your Word in writing sometimes where You are, how You do, and think to dispose Your self. I never wanted You more, than I did all the Time I was in *England* ; and never loved You better than I do, and shall do while I live.

S I R,

Yours, &c.

To the KING.

Hague, September 6. S. N. 1673.

May it please Your Majesty,

THE Pensioner came to me upon his Return from the Camp, and gave me this Account of the Prince's Answer to the several Points I had discoursed to him here. First, That his Highness gave Your Majesty humble Thanks for the Confidence You had used towards him, in letting him know Your own Thoughts upon the Subject of the Peace ; which he would endeavour to deserve, by communicating all His to Your Majesty, upon this and all other Matters, as he would do to a Father : That he was very glad of the Intentions Your Majesty express'd, to enter into closer Measures with him and this State ; which his Highness would promote all that could be on this side : And that he esteemed this a better Guaranty for *Flanders*, than any formal one that could be given upon the Peace : And therefore desired, That the Project of such an Alliance as Your Majesty will be content to make with them, may be agreed on as soon as Your Majesty pleaseth ; tho' You should not think fit to conclude it formally before the Peace, which yet his Highness rather desired ; because after, there will be no way of keeping a Party in this State from endeavouring to renew their old Measures with *France* ; but letting them see, they were already taken with *England*, and their Security found with us, which they pretend to by the *French*.

That for the Terms of a Peace, the Prince, for his own part, would be very well content to refer them wholly to Your Majesty. But being, with the States, engaged to their Confederates by Honour and Treaties, they were forced, in some measure, to consider what would satisfy them. That he doubted, as Things now stood, they would not be induced to a Peace, without

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the Terms of *Aix la Chapelle*, and the Restitution of *Charleroy*, *Aeth*, and *Oudenarde*; as absolutely necessary to make some Frontier for *Flanders*. That if *France* insisted to have the County of *Burgundy*, it would find more Difficulty; and that the *Spaniards*, but especially the *Emperor*, put so great Weight upon it, that, he doubted, they would not only expect those Three Towns; but likewise *Tournay*, *Courtray*, *Lisle*, and *Doway*.

That the Prince, for his part, rather wish'd Your Majesty would propose the Peace upon the first of these Plans; wherein, he had very good Assurance, You would be seconded by *Sweden*: But if You should rather chuse to have *Burgundy* left to the *French*, neither his Highness, nor, he believed, the States, would make any Difficulties upon it. And tho' he were very sensible of Your Majesty's Kindness, in the Offers concerning his own particular Interest there; yet, he assures Your Majesty, whatever he hath or may suffer in them, that shall be no sort of Hindrance to the Peace.

That whatever Proposition towards a Peace Your Majesty shall think fit to make, the Prince desires it may be done, as arising wholly from Your Self, without notice of any private Intelligence with him: And he thinks, the best Way of doing it, will be at the Congress at *Nimeguen*; where he doth not believe the *French* will make any farther Difficulty of sending their Ambassadors, when those of Your Majesty shall be there; and that the *Swedes*, as well as the Confederates, will certainly send theirs immediately upon it.

This is the Sum of the Pensioner's Discourse to me from the Prince. And when I told him, That, I supposed, his Highness meant, the Restitution of those Three Places should be made in Exchange for *Aire* and *St. Omers*, as was spoken of at my Lord *Arlington's* being here; he told me, The Prince mention'd no such Thing; and tho' he confess'd what had pass'd in the Winter; yet, he thought, as Affairs had since changed, *France* might find Reasons to induce them to a Peace upon these Terms: Yet, upon farther Argument, he said, That if Your Majesty should think fit to propose an Exchange at the Treaty, he believed the States would not be against it. But he desired, That whatever Your Majesty resolved on, might be proposed at the Congress; and not be, in the mean Time, communicated to Monsieur ———; but that if Your Majesty desired any farther Lights from hence, You would please to receive them as You have done these; assuring me, That no Person but the Prince and himself had been, or should be acquainted with what had pass'd; and adding, That it was great Kindness in Your Majesty to avoid the Noise which my going to the Prince would have made, since his own had made too much among the *Spaniards* in the Army. Upon the whole, I find, the Hearts of the Confederates are grown high with their late Successes, and with Hopes of greater before this Campaign ends; and that the Prince is very much bent upon having his Share in the Honour of it, either by a Siege or a Battle, which, I believe, we may suddenly hear of, and that *Charleroy* is designed. The Event hereof, as well as of the farther Action yet expected in *Alsatia* and *Treves*, will so much govern the Conditions of the Peace, that I do not see how Your Majesty can, at present, be Master of them, farther than by bringing it to a Congress, and making the Overtures there, according to the Posture of Affairs at that Time, when no new Successes on either side shall arise in that Season to change the Scene. I can yet see no farther, unless Your Majesty can think of any Temper, wherein *France* and the Prince may be like to agree before-hand, which will depend upon the Opinion each side hath of their Affairs: Your Majesty will guess at that of the Confederates by what I have written; and, I hope, knows that of *France* by better Hands. I humbly beg Your Majesty's Pardon for the necessary Length of this Trouble, and Your Acceptance of the true Devotion wherewith I am, and shall ever be,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most Loyal and most

Obedient Subject and Servant.

To

To my Lord Chamberlain.

Hague, September 10. S. N. 1675.

I Am to acknowledge the Favour and Kindness of one from You of the 18th past, and of the Account You therein give me of Your self, as well as the Reflections You make upon the Affairs at present in the Scenes here. To the First, I shall say nothing at all; knowing how good a Judge You are of other Mens Affairs; and, consequently, how much better You must needs be of Your own; in which all Men are to be allowed for the best Masters, till they either confess to have failed of their Ends, or not to have found what they expected in them. I hope You find good Recruits of Health in the Country, since You reckon upon staying so long there, as the Accounts I receive of the King's intended Motions, make me guess. But for the Prospect You have there of the General Affairs, I do not think You could mend it by any Removes; for All will still depend upon the last Events with which this Campaign shall end: In which, I find, if the Prince had no wiser Counsellors than You and I, he would be content to preserve his Army and *Flanders*, till he saw the Force of these *German* Expeditions spent one way or other. But, I hear, he is resolved to have a Share in the Honour of the Campaign, and will endeavour by a Siege of *Charleroy* to bring the *French* to a Battle, though they are near as strong in Number as he is, and much stronger in Horse. To this end he is drawing together Eighteen Regiments towards *Ruremonde* from the Garrisons of this State, which will make his Foot strong when they join him. But, when all is done, *Flanders* is the only Scene where the late Successes of the Confederates can, in any Probability, receive a Check this Year; and whoever fights a Battle, runs a Venture. His Grandmother died on *Monday* last, and has, I suppose, thereby left a considerable Addition to his Fortune.

The News here to Day, is, Of taking *Treves*, wherein Monsieur *Crequi*, and all the Officers, remain Prisoners; but the Soldiers, both *French* and *Dutch*, are sent away free, with Engagement not to serve against the Confederates in Three Months; and the *Lorrainers* either to remain Prisoners, or to take Service under that Duke. If this Army should march into *Lorraine*, as was intended after the taking of *Treves*, I know not in what Condition *France* would be to receive them, considering how ill the Prince of *Condé* has yet been able to deal with *Montecuculi*. But I have an Opinion, That the Dukes of *Lunenburg*, who make the greatest Strength of it, will march back with their Troops, to make good their Share in *Bremen*, if the *Swedes* should not be able to defend it; which will depend on the Resolutions of the Duke of *Hanover*, that are not yet known. A Commissary of *Sweden*, who still remains here, says, That *France* will no longer insist upon the Point of Prince *William*; at least, no further, but that he shall be set at Liberty upon Conclusion of a Peace. If this be so, I see not how a Congress will fail; if not, I know not how it will be.

In the mean Time, this State is very earnest to have it begun by the King's sending his Ambassadors thither, which, they undertake, shall be followed not only by those of the Confederates, but the *Swedes* too; who seek all ways of drawing their Stake as soon and as well as they can, out of the present Game.

This is all I know of to be told You at present from this Place of Solitude and Leisure. And for my self, I will only say, That the Journey or further Remove You mention, and were told I was to make immediately after my Return, is a Thing I never heard of before, and so know not what Your politick Informers meant by it; unless it be the same which I believe they meant by several other Things I found they told You, of my Actions or Discourses while I was in *England*, and with as little Grounds. God be thanked, that

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among so many Pursuits and Journeys I have of late, by Report, been engaged in, I know of none of them, but find my self a Man of great Repose, and without other Designs, than of going on that dull, easie, and indifferent Pace, that is natural to me; and by which, as I can make no great Fortunes, so, I hope, I may make no great Faults, and get no great Falls; but shall ever be,

Your most Faithful

Humble Servant.

To the KING.

Hague, September 20. S. N. 1675.

May it please Your Majesty.

HAVING found the Pensioner sensible how little Reason this State would have, upon any Successes, to change the Terms they proposed to themselves for a Peace, since they had no Pretensions of their own for carrying on the War; and having touched the same String in a Letter I writ to the Prince, upon the Death of the Princess Dowager; I received one Yesterday from his Highness of the 17th, wherein were these Words; "*Je ne voy pas qu' avant que j' arrive à la Haye je pourrais faire quelque chose pour l' avancement de la paix, laquelle pourtant je souhaite passionnement sur le pied que je vous ay toujours dit.*" I should be glad Your Majesty and the Prince were so agreed, before a *Congress* begins, as to draw Things towards the same Head in all Matters that shall be negotiated there: And I see no other Difference, than what there may be in the Value of the County of *Burgundy*, or *Aire* and *St. Omer*. I find them here of Opinion, That nothing can be advanced towards a Peace otherwise than at a *Congress*; which they seem to ground only upon the great Variety and Number of Parties and Interests, that are engaged now in the War. But, I believe, this proceeds chiefly from the *Spaniards*, who are extreme jealous of all private Measures that may be taken between Your Majesty and the Prince, upon the Subject of the Peace.

Your Majesty will best judge, whether You are likely to prevail with the Emperor to release Prince *William* before the Conclusion of a Peace; or with *France* to insist no farther upon this Point, before a Treaty begins; and will please accordingly to apply Your Offices towards some way or other of overcoming this Difficulty, which must be the first open Step that can be made towards the Peace, that so as little of the Season for a Treaty may be left as the Campaign will allow.

I will not encrease Your Majesty's present Trouble, beyond the Professions of that Humble and Hearty Devotion, wherewith I am, and shall be ever,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most Loyal,

and most Obedient

Subject and Servant.

To the KING.

Hague, September 27. S. N. 1675.

May it please Your Majesty,

SO great an Honour as I received by a Letter from Your Majesty, has made me equally sensible how much I am to acknowledge it, and which way I may best deserve it, by applying my whole Endeavours to what I find is so much in Your Majesty's Thoughts. We are now so near an End of the Campaign, that I do no longer expect any decisive Action from it : And when all the Fights and all the Bonfires are done, I believe, the greatest Effect of it will be best judged by the Winter Quarters of the Imperial Army : Whether Count *Montecuculi* will be able to gain them in *Lorraine* and the *Upper Alsatia* (as he proposes, and, I hear, has promised the Emperor) or shall be forced to seek them on t'other side the *Rhine*, which must happen, in case he does not master *Haguenau* and *Saberne*. For the Battles expected either in *Pomerania* or *Flanders*, I am apt to think, neither Party will seek them, without such Advantages as the other will not give ; so as the Year may end without them. And Your Majesty may already guess how the next Scene is like to open, and upon what Foot the Negotiations of a Peace are like to begin. On this side, I find, the Overtures of them are expected from Your Majesty (though, I believe, both the Court of *Rome* and of *Sweden* may affect that Honour) and they are, I suppose, to be made by Two different Motions at the same Time, the one publick, by advancing the *Congress* and some Proposition there (or middle Scheme between the Pretensions of the Parties), that may serve for a Ground upon which the Treaty may begin : The other private, by feeling the Pulses on each side, and judging from thence, whence the nearest Approaches are like to be made. For the *Congress*, Your Majesty has all the Reason in the World, not to send Your Ambassadors, till You have Assurance, that those of both Parties will immediately follow ; and towards this, I see no other Motions to be made on this Side, than for Your Majesty either to write to the Emperor, or to give me a Command to speak to his Minister here ; and, by one of these ways, either to make it Your Desire, That in Consideration of Your Majesty as Mediator, he will make way for the *Congress*, by putting Prince *William* of *Furstenburgh* into some Neutral Hands, without further Condition ; or else propose, That he may be sent to *Venice*, upon Caution taken from the State, that if the Peace succeed not, he shall be returned to *Vienna*.

For the Pulse on this side, I will assure Your Majesty, it still beats very fast and very high, in all these Provinces, towards the Peace ; so that, in case the *Congress* begins, and at *Nimeguen*, as it is at present agreed (that is, in the Eye of these People) I think, I might undertake to make them agree to Your Majesty's absolute Arbitrage, in any Difficulty that might arise upon it. And the Suspicion of such violent Influences from the Bent of the People here, will make the House of *Austria* endeavour (tho' upon other Pretences) to remove the *Congress* to some remoter Place. As to *Spain*, I am not of the same Opinion ; and find by my last Discourses with Don *Emanuel de Lyra*, what Reason the Prince had in his last with the Pensioner, to make so much Difficulty upon the Point of *Burgundy* : For, when I began only to touch that String, by saying, the greatest Difficulty would lie there, and that Your Majesty agreed with the Confederates in the Opinion of an absolute Necessity to make a Frontier for *Flanders* ; Don *Emanuel* interrupted me *briskly*, and said, *Qu' on ne se flatte pas sur ce point, car nous perdrons plutôt toute la Flandre par la guerre, que de ceder la Bourgogne par la paix*. However, I do not despair upon this Point it self, if Your Majesty and the Prince should come to agree in it ; because I know how unwilling the House of *Austria* will be to break from this State, in the Course of the Treaty ; and that in all has passed of late between them,

them, they have not so much considered any Advantages they expected from the War; as what they might hope by closing such Measures with this State, as might serve them upon all Occasions, even after the Peace; and in any new Conjunctions that may open when the King of *Spain* grows of Age, by himself or some settled Ministry to direct the Councils, and head the Actions of that Crown.

But this is the hardest of the Game: Whereas, if Your Majesty shall, on the other side, find *France* disposed, by the late ill Current of their Affairs, to come up to the Prince's first Project; which was, The Four Towns for *Aire* and *St. Omer*; I shall look upon the Peace as made, notwithstanding any new Incidents that may fall in, either from the Empire or the *Dane*. I will desire Your Majesty, not wholly to forget the Advantages that were offered You from hence upon that Scheme, of a Marriage between the Two Crowns, in case any way should open towards it, by the great Variety of Accidents that may yet possibly happen in the Progress of a War; because, in all Events, *France* with that may find an Issue with Honour, and Your Majesty with Profit, as well as Applause.

For that wherein Your Majesty wishes the Pensioner's Eyes were opened; I have often discoursed upon that Subject to him and others in the chief Direction here, since the Scene began to change to the Disadvantage of *France*. But they all answer, These Considerations will not be in Season till *Spain* shall arrive at the Terms of the *Pyrenees*; beyond which, if any Step should ever be made, they say, the Interests of this State will change, and not before. But there is yet another Byas in this Matter; and that is, The *Lovestyn* Parties being so much bent upon the Measures with *France*, which turns those of the Prince and the present Government here, so much more upon *Spain*. But these will lessen by nothing so much as by Your Majesty's Advances into closer Measures and Confidences with them, and, by that means, taking off their Dependances from the other Crowns, and turning them wholly upon Yours. All which lies, as I suppose, in Your Majesty to do, at what Time and in what Degree soever You please; as You may judge by the last Account I gave of the Prince's and Pensioner's Discourses upon this Subject.

I am to beg Your Majesty's Pardon for this Length, which I have been engaged in, by the Desire of giving what Lights I thought might be necessary now at Your Majesty's Entrance upon this great Work of the Mediation: I am, and shall be all my Life,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most Loyal,

and most Obedient

Subject, and Servant.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, October 15. S. N. 1675.

S I R,

I Have the Honour of Yours of the 28th past, with his Majesty's Commands upon the Two Points of the Marine Treaty, in pursuit of those Gentlemen's Opinion to whom the Consideration of them was referred, which I likewise received in a Paper inclosed. To morrow I shall have a Conference with the States Deputies upon them, and by the next shall be able to give You an Account of them, and doubt not at all, but his Majesty will have Satisfaction in them, which way soever he pleases to turn them, so it may be reciprocal on both sides.

Upon

Upon my Memorial to the States, renewing the Offices of his Majesty's Mediation, and desiring that Passports might be prepared, the States have resolved it shall be done without Delay or Difficulty ; and in the same Form with those for the Congress at *Cologn*. They are content to give them with Blanks for the Names of the Plenipotentiaries ; and likewise, if his Majesty pleases, with a Blank for the Name of the Place of Treaty ; and either to deliver them here to me, or send them to Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, to be disposed of by his Majesty's Order. In all which Points if You please to signify his Majesty's Pleasure to me, I shall not fail of seeing it performed ; and question not but it will be abundantly in Time, considering from what Distances the other Parts of this Kind are to be performed, and how little Use can be made of all these Diligences till an Expedient be found out in the Business of Prince *William*.

I have, upon Return of the Emperor's Minister to this Place, performed likewise, by his Intervention, the same Offices, in his Majesty's Name, to the Court at *Vienna* : Upon which he told me, That he question'd not the Emperor's ready Compliance with his Majesty in this Matter, provided that *France* would reciprocally furnish the Passports necessary for the Imperial Ministers, and those of the Allies ; but more particularly those of the Duke of *Lorraine*, upon which there had been so great an Obstruction given to the late Treaty at *Cologn*. I could answer nothing to this Point ; whereupon he desired me to insinuate it with the first to his Majesty, that so the Resolution of *France* might be clearly known ; adding, That he supposed there would be no Difficulty in this, or any other Matter which concerned the present Duke of *Lorraine* ; since all the Pretences given by *France* to any Action against that Dutchy, had been raised from their personal Quarrels with the old Duke, and Jealousies, or Exceptions, against his personal Qualities, which could not lie against the present Duke. From this he fell into the general Discourse of the Mediation, and how powerful all his Majesty's Offices would prove, in Case he preserved the Authority of a Mediator ; which consisted chiefly in the Opinion of his impartial Dispositions to all Parties. That he did not question this of his Majesty, since he had charged himself with the Mediation ; and that he supposed, it was some of his Ministers, without his Knowledge, that had given Occasion to the Reports which were spread in the *German* Princes Courts, of the Elector Palatine having begun a private Negotiation with *France*, by the Intervention of the Court of *England* ; which had interrupted the Measures of Count *Montecuculi*, and drawn him back with his Forces towards those Parts. I had nothing to reply upon this Subject, but that it was a Story I knew nothing of ; and that the Account Monsieur *Spanheim* gave me of his Journey into *England*, was very different from any such Intentions of his Master : And so I turned the Discourse to the Business of Prince *William* ; wherein he said, all the Orders he had received was to declare, That the Emperor was willing, at the opening of the Congress, to expose that whole Matter before the several Ministers there concerned, and leave them to judge of the Reason he had for that Seizure and Detention.

By what I could gather from much Discourse between us, upon a Point wherein neither of us had Order to say any Thing from our Masters, I am apt to believe, If his Majesty will propose an Expedient in it, as a Mediator, and with the Strength of his own Desire upon it, that the Emperor will not easily refuse it. And if his Majesty shall resolve to make this Trial, and transmit it hither, in a Letter to be convey'd to the Emperor ; I shall, at the same Time, engage the Offices both of the Imperial Minister here, and Don *Emanuel de Lyra*, to make Way for it. This last was with me Yesterday, and among many Discourses upon the Subject of the Peace, fell upon the Difficulty there would arise about the Pope's Nuntio, who could not intervene at a Congress at *Nimeguen*, though his Master's Mediation had been accepted both by the House of *Austria*, and likewise by *France* : And thereupon asked me, Whether the Place of Congress might not yet be changed ; which I have found of late both him and the Emperor's Minister much endeavouring. I told him,

him, I believed though his Majesty had named *Nimeguen*, yet he had no other Engagement to it besides the Difficulty of any new Agreement among the Parties, who had already accepted this ; and it was not easy to find any fitter in the Provinces of this State admitted by *France* : And all others seemed to be excluded by a Resolution of *France* and the House of *Austria*, not to treat in either of their Dominions. That for the Difficulty of the Pope's Nuntio, it was first to be considered, That though his Master's Mediation had been accepted by the Emperor, and the two great Crowns, yet it could not be so by *Sweden*, *Denmark*, or this State. So as the Pope could not be esteemed in this Negotiation as an universal Mediator, which was a Figure would belong to his Majesty alone. And therefore it would not, perhaps, be of Necessity for his Minister to intervene at the Place of Congress, but only to reside at some Place in the Neighbourhood, where he might have constant Communication with those Princes Ministers who had accepted his Master's Mediation ; and might possibly make Use of it in Points that were purely between themselves, without Concernment of the other Parties. That to this Purpose there was *Cleve*, within two Hours of *Nimeguen*, where the Exercise of that Religion was free, and performed in the great Church ; or if not, there were other Convents at the same Distance, very fit for receiving a Nuntio. Don *Emanuel* seemed to find no great Exception against this Expedient ; but said, It would not be agreed upon, unless his Majesty proposed it to *France*, which he therefore desired I would insinuate in my next Letters.

The Pensioner told me in my last Conference, That the Expedient I mentioned in my last, to have been offered Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, concerning the Business of Prince *William* to be agreed in the first Article of the Treaty, was offered him by one of his Majesty's Secretaries of State ; which I could say nothing to : But I am very confident, if *France* will insist no farther than that, there will be no Difficulty in this Congress. He told me at the same Time, That the Duke of *Nieuburg* had done his Majesty and the Mediation a great Wrong in *Germany*, by endeavouring to form a Third Party among the Princes of the *Rhine*, and giving out that his Majesty would be the Head of them. To which I only replied, It was a Thing I knew nothing of ; but that I was very confident his Majesty would upon no Occasion quit the Figure of Mediator, having once undertaken it, and being so universally accepted.

I am ever,

Sir, Your, &c.

To the KING.

Hague, November 1. S. N. 1675.

May it please Your Majesty,

SINCE the Prince's Return, I have had Two large Discourses with his Highness, and shall give Your Majesty only the Sum of what pass'd, not troubling You with the Length of many Circumstances. The Prince received the Assurance Your Majesty was pleased to give him in some Lines of Your own Hand, with very great Sense of so much Kindness ; which he said, He had all the Reason that could be to believe from those Expressions, and would ever deserve them the best he was able.

Upon the Subject of the Peace, he was, at my first Audience, dryer and more careless, than I ever found him last Winter, or Spring. He said, It was out of his Head at present : That we should find the *Spaniards* much stiffer than Six Months ago : That *Montecuculi's* Desire of going to *Vienna* had hinder'd

der'd his taking up Winter Quarters in *Alsatia*; and some Difference between himself and the *Spaniards*, had spoil'd the Effect of this Campaign, without which it might have gone far towards a reasonable Peace. That he saw the only way of making the War in *Flanders*, would be with Two separate Armies, which might be compass'd next Campaign. And that if the Forces of *Lunenburg* and *Munster* could clear *Bremen* of the *Swedes* this Winter, he believed *France* might have their Hands full next Spring.

All his Discourses being of this kind, I thought not fit to pursue them far the first time: But Yesterday, at a second Audience, I resolv'd to bring it to some Point; and desired his Highness to tell me, Not what he thought of *Spain* or the Empire, but upon what Terms he himself would be content to see the Peace made, and to fall into a Concert with Your Majesty for effecting it; which I knew You would expect some Knowledge of by this Post. He said, at first, It was a hard Question, and that he would think of it: But when I press'd him hard, he said, at last, He found the *Spaniards* so difficult upon *Aire* and *St. Omer*, which he had first thought of upon an Exchange, that, for his part, he would be content with the quitting of *Burgundy*, if the *French* would give Two Towns more in *Flanders*, than those Four Your Majesty propos'd; that is, *Tournay* and *Doway*; because, he believed, *France* would make more Difficulty of *Lisle*. And since Your Majesty first made Your Scheme, the *Swedes* had lost so much, that this, he thought, might very well be given in their Consideration. After much Reply and Argument, all I could clear by this Discourse, consist'd in these Two Points: That the Prince does not think fit the Peace should be stopp'd by Pretences of the Princes of the Empire, to retain their present Conquests upon *Sweden*; and that he will be content to yield the Point of *Burgundy*, if the Restitution of Places in *Flanders* may be enlarged as an Equivalent to it; and for the rest, the Terms of *Aix la Chapelle*: So that between Your Majesty's Thoughts, and those of his Highness, there will be the Difference only of a Town or two, more or less: By which Your Majesty will be able to judge in what Compass this Matter will turn, when it comes to a Treaty.

I am sensible of having given Your Majesty too many and too long Troubles of this kind, and will not therefore lengthen this beyond the Professions of that constant and sincere Devotion, wherewith I am, and shall ever be,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most Loyal,

and most Obedient

Subject and Servant.

To Sir John Temple.

Hague, December 12. S. N. 1675.

S I R,

I Have seldom troubled You since my last Return out of *England*, leaving it to my Sister to entertain You with any thing that is Domestick, and to the Paper that is usually sent You, to inform You of common Occurrences: And little of Negotiation having lately pass'd here, farther than the formal Progress of the King's Mediation, in proposing, and, at length, fixing the Place of Treaty to be at *Nimeguen*, which You desire to know the Reasons of.

I propos'd this Town to the King, and his Majesty to the Parties, not as a Matter of Choice, but almost of Necessity; for the Emperor would not send his Ambassadors to any in the *French* Territories or Conquests; and the *French*

L I I I

would

would not send theirs to any in the Jurisdiction of the Confederates ; so that we fell at first here into the Thoughts of *Bazil* or *Hamburg*, but many Inconveniences were found in both ; and *France*, upon the Hopes of falling into particular Measures or Treaties with some of the Confederates, was content this last Year with any Difficulties that might keep off a general Congress, which was likely to unite their Interests rather than separate them. And the Confederates, on the other side, upon the Confidence of their great Numbers and Forces, had a mind to see the Events of the Two last Campaigns, before they fell into any serious Thoughts of either Peace or Treaty : And so his Majesty's Offers of Mediation have continued now a Year and a half without any Effect, farther, than being at length accepted by all the Parties.

The ill Success of the *French* Arms in the unvaluable Loss of Monsieur *Turenne* ; the Defeat of Monsieur *Crequi* ; the Taking of *Treves*, and the ill Condition of the *Swedish* Affairs ; but most of all, the stanch Resolutions of the Confederates to avoid all separate Treaties ; have, I suppose, inclin'd *France* to set on foot the general one, by the Offer they made of sending their Ambassadors to any Town in Four of the Provinces belonging to the States ; which gave some Ease in that first Pace, of proposing a Place for the Congress, which might be generally accepted.

Yet the Confederates were not without their Difficulties upon this Point. They suspected the Intentions of the *French* in this Overture it self, as a piece of Compliment and Cajolery to this State ; whose Dispositions towards the Peace they knew to be different from those of all the other Confederates : They apprehended very real Effects upon the Issue of it, by the Practices that might be carry'd on in these Provinces by the *French* Ambassadors and their Instruments, in such a Concourse of Strangers as a general Treaty was like to draw into them. Upon this Ground the *Imperial* and *Spanish* have violently opposed the accepting this Offer from *France*, and would have drawn the Treaty to *Frankfort*, *Cologne*, *Basil*, or *Hamburg*, rather than into any of these Provinces.

The Prince of *Orange* himself, and the Pensioner here, with others of the States, had so much of Jealousie in the Matter, that they would rather have chosen the Treaty in another Country, and would by no means hear of either *Utrecht* or *Breda*, in regard of their Vicinity to the Heart of this Province, where the Pulse beats higher towards a Peace, upon the Interests of Trade, than in any of the rest. But all of them were sensible, that it would not be borne by the People here, to refuse this Offer of *France*, and thereby reject the Treaty on this side, which seemed by it to have been so much advanced on the other.

From these Reasons, we fell into the Thoughts of some Town in *Gelderland*, and the most remote from hence, as the easiest to be accepted by the Confederate Ministers ; which fixed the Proposition at length upon *Nimeguen* : Though, indeed, the very Situation of it, as a Center between *Spain* and *Sweden*, the Eastern Parts of the Empire and *England* (which are all to have Parts in the Treaty) made an Appearance of some Convenience, as well as Necessity in the Choice.

You will have known from *England* sooner than from hence, That I am designed by the King for one of his Ambassadors in this Mediation : And I begin accordingly to turn my Thoughts and Affairs towards that Remove ; which, as to the Air, being much drier than this, I do not dislike. As to the Business, I expect an Increase of Trouble and Expence, as well as Honour. I remove my whole Family, put off my House here, and have fixed already upon one at *Nimeguen* ; for which, with Stables and Out-houses necessary to it, I am like to pay a Thousand Pounds a Year ; which is but a Part of those Exactions like to be practised there upon this Occasion, and which cannot be remedy'd by this State ; where the Magistrates of each Town have a Jurisdiction uncontrollable by the States themselves, either General, or Provincial, and are like themselves at *Nimeguen*, to give us no Remedy in this Affair, which they are all concerned in.

What

What Prospect there is of a Peace like to result from this Congress, upon what Terms, or what Time, is very difficult to tell You, the Delays of it must be such as the Parties please, it being in the Power of either to raise them upon the formal or substantial Parts of the Negotiation. The Conditions to be first proposed, will be distant enough, because they are like to come from all the several Parties; tho' some of them would be glad his Majesty, as Mediator, would draw the first Scheme, according to what he shall esteem most just and agreeable to the common Interests of *Christendom*: And they doubt not, but whatever Peace his Majesty should propose, he may do it in such manner, as to make it easily accepted by all Parties, and take upon him to be the Arbitrator as well as Mediator in this great Affair. But, for ought I see, our Councils are fixed to act no such Part; so as the Mediation will not at all lead, but follow the Dispositions of the Parties, as these, I suppose, will do the Events of the War, since no Suspension of Arms is like to be agreed during the Treaty.

The present Dispositions, I think, are these: *France* will pretend to all their Conquests, both of the last War and this; but would, at present, be content, I believe, to part with a Town or two in *Flanders*, so as they may keep *Burgundy*; and will make no Difficulty to leave the Empire and this State as they were when the War began (after all this Expence of Blood and Treasure). *Spain* seeing so many Confederates united in their Quarrel, and engaged to make no Peace without their Consent, reckons upon no less than the *Pyrenean Treaty*, and would keep off this, till some Successes of the Confederates Arms may make way for such Conditions. The Emperor finding this War has almost united the Empire in the Interests of the House of *Austria*, and drawing Money from these States, as well as from *Spain*, is very unwilling to lose the Conjuncture, and therefore would be glad to have the War go on; and so will not only insist upon the Restitution of *Lorraine* and *Philipsburgh*, but Reparation of Damages to the Princes of the *Rhine*. These States ask nothing for themselves, but the Restitution of *Mastricht*, and of Commerce as it was before the War; but think it necessary, for their own Safety, that a good Frontier be left the *Spaniards* in *Flanders*, and so will endeavour to have Five or Six good Towns restored there, in Exchange for *Burgundy*, which they are less concerned in. But all the Allies agree in repossessing the Duke of *Lorraine*; which is a Matter that *France* is most reserved in, as having no Pretence, either of Right or Conquest, there; and yet, justly esteeming it a Matter of more Importance to them, than all the rest; considering not only the Force and Riches of that Province, but the Situation of it, and the absolute Engagements of the present Duke to the Interests and Person of the Emperor. If these Points could be agreed, nothing that concerns the new Quarrels in the *North*, would, I believe, hinder the Peace: But upon the present State of the War and the Mediation, I do not see any sudden Issue very likely by a Treaty: And how the Events of another Campaign may raise the Hopes or Fears, and thereby change the Interests and Pretensions of the several Parties, no Man can conjecture. In the mean Time, I would not leave this Place, nor end the Year, without giving You this general Scheme, by which You may the easier judge of the Motions You shall hear of in the Course of the Treaty or the War, since You are pleased to say, it will be a Satisfaction to You. I know it will be so, to hear we are all well at present here. My Wife intends to make a Step into *England* about the Time I shall go to *Nimeguen*, but to return to me there within a Month or two. My Son, I hope, entertains You often from *London*, as my Sister does from hence, which allows me to trouble You less.

I am ever, Sir,

Your most Obedient Son,

and most Humble Servant.

To Mr. Sydney.

Hague, December 13. S. N. 1675.

THO' I did not like the Date of Your last Letter, yet I did all the rest very well. I thought *Lyons* a little too far off for one I wish always in my Reach : But when I remembred, it was a Place of so great Trade, and where You told me Yours had been very good in former Times, I was contented, to think You spent Your Time to Your own Advantage and Satisfaction, tho' not to Your Friends, by keeping at such a Distance. I was very well pleased t'other Day with a Visit made me by Captain *Fresheim*, who was much in Your Praises ; but I did not like, that he should make You kinder to him than to me : Yet I think he deserves it of You, if all be true that he tells ; for he pretends to think You, *le plus bel homme, & le plus honnête homme*, and I know not what more, that never came into my Head, as You know very well. However, I was mighty glad to hear him say, You had the best Health that could be, and that You looked as if You would keep it, if You did not grow too kind to the Place and Company You lived in, or They to You. Yet, after what You tell me of the *French Air* and *Bourbon Waters*, I am much apter to wish my self there, than You in these Parts of the World ; and though I hear News every Day from all sides, yet I have not heard any so good, since I came upon this Scene, as what You send me, of the Effects I am like to feel by the Change whenever I come upon that where You are : They will be greater and better than any I expect by being the busie Man, tho' *je pourrois bien faire merveilles*, with the Company I am joined to, and no body knows to what Sir *Ellis* may raise another Ambassador, that has already raised one from the Dead. They begin to talk now of our going to *Nimeguen*, as if it were nearer than I thought it a Month ago : When we are there, it will be Time enough to tell You what I think of our coming away. Hitherto, I can only say, There are so many Splinters in the broken Bone, that the Patient must be very good, as well as the Surgeon, if it be a sudden Cure. And though I believe both where You and I are, the Dispositions towards it are very well, yet I doubt of those who are farther off on both sides of us. For ought any Body knows, this great Dance may end as others use to do, every Man coming to the Place where they begun, or near it : Only, against all Reason and Custom, I doubt the poor *Swede*, that never led the Dance, is likeliest to pay the Fiddlers. I hope You know what passes at Home ; at least, 'tis pity You should not : But if You don't, You shall not for me at this Distance ; and since You talk of returning, the Matter is not great. In the mean Time, pray let me know Your Motions and Your Health, since the Want of Your Cypher keeps me from other Things You say You have a mind to tell me. I hear nothing of the Letter You mention to have sent me by so good a Hand ; so that all I can say to that is, That by whatsoever it comes, any will be welcome that comes from Yours ; because no body loves You better than I, nor can be more than I am,

Yours, &c.

To

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, January 7. S. N. 1676.

S I R,

I Spared You the Trouble of a Dispatch by the last Post, which was made needless by one I received from Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, with the Account of his Arrival here. You will have by this Ordinary another from him, with the Particulars of his Reception and Discourses with the Prince ; as likewise one from us both, with the Account of our Resolutions how to dispose of our selves, in order to our best Compliance with those Ends for our present Ambassy, which we conceive his Majesty has proposed to Himself, and signified to us by our Instructions. I shall refer You more particularly to those Dispatches, and tie up this to what is necessary in Answer to Yours of the 21st past, which last Pacquet brought to my Hands.

I have not yet been able to bring the States to any Resolution concerning the sending away Passports for *Sweden* before the Arrival of theirs here ; the Conferences they have desired upon that Subject, having been hitherto excused by the Emperor's Minister here, upon other Pretences. But the Prince told me Yesterday, That the true Reason was, That neither that Minister, nor any others of the Confederates here, were willing to do any thing in it, without Monsieur *de Lyra*, who is not yet returned from *Brussels*, though he has been for several Days expected. He has written to the Prince, That he had the *Spanish* Passports for the *French* Plenipotentiaries, and would put them into my Hands upon his Arrival here, which made me very glad to be, by Advance, possessed of those from *France* for the *Spanish*. And immediately upon Receipt of those from Monsieur *de Lyra* (which, I hope, may be to Day or to Morrow, the Wind being now fair from *Antwerp*) I will send both those and the *Dutch* by a Trumpet to the Governor of *Charleroy*, according to Your Orders.

I send You one inclosed, from the States to the Bishop of *Strasburg*, since, as You observe, there is none expected from him, either to them, or any of their Allies. I hope You endeavour the procuring Passes from *France*, to be likewise dispatched for the Ministers of the several Allies mentioned in the States Resolution ; and find, it will be expected, That among them should be Three for the States Ambassadors, though the Congress be in their own Country ; since, as Monsieur *Beverning* says, They may have Occasion of moving sometimes themselves, and often of dispatching Couriers, either into the *Spanish Netherlands*, or into *Germany*, where they go in Danger of the *French*. For these Reasons, I suppose, it will likewise be necessary to procure Passports for his Majesty's Ambassadors there. All which, I hope, will be transmitted by the *French* Plenipotentiaries, if they are so forward on their Way as we hear.

Yesterday I shewed the Prince and the *Lorrain* Envoy the *French* Passports I received for the Minister of that Duke. Upon which Subject, besides the Discourses that pass'd Yesterday, of which You will receive an Account in a Journal from Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, I received this Day the inclosed Letter from Monsieur *Serinchamps*, and I doubt the Matter will find Difficulty on the Confederate side, if it prove to have been a Thing resolved on by the *French*, and not done by Chance. I mean, the Stile given the Duke of *Lorrain*. As to the other Omissions of the said Passports, I think there will be likewise a Necessity of amending them ; since I find them not only in the *Lorrain*, but in the *Spanish* Passports likewise ; though having not shew'd them yet to any *Spanish* Minister, I shall leave him to make his own Exceptions : But I tell You of them before-hand, because they are so obvious, that no Man can fail of them ; and by knowing them early, You may possibly save Time, by preparing the *French* Court to amend them. They are these Two : First, That they

they reach only to the Persons of the Plenipotentiaries, and those of their Train, without comprehending their Baggage, Horses, Papers, or any such Words : Whereas You know very well what happened lately to the Cardinal of *Baden*, by such a Passport. And, in the next Place, There is no Power given of dispatching Couriers from the said Ambassadors with their Passports, without which no Negotiations can be carry'd on. Upon the Amendment You desired in both these Points to the Passes of the States, though the Defects were but one Word too much, and another too little; I not only procured them, but likewise desired that the same Form might be used by all the Confederates, which I was assured of ; and to that End, Copies have been sent them : And there is no Question but they will insist to have them granted as full from *France*, as they have yielded themselves. That You may observe the Distance, I inclose a Copy of one of the *French* Passports, which You may please to compare with that of the States to the Bishop of *Strasburg*, which runs in the same Form with all the rest.

As to the Neutral Country, his Majesty apprehends the same Difficulties that I did in obtaining it from *France*, so far as he has proposed it here. I confess, I thought when You gave me Order to make Instances for it to the States, so as to comprehend *Meurs*, You had taken Your Measures by Monsieur *Ruvigni*, and found by him that his Master would be content to make the Prince of *Orange* such a Compliment, as reached no further than a little Contribution. The Matter had not been great, if it had not been proposed here from his Majesty ; but since it has, I hope they will not refuse it in *France*, since it is of some Consequence as to the Force of his Mediation, when he is first refused by any of the Parties, in what he thinks fit to propose, which he has been yet by none. In Case, however, this should not succeed to the Prince of *Orange's* Satisfaction, I think the least Bounds his Majesty can prescribe for the Neutral Country that Way, will be the *Fassa Mariana*, which runs from River to River ; and the rather, because the Inclusion of *Cleve* and the Villages near it, will not be only necessary for the Convenience of the Congress, but for the Residence of such Persons as are expected to come from *Rome* : And besides, there will be no Certainty in any other Bounds that can be given by the Denominations of Towns. And without some such Line as the Channel I mention, both Parties will be out upon Prey, and trust to disputing after, whether the Place where they made it was in the Neutral Country or no.

I hear Don *Emanuel de Lyra* is like to be, at last, one of the Plenipotentiaries, and come in as substituted by the Duke of *Villa Hermosa*, who shall be named first in the Commission. I think it will be necessary the Spaniards should be minded to avoid a Difficulty which may arise, in case he receive not a Commission like the others, from the King of *Spain*, but only from the Governor of *Flanders* ; in which Case he will not be treated as an Ambassador, whatever he may pretend : As, I remember, Monsieur de *Bergeyck* did, in the very same Case, at *Aix la Chapelle*. I am,

S I R,

Your most Faithful,

Humble Servant.

To

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, January 7. S. N. 1676.

S I R,

HAVING considered together, as well as we could, his Majesty's Instructions, and his Intentions in this Ambassy; and hearing that the French Plenipotentiaries are already on their Way, and will be at *Mastricht* on the 10th of this Month: And finding that the Plenipotentiaries of this State are here upon the Place, watching our Motion, their Baggage being already laden in a Bylander in this Canal; we have concluded together, That there is no other Way of complying with the Scope and Design which his Majesty seems to have proposed to himself in this Affair, but by applying our selves separately, at present, to the two several Points, which seem to us to be intended by them. And therefore, that all Parties concerned in the War may take Notice of his Majesty's great Diligence, in sending his Ambassadors to the Place of Congress, and of some of them being actually arrived there, whereby the several Parties may be invited to the speedier Dispatch of theirs: And likewise that an Ambassador may not be wanting upon the Place, to receive and compliment the first Ministers that arrive there, from any of the Parties: We have jointly resolved, That I Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* shall set out towards *Nimeguen* to Morrow, for the Accomplishment of the abovesaid Ends. And whereas by an Article in our Instructions, we are commanded before we leave the *Hague*, to see the Business of the Passports, and the Declaration of the Neuter Country, put into such a Way of Dispatch, as that the Business of the Assembly may not be retarded, by any Thing wanting on the Part of the States and their Allies. Whereas an Obstruction, by Reason of the Absence of Don *Emanuel de Lyra*, hath been lately made in the Resolutions of the States, and their Confederates, concerning both these Points: And that a new Incident (and, as we fear, of some Consequence) hath Yesterday discovered it self in the Business of the Passports, by the Observation first of the Prince of *Orange*, and more sharply of the *Lorrain* Envoy, upon the Defects of the French Passports to that Prince. We have likewise jointly resolved, That I Sir *William Temple*, shall stay some Days longer at the *Hague*, to pursue and sollicite these two Affairs, of the Passports, and the Neuter Country, to a full and speedy Issue. We have likewise jointly resolved, in Order to make our publick Letters of less Trouble to his Majesty by their Length, to transmit from Time to Time, by Way of Journal (such as for an Essay goes here inclosed) all the Passages and Matters of Fact that occur to us, as relating, in any wise, to this Negotiation of the Peace. We are,

S I R,

Your most Faithful

Humble Servants,

W. Temple, L. Jenkins.

To the Bishop of Winchester.

Hague, January 8. S. N. 1676.

My Lord,

I Have the Honour of a Letter from Your Lordship, by Mr. *Morley*, and shall be extreme glad to deserve it, by the good Fortune of serving him in the Way You desire, and he proposes to himself. By what Your Lordship writes,

writes, his Pretensions are so small, that he might justly have claimed them, without the Advantage of belonging to Your Lordship, or of a Recommendation that will always have so much Power with me, in much greater Matters. The Circumstance of being so particularly under the Eye of my Lord Ambassador *Jenkins*, will, I doubt not, keep him safe from any of those Dangers abroad, in Point of his Morals, which You say he escaped at home, and from which no Place is free. But as far as my Observation of him may be necessary, he shall not fail of it, with the Concernment and Care that are due from me to Your Lordship's Commands; in which I shall not yield to any of my Colleagues, how great soever their Pretensions may be to Your Lordship's Friendship, or their Emulation upon any such Occasion of Your Service. I was extreme glad to receive the Knowledge of Your Lordship's good Health, and with it a Testimony of Your Favour and Remembrance, which I can pretend no otherways to deserve, than by the Resolutions I have so long taken, and constantly observed, of being always, with great Passion and Truth,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most Faithful,

and most Humble Servant.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, January 14. S. N. 1676.

S I R,

BY the last Pacquet I received together, both Yours of the 24th and 28th, with his Majesty's Resolution, that we shall expect the first Visit be made us as Mediators, by all the Ministers of what Character soever, arriving even after us, at the Place of Congress. And with this Order I received the Ground of it, which was the Instruction given upon this Point to his Majesty's Ambassadors at *Cologne*, and their Practice in Pursuit thereof. His Majesty's Commands shall in this, as all other Matters be obeyed: But I had not heard any Thing of this from Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, before he parted hence; though we had often discoursed upon the Conception we both had, of using the contrary Form to all Ambassadors that arrived after us. And upon Discourse with the Prince, since I received this Instruction, he said, The Precedent of what was done at *Cologne*, ought certainly to guide us; but that he thought it had passed otherwise with their Ambassadors. This Evening Monsieur *Beverning*, and Monsieur *Haren*, came to me, to let me know, That having acquainted the States with their being both ready to begin their Journey, upon the first Commands, they had received Orders to attend me, and entirely follow what I should advise them in that Point; and in all Matters of Ceremony, when they came upon the Place, to conform themselves wholly to what we expected from them. And they were farther ordered to acquaint me, That after our Arrival there, the States would look upon the Town of *Nimeguen* as a Neutral Place, where all Matters should be carried by the Burgomaster's Command there, according to the Orders they should receive from the Mediators, both as to their own Receptions, or that of any other Ambassadors.

I answered to the several Points, after Acknowledgment of the States Civility in their Resolutions; First, Since an Ambassador of his Majesty was already upon his Way thither, I thought it would be best for them to begin their Journey likewise, as soon as they could, both in Respect to his Majesty, and likewise to give the more and earlier Appearance to the World, of the Congress beginning to be formed: And hereupon they assured me, they would part in two or three Days.

To

To the Second, I told them, That his Majesty expected the several Ambassadors, though arriving last upon the Place, should give the first Visit to us as Mediators; since the same was done to the *Swedes* at *Cologne*, by his Majesty's Ambassadors. To this they answered, There would be no Difficulty on their Parts, but they doubted there might be some from the other Ambassadors; since they had taken it for granted at *Cologne*, that the Mediators had still visited those who arrived after them: And whatever might have been done there by his Majesty's Ambassadors, they were sure the contrary had been done to them (the States Ambassadors) who had less Reason to expect it: And that arriving last both at *Aix*, and after at *Cologne*, the *Swedish* Ambassadors made them the first Visit in both Places, after Notice sent of their Arrival. And they desired me to give You this Information, not in Regard of any Concernment they could have in it, who were resolved to give us the first Visit, tho' they should last arrive; but to the End You should consider, what Measures would best prevent Contests, or Difficulties of Meetings, in case any other of the Ambassadors should refuse it; since there may be Difference between what is voluntarily given by each Party, and what is challenged by the Mediators, and insisted upon in case any of the Parties dispute it. I told them, I should let You know what they said upon this Point; but must follow my Orders, in case we received no new ones therein.

To the Third, Of the Magistrates and Officers being to receive our Orders as to Matters of Receptions, I told them, His Majesty had commanded us to admit of none, but to enter the Town with our Trains, and nothing more; and in all Points, to introduce, as far as we were able, the Form of living like private Persons among all the several Ministers, during the whole Course of the Assembly. But since we refused any publick Honour or Reception, we did not think it reasonable any other should have it. They replied, All the Difficulties would be, in case the others desired it, which we did not; and that might possibly happen from the Emperor's Ambassadors: And Monsieur *Beverning* said particularly, He did expect it from Monsieur *Colbert*, by what he had done of that kind at *Aix la Chapelle* in the Treaty of 1668. But if any of them should demand it at *Nimeguen*, they would answer, That Address must be made to the Mediators in it, whose Orders were wholly to be obey'd. I answer'd, Whenever that was done, we would acquit our selves the best we could, and the nearest to what we conceive was his Majesty's Intention.

Upon the News of the *French* Plenipotentiaries being upon the Way, and staying at *Charleville* for their Passports from *Flanders* and this State, tho' Don *Emanuel de Lyra* was not arrived with those from *Brussels*, which, I hear, he is possess'd of, with Orders to put them into my Hands; yet I had a mind to send away those of the States: But knowing it would be of no use, unless it were done with the States Consents, on *Sunday* last, meeting the Pensioner with the Prince, I asked his Highness, Whether he were content I should send them away? and the Pensioner, Whether he thought the States would likewise consent? Both of them told me, As to their Opinions, they were, That the States Passports should not be sent, till I had received the *French* Passports for their Ambassadors, and for the Ministers of all their Allies mentioned in that Resolution given me upon this Subject (and which I transmitted to You), and this in the same Form, or as full as those they had agreed upon according to our Amendments. They said further, That their Passports could be of no use, till those of *Spain* were likewise sent (through whose Countries they first must pass); and, they were sure, those would not be delivered by the *Spanish* Ministers, without receiving those from *France* at the same Time, and in the same Form. But after all our Discourse, they both said, They could tell me but their own Opinions, and that the State must be consulted upon it.

Yesterday the Prince dining with me, told me, The States had been of the same Mind; and that I should receive their Resolution upon it before this Packet went: but it is not yet come, tho' I am now within Half an Hour of its usual Time of closing, having been unexpectedly detained by a long Visit

M m m m

from

from the Two *Dutch* Ambassadors ; which makes me beg of You, to let one of Your Clerks return me a Copy of this Letter.

I have not heard one Word from Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, since he parted from hence on *Thursday* Night ; and doubt very much the Delays of the Passage he would needs chuse by Water in a Yacht of the States, to avoid the ill Way between *Utrecht* and *Aearnhem* by the Breaches of Digues ; the Winds having changed the very Day after he parted, and continued so contrary ever since, that I cannot imagine how he will get up the River. I am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Treasurer.

Hague, January 17. S. N. 1676.

My Lord,

I Receiv'd the Honour of a Letter from Your Lordship the beginning of this Week by Mr. *Widdrington*, who shall not fail of any Services I can do him here, as I have already assured him, and desired him to let me know all Occasions wherein he thinks he can make use of me. I had the Opportunity of bringing him to his Highness, who dined that Day with me ; and to give him the better Entrance, I shewed the Prince Your Lordship's Letter. He read it, and smiled at the latter part of it ; but when he had done, he came to me, and desired me to remember his Service to You, and assure You, how much he valued Your Recommendation ; and that Mr. *Widdrington* should find it by all the Encouragement he could give him. After a little Stop, he said ; And for the latter part of his Letter, pray tell him, They are very much mistaken ; and then pausing a little, as if he were concerned at it ; he said, God ! I never said any thing to *Sylvius*, that I was not content my Coachman should know. I laughed, and asked him, And would You have me tell my Lord Treasurer so too ? He turned about, and said resolutely, Yes, do. I enter'd no farther into this Matter, nor should have said this, but that the Prince bid me ; and seemed concerned, that what Your Lordship writ upon that Subject should be believed there. The Use I made of it was a little more important ; which was, To go since to the Prince, and tell him, That being now upon my Journey to *Nimeguen*, and having been here a Year and half, his Majesty would have Reason to think he had been very ill served, if in all this Time, I were not able to give him a right and full Account of his Highness's Intentions in what his Majesty concerned himself ; but that the King should be still in pain to know them, and casting about by what Hand to find them out. The Prince said, He could not say more to me, than he had said to me already, and written to the King upon all Occasions ; and, That he could not tell what more we would know of him, nor why Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* was sent over, when the Compliment might either have been spared, or made by Mr. *Skelton* as he passed by. However, I endeavoured to draw what new Light I could from his Highness ; and comparing all he had said, with all that I had gathered from the Current of his former Discourses to me, upon any Points wherein I thought his Majesty was concerned to know the Bottom of all he means, I thought fit to set it down in Writing ; and that I might know whether I had in every thing rightly apprehended him or no, I shewed it him, and send Your Lordship the Paper inclosed, and what his Highness said to me upon reading of it.

I de-

I desire Your Lordship will please to shew it to his Majesty, with this Account of the Occasion of it, which was given me by Your Lordship: And, for my own part, I believe, This is what his Majesty must trust to, as to the Prince's Intentions, and that no Talk or Reasoning will alter them, nor any thing else besides some new and great Accidents or Changes in the Affairs of the Parties now in War.

However, this need not discourage his Majesty from endeavouring to know more from his Highness by any other Hand; though he said lately to me, upon some of these Discourses, That whenever he could say any thing where-with he thought his Majesty would be more pleased, he would be sure to do it by me. For the Truth of all this, if his Majesty desires to be further satisfy'd in it, I am very well content he should send this Letter and the inclosed Paper to the Prince, which will be the infallible way of knowing it, and without engaging me further in the ill Will or Expostulation of Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*, or his Patrons; though their Meaning to me, in the Way they designed his coming over hither, and endeavoured it for Three Months together, has been but too well discovered to me, as it has been, I am sure, very little deserved. He is not yet come, tho' I have expected him every Day this Fortnight past; and resolve upon his Arrival, to carry my self to him in all Points as becomes me, to a Person sent by his Majesty hither, and give him any Assurances he desires me.

There is a Point of Instruction I received last Post from Mr. Secretary *Williamson*, which I would likewise be glad his Majesty would please once more to reflect upon, as a Thing that may possibly bring an ill Incident upon the Course of the Treaty. It is, That his Majesty's Ambassadors should expect the first Visit from all others, even that arrive after them at the Place of Congress: And this is grounded upon an Instruction to those at *Cologne*, to give it, in the same Case, to the *Swedes*, as then Mediators, and upon their having actually done so. Now the *Dutch* Ambassadors, on the contrary, arriving after the *Swedes* at *Cologne*, receiv'd, without any Difficulty, the first Visit from them, and thought all others had done so too: And it appears by our Ambassadors Journal, That tho' they did it, yet the *Swedish* Ambassadors intended it first to them, and had accordingly sent a Gentleman to ask an Hour of them. Now there is a great deal of Difference between what is voluntarily given, and what is of Due demanded. And though the *Dutch* Ambassadors are resolved to do it, yet if those of the Emperor, or the other greater Crowns, should make a Difficulty, as I foresee they may, the Congress might be *accroché de Ceremonies* between the Parties and Mediators, whose Business it is to prevent or compose them between the Parties themselves. Besides, this State has resolved to look upon *Nimeguen*, not only as a Neutral Town during the Treaty, but, in a manner, to put it into the Hands of the Mediators, by ordering both the Commander and Magistrates to take Orders from them upon all Emergencies: So that it seems to belong to them, not only as Mediators, but as Persons at Home, to do the Honour of the Congress to those that arrive after them.

It will be a troublesome Thing, I doubt, to his Majesty, to give very particular Instructions upon every Point of Ceremony that may arise: And therefore, when he resolves upon this, I know not whether the easiest will not be, to send us one general Instruction, commanding us to avoid all, as far as we can, both between the Mediators and Parties, and between the Parties themselves; and when that cannot be, to leave it to us upon the Place, to act in point of Ceremony by Consent, as we judge best for his Majesty's Honour, his Ends in the Mediation, and the Practice of other Princes, but particularly that of the Treaty at *Cologne*; of which Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* is so well informed.

I humbly beg Your Lordship's Pardon for so long a Trouble, which I should not have given You, had not I thought it necessary for his Ma-

M m m m 2

jesty's

jefty's Service : And You will forgive me the easier, because I am so much what I shall ever be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most Faithful, &c.

The Paper Inclosed.

Hague, January 17. S. N. 1676.

AS far as I can any way discover of his Highness's Intentions, they are these.

First, As to his Majesty, to live always not only with the Duty and Respect that becomes him, but with all the Kindness, and nearest Conjunction of Interests that can be, while his Majesty pleases to continue the Desires of it ; and that Affection which he has profess'd to him by so many Letters, and so many several Hands, and now lately by Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*.

As to the Peace ; the Prince says to me upon all Occasions, That he, for his own Part, would be very glad to make it upon any Terms his Majesty should think fit ; if his Majesty can prevail with *Spain* to consent to it, which his Highness doubts, he himself shall not be able to do ; and he finds this State so far obliged to that Crown, both by their Treaties, and for their Assistance in their late Extremities ; that he does not see how they can break from them, or if they should, who would afterwards trust them.

That the greatest Testimony his Majesty can give his Highness of his real Kindness and good Will to him, would be to bring him out of this War with some Safety to his Honour, and to his Country : And thereby to shew the World, that as none of his Majesty's Allies were nearer to him in Blood, nor truer to him in Affection ; so he considered none of their Interests more than his, in this present Quarrel.

That the best Way to this, that his Highness can think of, in Respect of the Honour of *France*, and his Majesty's particular Advantage, as well as the Certainty of a sudden Peace, was that which had some Time since been mentioned to his Majesty, of effecting a Match between the King of *Spain* and *Mademoiselle*, with the Conquests since 1666 for her Dowry ; and in this Case, his Highness would undertake for such a Present, as the Pensioner then spoke of to his Majesty, and doubted not to persuade *Spain* to do as much. But if this could not be, then he saw no Way left, but for his Majesty to dispose *France* to restore those Towns in *Flanders*, which were necessary to leave the *Spanish Netherlands* in a Condition of Defence : Upon which, his Highness and this State would use their utmost Endeavours to incline *Spain* to a Peace. And his Highness says, upon all Occasions, that he is sure, his Majesty may do either of these, whenever he pleases, and without any Difficulty at all ; and, he believes, without going against any Interests of his own, or his Kingdom's.

That if neither of these can be compass'd, and *France* resolve to have no Peace, but upon the Foot of Affairs as they stand at present ; and his Majesty will only consider their Possession, and not the Justice of it, or Interest of *Christendom* in it ; His Highness says very plainly, that though he wishes his Majesty all the Glory that can be, by the present Mediation ; and this State will contribute all they can towards it : Yet for his own part, he sees no Remedy but that they must try the Fortune of another Campaign ; in which he hopes so to behave himself, as that his Majesty shall not be ashamed of him ; nor at all lessen the Kindness or good Opinion, he has hitherto expressed for him.

Having

Having read this Paper to his Highness, and asked, Whether I had apprehended him right? He said, So right, that if you had been within him, you could not have done it better: And if I were the best *Catholick* in the World, and you were my Confessor, I could say no more to you.

I asked, But can you say no more to any other Man? His Highness answered, I would not say so much to any other, but can say more to no Man.

To Sir Edward Dearing.

Hague, February 18. S. N. 1676.

S I R,

I Am to acknowledge two of Yours, one of the 25th past, the other without Date, from Your self and the Company of Merchant-Adventurers. As to the last, I find by a Clause of it, or, at least, I conjecture, that my Letter to Sir *Richard Ford* upon that Subject, had been communicated to You; in which case I can find little to add upon that Matter, unless it be the Assurance of my continuing my good Wishes and Endeavours to the Service of the Company, as far as I can any Way make Use of his Majesty's Character or Commands, or they can make Use of me, or my small Credit here, upon this Occasion. I follow the Method in it, which is judged by the Gentlemen of the Company at *Dort*, most advantageous to the Ends they propose to themselves: So that if they want my Assistance, where it can be of any Use to them, it is their own Faults. The States of *Holland* have not, that I hear of yet, given their Opinion, or Answer, upon the last Papers offered by the Secretary of the Company; and have promised that nothing shall be concluded, till I have first had a Conference with the States General upon it, which will be the Time for me to fall in with any Weight upon this Matter. There is, I confess, a Circumstance in the Constitution of this Government, very unlucky to the retrieving of an Affair that is once past, as very favourable towards preventing it before it be done; which is, The necessary Consent of so many Members in each Province, as well as in the State. I made Use of this Circumstance to fence against this Resolution of the States, for Three Years together, during my last Ambassage; and should not have questioned the same Success, if it had been kept off till my Return. But it was done in the little Interval Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* was here, before my last Arrival: And what I shall be able to do towards the Recovery of it I cannot promise; but shall be very glad to give You Effects instead of Assurances.

What I have said here, answers likewise the first Part of Your own Letter. For the rest of it, I am extremely obliged by Your Kindness, in giving me Part of any Thing that touches Your own Particular; believing it to proceed from Your Justice in esteeming me (what I am very much) concerned in all that does so. I am very glad of Your coming into the Commission of the Customs, because, I remember, it was a Thing You wished; otherwise I should rather have desired to see You called to his Majesty's Service, in another Sort of Sphere, and in which his Choice is not so large, as, I suppose, it may be in this. In such a Case I should be glad to have served You; in this I neither pretend to it, nor am very ambitious of the Merit, which I esteem so ill proportion'd to Yours. And therefore I ought, in true old *English* Phrase, to give You Thanks for Your Thanks, as what is wholly of Your Grace, and does not all belong to me.

I had a Letter from You some Time since, upon Your coming to be Governor of the Company, and directed my Answer to be left at Sir *Robert Southwell's*: I wrote to him since about a Business of his own, or, at least, that he had much concerned himself in, but have not heard that either of them were received,

received, which I should be glad to know by a Line from him when he is at Leisure. My Wife and Sister are Your Humble Servants, and so am I, with very much Affection and Truth.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, January 21. S. N. 1676.

S I R,

I Am to acknowledge at the same Time two of Your's, by Mr. *Skelton*, of which one to my self, and the other to Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* and me, with Duplicates of Mr. *Skelton's* Dispatches; and a third by the last Packet of the 4th current. Upon the two first, I shall refer my self to Mr. *Skelton's* Dispatches, which he said he would make this Night, with an Account of all that passed in his Audience from the Prince, and Conference with the Pensioner; as likewise what shall pass this Evening, at a Conference we are to have with the States. I am sorry to find he is not like to carry with him to *Vienna* the joint Offices of the States; but hope his Majesty's will be of Force enough not to need them. You know very well what Accounts I have still given You, of the States Obstinacy upon this Subject, not to meddle in it, one Way or other, upon the Score of Prince *William's* Carriage particularly to this State, which the Pensioner to Day aggravated by many Circumstances; and repeated it several Times, that they could not be Advocates for him, without falling into *le mepris de tout le monde*. Both the Prince and the Pensioner seemed amaz'd, at Mr. *Skelton's* saying, that he believed his Majesty has been engaged in this Desire to the States, by Monsieur *Van Beuninghen's* Assurance of their Compliance with it; and the Prince says, It has been without any Orders; but the Pensioner affirms, It has been absolutely against his Orders, if he has done it. And, I fear, You will have Reason to judge from this Pace of his, and his violent pressing Sir *Lyonell Jenkins's* hasty Dispatch, that You may very often take wrong Measures from him there, if they agree not with what You receive from hence; and that his natural Dispositions enter much into the Motions he makes. Of all which I gave You Advice, when I was in *England*, at large; as well as of the true Reasons that will hinder his Masters from taking so far Notice of all these Passages, as to think of recalling him. I have since written something of it likewise to Mr. Secretary *Coventry*, upon Occasions he gave me, by some Letters of his, to think this Matter was not well enough understood, or taken Notice of there.

I have little to say in Answer to Your's upon the Business of Passports, the great Default being yet in Your Hands, to supply by new ones from *France*, in Form, and for all the Allies. You will find by the inclosed Memorial of Don *Emanuel de Lyra*, that the Passports from *Spain* are arrived for *France* and *Sweden*; and they will not fail for the Bishop of *Strasburg*, I suppose, since this Morning the Emperor's Minister sends me Word, that his Master has accorded them for him, as well as for the other Two, and that he expects them next Week. The States also let me know, That they have Assurance of those from *Lunenburgh*, as well as *Brandenburgh*, by the first. But for *Denmark*, they do not speak with so much Confidence; their Ministers here have been peremptory, not to have any sent into *Sweden*, till those from that Crown are first in my Hands; but for themselves, they have spoken so ambiguously of theirs, that the States have resolved to send an Express to *Copenhagen*, to procure the Expedition of them; and to let them know, That if they are not dispatched hither within a certain Time, they (the States) will send theirs away for *Sweden*.

I have not yet seen Don *Emanuel de Lyra*, since his Return from *Brussels*, and so cannot give You an Account of the Certainty of what is here reported concern-

concerning Don Juan's being in the Head of Affairs in Spain. From France I have never had more than one short Letter upon Lord Berkley's Arrival, tho' I have writ several Times; so that whether it arrives by Miscarriages of Letters (to which mine between Paris and this Place have been very much subject, since my Arrival here) or from my Lord Berkley's little Health, or great Affairs; I find I must depend upon no Advices from France, nor Motions in Order to the Congress, but what must be handed by You to me here: Which I thought was necessary for You to know.

I am ever,

S I R,

Your most Faithful,

Humble Servant.

P. S. Monsieur Beverning, before he went out of Town, sent me the inclosed Copy of his Journal at *Cologn*, concerning the Visits of the *Swedish* Ambassadors to them: Not that they are concerned, who resolve to make the first Visit, though arriving last, but from an Apprehension that others may make Difficulty of it.

To my Lord Treasurer.

Hague, January 24. S. N. 1676.

My Lord,

IN my last, of this Day se'nnight, I endeavoured to give Your Lordship a full Account of the Prince of *Orange's* Intentions; which his Majesty was, it seems, still in Pain to know. Since that Time Mr. *Skelton* arriving here, and telling me (as well as the Prince) several Things the King had said to him upon that Subject; has given me Occasion to add something upon it, to the end his Majesty may in all Points know the very Bottom of it, and take his Measures accordingly: For, as far as I understand, all Matters are carried on according to the Personal Dispositions of the Men that are at the Head of them; and the Prince is a Man as difficult as ever I knew, to be talk'd either into or out of any Thing, wherein he thinks his Honour or Interest concerned.

Mr. *Skelton* told the Prince, That his Majesty knew very well there were some *little People* about his Highness, that endeavoured to persuade him, the King had not that Kindness for him he profess'd; at least, not so much as for *France*: But I assured him of the contrary; and that his Majesty would shew it by the Measures he intended to take with him, after the Peace was made. Upon the first Words the Prince answer'd, That he desired nothing in the World more, than that the King would have the Kindness for him he profess'd. Mr. *Skelton*, I remember, made some Reflections to me; and thought it sounded as if the Prince doubted it. And I remember Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, upon his several Discourses with his Highness, said, He doubted the Prince had something lay at Heart. I will first tell Your Lordship, That now *Moulin* is no longer about the Prince, I do not suspect any others I see near him, of the Design to sow ill Impressions of his Majesty's Intentions; nor do I really think he has, any further than might be gathered from his Discourses in my last Paper: That is, He believes his Majesty will not, for his Sake, break any of the Measures he has of late Years taken with *France*. He thinks some Partiality is shewed in the Business of the *Levies*; and is troubled that his Majesty will not bring him out of this War with some Honour; which he believes may be done (as he

he often says) with a Word speaking : And that as Affairs stand in *Christendom*, *France* cannot refuse any Thing his Majesty shall desire. And from these Impressions he says upon Discourse, that Effects only, and not any Words or Expressions can remove him.

Mr. *Skelton* told me (and, I suppose, the Prince too) that his Majesty would undertake for any Conditions upon a Peace, that the Prince should propose of Advantage to himself. I have often talked with his Highness upon that Subject; and on Occasion of Monsieur *Ruvigni's* proposing his Master buying all his Lands in the County of *Burgundy*, even at a Value unreasonable; I have ever found him so cold upon this Subject, that, in short, nothing will be fastened on him. And, I remember, at last he told me, That he knew to another Man it would look like Affectation, and therefore he would not say it; but to me that knew him so well, he would tell me very truly, that though he understood very well the Value of his Lands in *Burgundy*; yet upon the Peace, he would be content to lose them all, to get one good Town more for the *Spaniards* in *Flanders*.

Because I mentioned in my last Paper, an Offer that had been made his Majesty by the Pensioner, upon a Match between the King of *Spain* and *Madamoiselle*, with the *French* Conquests for her Dowry; which was a Thing the Prince's Head has run mightily upon, as in his Majesty's Power to bring about; though I do not think it at all likely, or that the restoring even of the *Swedes* to all they have lost, could either dispose *France* to it, or engage his Majesty in an earnest Pursuit of it. Yet because I doubt Your Lordship has not heard any Thing before of that Matter, when it went from hence in some of my Letters about a Year ago: I thought it was fit to explain to You so far only as to let You know, the Sum offered by the Pensioner to be paid privately upon it into his Majesty's Treasure, was Two hundred thousand Pounds; and the like Sum to be endeavoured by them from the *Spaniards*; which the Prince, as I said in my last, told me he did not doubt of. This is the utmost of what I can say upon this Subject, but I shall be glad if any other Persons can find out more of the Prince's Intentions, or any Thing that his Majesty will be better pleased with. But, I doubt, they are these at present, and that they will not change by other means than some new Accidents or Revolutions in the farther Course of Time or War.

I ask Your Lordship's Pardon for this farther Trouble, and shall not increase it beyond the Assurances of my being ever,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most Faithful

and most Humble Servant.

To my Lord Arlington.

Hague, January 24. S. N. 1676.

I Was extremely sorry to find by Your's of the 27th past, so ill an Account of Your Health of late, which I had heard nothing of before; but what Monsieur *Spanheim* told me at his Return hither, of Your being ill of the Gout, without more Circumstances. But such an Attack as You speak of, deserves more than ordinary of Your own Philosophy, and Your Friends Concernment; among whom my Share, I am sure, does not fail You. I hope Your Health will change with the Season, and that the Spring will cure what, it seems, came upon You with the last Fall, and has continued so long.

I sup-

I suppose You had not seen Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* very lately before You writ ; or else You would have known more than You did of the Effects my Discourses had with the Pensioner, upon the Subject of the Packet-boats. For though he does not use to fail in what he promises, and sets down for the Help of his Memory (both which he did upon this Occasion) yet I complained to the Prince, after having received Your last, that nothing had been written upon it to Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, though the Pensioner had promised that should be done. For he had seen Letters that Post from Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, which acknowledged those he had received upon that Subject. So that till I hear You find them short of what they were intended for, I know nothing more to be done on this Side, towards Your Satisfaction in that small Affair.

I very well understand the Byas You are pleased to give to what I said, of Your being like to be informed of all that passed here, when Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* arrives, by the Thanks You give me for that Assurance: Though You might, I think, have very lawfully turned it another Way, upon the Notice I gave You, at the same Time, of my leaving this Place, upon my Journey designed for *Nimeguen*. Yet, since You rather chose to give it this *Tour*, I will very easily, and like a plain Man, confess to You, That considering the Manner in which You intended Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* should come over hither, I had no Reason to believe at all, You cared for any Advices I could give You from hence ; or believed they were worth his Majesty's receiving, or, at least, considering. Which is all I shall say upon that Matter, having not the Vein of being pleasant, nor the Disposition of being unpleasant to You, upon this or any other Occasion.

I humbly thank You for Your good Wishes to the Negotiation I am like to be employed in ; and in which I had need of something at least like that to please me, considering the Circumstances of Trouble and Expence with which I am likely to enter upon it ; and without any Help in one from the Exchequer, or in the other from my Lord *Berkley*, for the Success of it. I believe You can guess as far and as well as any Man else, and so will need none of my Conjectures ; which are only, That it will, like all other Affairs, depend upon the Accidents that shall fall in, more than the Design, or Skill, of those that play the Game.

I am ever

Your most Faithful

Humble Servant.

To Mr. Secretary Williamson.

Hague, January 28. S. N. 1676.

S I R,

I Am to acknowledge Your's of the 11th, with the Repetition of his Majesty's Orders, for his Ambassadors to expect the first Visits from all others at the Place of Congress, though last Comers. I suppose, if *France* consents to it by Agreement, and *Sweden* upon Precedent, as You please to say, and this State upon Resolutions already taken, there cannot reasonably be any Difficulty made upon it by the rest : Or if there should, his Majesty will be as much at Leisure as any of the Parties to deliberate upon it. For the Point of solemn Entries, I concerted that whole Matter with Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* before he went ; so as he hath already given the Example, and seen it followed by the *Dutch* Ambassadors, upon their late Arrival.

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I inclose You the Copy of a Letter I received this Afternoon from Monsieur *Pomponne*, upon the Subject of his Majesty's late Representations by Monsieur *Ruvigni*, concerning the Exceptions taken here to the *French* Passports. I shall not communicate it to the States, nor make any Answer that will be authorised here upon it, till I am impower'd to do both by his Majesty's Orders : which I hope I may receive by the next Post, finding the Substance of this Letter had been transmitted into *England*, at the same Time with the Dispatch to me. In the mean Time I thought fit to go immediately to the Prince, and acquaint him with it ; desiring to know, if he pleased to have me, by Advance, give his Majesty his Sense upon it. His Highness having read it very considerately, said very frankly, That he would tell me his Thoughts, and that I might let his Majesty know them ; but that he would not answer what those of the State might be. Upon the first Point, he said there was a Mistake : That the Words omitted were not only *Papiers* or *Ecritures*, but *Hardes*, *Baggages*, *Chevaux*, *Chariots*, &c. And that they had not there thought the Words *Papiers*, or *Ecritures* necessary, or inserted them, had not I made Instances to the States, upon particular Orders from *England*, to that Purpose ; which they supposed, with the other Amendment transmitted to me, had been concerted with the *French* Minister there.

For the Second, That his Highness believed, no Congress ever was formed, without that Power given the Ministers of dispatching Couriers ; nor did believe this could have any Effect without. That the Ambassadors of this State would (he supposed) find it necessary to write to him from the Congress wherever he was, either here or in the Field ; because he did not think the States would make any great Paces in such a Negotiation, without his Advice. That however, though the States would be willing to dispense with it, as *France* was content to do, yet it would alter all the Measures had been taken in this Matter already, by my agreeing with them in the Form of Passports. For those from *Spain* were already come, and those from all the Confederates were upon the Way, in the same Form : So that if *France* should make this Change, though the Confederates should all consent to it, yet the new Form must be sent to them all, and new Passports dispatch'd upon it. That neither the States, nor their Allies, would (he was sure) consent to give them any larger Form than what they received.

For the Third Point, concerning *Lorraine*, That it was of much more Importance than the rest ; and that his Highness believed it was the best News could be sent to those of the Confederates that desired not the Peace. That he had never thought *France* pretended a Right to the Dutchy of *Lorraine* : That he would not enter into the Argument upon the Treaty of 1662, mentioned by Monsieur *Pomponne* ; but that this State had lately renewed with this Duke, the Treaty they had made with the last ; and doubted, they could not treat at *Nimeguen*, any more than at *Cologne*, without Admission of the *Lorraine* Ministers : But he was very sure (which he repeated several Times) that the *Imperialists* and *Spaniards* would not do it ; especially after this Pretence made by *France* to that Dutchy ; which, for that Reason, his Highness was glad I did not make publick, till I received Orders from his Majesty upon it. He concluded, That all this was before his Majesty as Mediator, whose Part was to observe the Justice of each Party's Pretensions, and induce them to Reason upon it. That I had told him, his Majesty had concerned himself already in it, and in those very Words. That he had thought this Particular of *Lorraine* somewhat strange, and had spoken to Monsieur *Ruvigni* about it, besides what had been represented to him upon the other Points ; and that his Majesty being sensible of the Reasons of it, he did not doubt would set all right. His Highness added, That now his Majesty found, how long a Work the forming of a Congress would prove (which yet was absolutely necessary to a Peace) he hoped he would not suffer the Steps that were already made to be lost ; since if that should begin again, at the End of next Campaign, for ought he saw, the Assembly might not meet before another Campaign were, at least, approaching.

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This is the Substance of what his Highness told me upon Monsieur *Pom-pone's* Letter; though with more Length, and with such a Readiness, as shewed me he had the full Grasp of all his Business himself: And I wondred, I confess, to hear him repeat the little Things that had passed upon the first Head between me and the Pensioner, and the Words I had told him out of Your Letter of the 7th; having hardly my self remember'd the last, and not thought the Pensioner had troubled him with such Circumstances as the first. When he had done I asked his Highness, Whether I should write all this to his Majesty as his Sense? And having repeated it to him, he desir'd I would, and by this Post, for gaining Time. I have been so long with the Prince upon this Occasion, that I have no more Time left than will serve to assure You of my being,

S I R,

Yours, &c.

To Monsieur Pomponne.

Hague, Jan. 30. N. S. 1676.

S I R,

THE Day before Yesterday I had the Honour of Yours of the 21st, concerning the necessary Passports for forming the Congress at *Nimeguen*, where His Excellency the *English* Ambassador *Jenkins* has been for near Three Weeks, and two of the Ambassadors of *Holland* more than eight Days; in Expectation of speedily meeting the rest of the Ministers of which this Assembly is to be composed. What keeps me here is nothing but the Difficulties which have been lately started about the Affair of the Passports; those of this State are now in my Hands, and those of the Crown of *Spain* are in the Hands of Monsieur de *Lyra*, the *Spanish* Envoy. Without doubt You must have receiv'd, by the Care of Monsieur de *Ruvigni*, Copies of the Resolutions of the States General, and of a Memorial from Monsieur de *Lyra*, setting forth their Intentions, not to put the one into my Hands, nor send the others to the Lords the *French* Ambassadors, until I shall be possessed of reciprocal Passports from his most Christian Majesty to make the Exchange.

As for the Difficulties which are here made about the Passports for *Spain*, which Monsieur *Ruvigni* caused to be sent

Au Monsieur Pomponne.

La Haye, Jan. 30^{me}, S. N. 1676.

Monsieur,

J'AY receu devant Hier l'honneur de la vôtre du 21^{re}. sur le sujet de passeports necessaires à former le Congrez de *Nimegue*, ou Monsieur l'Ambassadeur *Jenkins* a déjà sejourné près de trois semaines, & deux des Ambassadeurs de cet Etat, plus de huit jours, dans l'esperance d'y voir bientôt les autres Ministres qui doivent composer la dite assemblée. Je ne suis icy detenu que par les seules difficultez survenueës depuis peu dans cette affaire des passeports, dont ceux de cet Etat sont entre mes mains, & ceux d'*Espagne* en celles de Monsieur de *Lyra*, Envoyé de cette couronne la. Mais vous aurez sans doute déjà receu par l'entremise de Monsieur de *Ruvigni*, les copies de la resolution des Etats Generaux, & d'une memoire de Monsieur de *Lyra*, contenant leurs intentions, que les uns ne seront pas mis entre les mains, ni les autres envoyez à Messieurs les Ambassadeurs de *France*, jusqu'à ce que je seray en possession des passeports reciproques de sa Majesté tres Chretienne pour en faire l'echange.

Pour les Difficultez qu'on a fait icy sur les passeports pour l'*Espagne*, que Monsieur

N n n n 2

sieur

sent some Time since, I should not have thought them of Importance enough to fall under so long Consideration, had You not communicated Your Thoughts to me on that Head ; since it is well known, that in Concert with the States General I settled the Form of those Passports, by Order of the King my Master, and recommended it to their Care to see that the Passports of all the other Allies, should be drawn up in perfect Conformity to them ; which they accordingly took upon themselves to do, in Compliance with my Requests. I could not make any doubt, but the said Form of Passports (being taken from that of those used at *Cologne*, and having undergone the Corrections of Mr. Secretary *Williamson*) had been resolved upon at *London*, in Concert with Monsieur *Ruvigni*. The Lords the States General were of the same Opinion ; and pretend that the reciprocal Passports of *France* and *Sweden*, ought to be given in as ample a Form as those agreed upon by all the Confederates.

As for the Importance of those two Points, on which all the Difficulties here are founded, You will be pleased to observe, That for the First, it is not only the Word [*Papiers*] Papers, that is said to be omitted, but also the Words [*Baggage, Harges, Equipage*] Baggage, Goods, and Equipage, and such like other Words, usually inserted in this Place in Passports ; and which I find in those Passports which his most Christian Majesty granted to the Plenipotentiaries of *Holland* at *Cologne*. The Word *Papiers* was not in the Form proposed here, but added by Mr. Secretary *Williamson*. As for the other Point, namely, About the Liberty of the several Ministers at the Congress, to send their Couriers, barely in Virtue of their own simple Passports : I own that I am of Opinion, That it is a Thing not only practised constantly on all these Occasions, but, indeed, a Thing of absolute Necessity to bring the Negotiations to a happy Conclusion ; by securing that Safety and Ease of corresponding between Princes and their Ministers ; who can never come with such full and perfect Instructions, as never to have any Occasion to have Recourse to their Masters for new Orders, upon the many unforeseen Incidents

sieur de Ruvigni m'a fait envoyer depuis quelque tems ; je ne les aurois pas crû assez importantes pour meriter tant de consideration, sans les reflexions que vous avez fait là dessus, puisqu'il faut avouer que j'ay concerté avec les Etats Generaux le formulaire des passeports, par ordre du Roy mon Maître, & leur ay recommandé le soin de faire en sorte que ceux de tous leur Alliés fussent dressés sur le même, de quoy ils se sont chargé à mes instances. Et j'ay toujours crû que ladite forme ayant été dressée sur celle dont on s'est servi à Cologne, & corrigée sur les reflexions de Monsieur le Secretaire Williamson, elle avoit été resolüe à Londres par concert avec Monsieur de Ruvigni. Messieurs les Etats Generaux en ont crû le même, & pretendent que les passeports reciproques de France & de Suede, soient donné d'une forme aussi ample que ceux qui sont accordés par tous les Confederez.

Pour ce qui est de l'importance de ces deux points sur lesquelles on a icy fondé les difficultez, vous remarquerez si vous plaît qu'au premier ce n'est pas le seul mot de Papiers qui manque, mais ceux aussi de Baggage, Harges, Equipage, & les autres accoutumés en cet endroit de passeports, & que je vois dans ceux que sa Majesté tres Chretienne a accordé aux Plenipotentiaries de cet Etat à Cologne. Le mot de Papiers avoit été ajouté par Monsieur le Secretaire Williamson, ne se trouvant pas dans le formulaire proposé icy. Pour l'autre point, de la liberte de Ministres au Congrez de faire passer leur couriers sur leurs simples passeports : J'avoue d'avoir crû que c'etoit une circonstance non seulement pratiquée en toutes telles occasions, mais en effet fort necessaire à faire reussir les negociations, par la seureté & facilité de communication entre les Princes & leurs Ministres, qui ne pouroient être tout d'un coup si pleinement instruits, que de n'avoir pas recours aux nouveaux ordres de leurs Maîtres sur les incidents auxquels le cours de traittez

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dents to which Treaties are subject. In the first Form of Passports sent by me into *England*, the Expression was, That the Couriers of the Plenipotentiaries, in Virtue of a good Passport, should be free : But I received Orders from Mr. Secretary *Williamson*, to blot out the Word *good*, and that in Order to take away all Difficulties and Disputes which might hence arise, in an Affair so essential to such Negotiations.

As to the Complaints made by Monsieur de *Serinchamps*, concerning the Passports for *Lorrain*, and the Reflections You have made thereon ; I judged it a Matter of too great Weight for me to intermeddle with in the leastwise, without express Order from the King my Master : And for that Reason I have not communicated any Part of Your Letter to the Lords the States General, as knowing it would be News too agreeable to those in their Alliance, who are not altogether so well disposed to the Peace, as they have been represented to be ; and who therefore might from hence take Occasion to defeat all those Hopes which *Christendom* has entertained, from the great Vigilance and Care of the King my Master, employed in forming this Congress : Without which, no Discourses, or Proposals of Peace, could ever come to good Effect.

I can't finish this Letter without assuring You, That I now retain at the *Hague*, all those Sentiments of Esteem which I have heretofore had for Your Person ; and the firm Resolutions that I have taken, to be ever with the greatest Zeal,

S I R,

Your most Humble, and

most Obedient Servant, &c.

sera toujours sujet. Dans le premier formulaire que j'ay envoyé en Angleterre, il étoit porté que couriers des Plenipotentiaires munis d'un bon passeport seroient libres. Mais Monsieur le Secrétaire Williamson m'a envoyé les ordres de faire effacer le mot de Bon pour ôter toutes sortes de disputes qui pourroient survenir sur une matiere si essentielle à telles negotiations.

Pour les plaints de Monsieur de Serinchamps, sur les passeports pour Lorrain, & les reflexions que vous avez fait là dessus : J'ay estimé cette matiere de trop grande importance pour m'en mêler aucunement sans les ordres de sa Majesté ; & pour cette raison je n'ay encore rien communiqué de votre lettre à Messieurs les Etats Generaux ; sachant bien que ce seroit une nouvelle trop agreeable à ceux de leurs Alliez, qui n'ont pas les sentiments si portés à la paix, que ces Messieurs m'ont toujours temoigné, & qui pourroient tacher par là de faire evanouir toutes les apparences que le Roy mon Maître en a déjà fait naître à la Chretienté par ses grands soins, & diligences employées à former le Congrez, sans lequel tous les discours & speculations de la paix, ne pourront sortir à aucun effet.

Je ne puis achever cette lettre sans vous assurer, que je retrouve encore à la Haye tous les sentiments d'estime que j'ay eu autre fois pour votre personne, & les resolutions que j'y ay pris de ce tems là d'être toujours avec beaucoup de passion.

Monsieur,

Votre tres Humble, &

tres Obeissant Serviteur.

To Mr. Secretary Williamson.

Hague, January 31. S. N. 1676.

SIR,

UPON Mr. Skelton's Dispatch, and the Success of it, he assured me of having given You a very full Account, and thereby saved You a Trouble from me upon that Occasion. There was only one Thing he desired of the Deputies, for the Ease of his Memory, which was, The Deduction of those many Reasons whereon they excused their Compliance with his Majesty's Desires; and they promised to put it into my Hands by the next Post; but have failed of that, as well as of the Answer I expected about the Extent of Neutral Country, by reason of the Pensioner's Illness, which happens frequently, and ever gives a Stop to these Affairs, that turn wholly upon his Hand. Another Thing the Deputies proposed to us at the End of the Conference; which was, To know if his Majesty would expect an Answer of that Letter, which would make it publick here; whereas they pretended to be so sensible of not complying with it, as rather to wish, it might be taken no further notice of: And in this I expect his Majesty's Pleasure, when You think fit to signify it to me.

I inclose You a Copy of my Answer to Monsieur Pomponne's Letter (which went to You by my last) wherein I endeavour to facilitate the Two smaller Difficulties about the *Spanish* Passports, by owning the Concert of the Form here by his Majesty's Orders, and the Recommendation of it to all the Confederates. And whereas he seems to except against Couriers passing with only a simple Passport from any of the several Ministers, and to think the Word *Papiers* unnecessary; I thought fit to let him know, those Changes were made in *England*; in hopes thereupon, that his Compliance to them would prove the easier.

For the main Point, which is that of *Lorrain*; I could not think fit to enter into any Discourse upon it, or so much as to communicate it to the States here, without his Majesty's Order; because I knew the publishing of it would, on the one Hand, engage the Honour of *France* so much the deeper in adhering to it; and, on the other, would animate the Desires and Endeavours of some part of the Confederates, to break the Congress upon this single Point. Upon some Discourses with the Emperor's Minister here, after the Title given to the Duke of *Lorrain* was taken notice of in the Passports from *France*; he made no Difficulty to tell me very positively, That his Master would never treat without the *Lorrain* Ministers; and, I remember, his Words were, *Et assurez vous, Monsieur, qu'en venant au Congrez nous les pousserons toujours devant nous.* Monsieur Serinchamps was as peremptory on the other side, That his Master would never send without the Style of Duke; but, I believe, would be much more so, if he knew the Pretension that *France* now advanceth to that Dutchy, which he would believe nothing of, when we spoke of it several times upon occasion of the Passports. I had then an Opinion, that the Thing was not done by Chance, and asked him, Whether they might not ground a Pretence upon the Treaty of 1662? But he said, with great Confidence, They could not. His Arguments were; First, The Invalidity of that Treaty, by the late Duke's having no Right to dispose of his Dutchy from his Nephew: Because, if the *Salique* Law had Course there, it was unalienable from the Heir-Male; if the Feminine Succession, then that Duke himself had no Title, but it belong'd to Prince *Charles*, even in the Life of his Uncle. Secondly, The Treaty's being void by the Non-performance on the *French* side, of the only Condition which appeared of any Advantage to *Lorrain*; which was, Assuming their Princes into the Rank of those of the Blood of *France*; which was mentioned in the Treaty as that Condition, without which it had never been made; and upon its being registred in the Parliam-

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ment of *Paris* with the leaving out of that Clause, the old Duke declared it void (as I remember he said) within a Fortnight or Three Weeks after it was signed. Thirdly, The Treaty of *Marsal* being concluded the Year after between that King and Duke, by which the Duke was to continue the Possession of all his Territories besides *Marsal*, in the same manner as he enjoyed them by the Treaty of 1661. And after that Treaty of *Marsal* in 1663, it seems, that Duke continued quiet till 1670, when *France* seized upon the whole Dutchy; but declaring, as Monsieur *Serinchamps* saith, to all Princes of *Christendom*, and, particularly, to his Majesty, That it was only upon personal Quarrels to the Duke, and without Intention to keep any part of the Country. And he saith, In all this Time *France* never made the least mention of the Treaty of 1662, having found neither the Princes of the Blood, nor Parliaments of *France*, would consent to it; and thereupon, no further Thoughts were ever had of it, to perform the smallest Conditions of it, any more than the greatest. These were Monsieur *Serinchamps*'s Arguments, which I thought were fit to be sent You upon this Occasion, when the Matter lieth before his Majesty, and an Expedient is not, I fear, like to be found on this side; and without it, the Congress, for ought I see, must break; wherein his Majesty's Honour, as well as Inclination, You know, is now a good deal engaged.

I yet hear nothing of Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*, tho' the Wind hath been very good, and having received none from You by last Post, am in hopes, he may bring me the Orders necessary for my proceeding in this difficult Matter. I meet with Enquiries here every Post after his Majesty's Resolution in the Business of Revisions.

I am ever,

S I R,

Your, &c.

*To Messieurs Colbert and
d' Avaux.*

Hague, Febr. 1. N. S. 1676.

Messieurs,

I Received Yesterday Your Excellencies Letter from *Nimeguen* of the 19th past, and was willing, as soon as possible, to give You an Account of the Concern I had in an Accident lately fallen out in the Business of the Passports, which must have given You some Trouble, as it has given me much greater Uneasiness. The Passports of the States General have been for some time in my Hands, as those of *Spain* have been in Monsieur de *Lyra*'s the *Spanish* Envoy; but on this Condition, That the former shall not be sent to Your Excellencies, nor the latter deliver'd into my Hands, till I become possess'd of his most Christian Majesty's reciprocal Passports, as well
for

*A Messieurs Colbert &
d' Avaux.*

La Haye, Fevr. 1. S. N. 1676.

Messieurs,

J'AY reçu hier de *Nimegue* celle de Vos Excellences du 19^{me}. passé, & n'ay pas voulu manquer de vous témoigner au plutôt le part que je prens à un accident survenu dans l'affaire des passeports, qui vous doit avoir donné beaucoup d'ennuy, mais à moy encore beaucoup plus d'inquietude. Ceux de cet Etat ont été quelque tems entre mes mains, & ceux d'*Espagne* entre celles de Monsieur de *Lyra*, Envoyé de cette Couronne là; mais à condition que les premiers ne seroient pas envoyé a Vos Excellences ni les autres livré entre mes mains, jusques à ce que je seray en possession des passeports reciproques

for the Plenipotentiaries of this State, as for those of their Allies. Some Difficulties have been here started about the Passports, which, by Monsieur *Ruvigni's* means, have been for some time sent, as well for the Plenipotentiaries of *Spain*, as for those of *Lorrain*: The first of these Difficulties being only grounded on some Deficiencies in the Form of the said Passports concerning the Security of the Baggage, and the Liberty of dispatching Couriers, which were expressed in the Passports formerly given by his most Christian Majesty to the Plenipotentiaries of this State at *Cologne*, as well as in those dispatched by the Confederates for Your Excellencies, I had good hopes to see them easily surmounted by the good Offices which his Majesty the King my Master has already employed on this Subject at the Court of *France*. And I have endeavoured to set these Matters in a proper Light for Monsieur *Pomponne*.

As to the Difficulties made about the Passports for *Lorrain*, I found them of so great Importance, that I dared not to intermeddle therein, without the express Order of the King; and therefore I have not communicated to the States General the Letter which I received Three Days since from Monsieur *Pomponne* on this Subject: I am in hourly Expectation of receiving his Majesty's Commands, whereby I may regulate my own Conduct herein. In the mean time, I intreat Your Excellencies to assure Yourself, That it is with the greatest Regret that I see this Stop put to an Affair in which the Inclination, as well as the Honour of his Majesty, is so deeply engaged; and to believe, That I will omit no Care or Pains to promote and facilitate it on this side. To these so important Considerations, I might add, The particular Satisfaction and Pleasure that I propose to my self, in being interested and concerned in an Affair, that will bring me into the Company and Conversation of Your Excellencies at *Nimeguen*; where I promise my self to find yet farther Opportunities of giving You Proof, how uneasy these Hindrances are to me, and with how much Esteem I am,

*Your Excellencies most Humble,
and most Obedient Servant, &c.*

ques de sa Majesté tres-Chrétienne, tant pour les Plenipotentiaires de cet Etat que pour ceux de leurs Alliez. On a trouvé des difficultez icy à ceux que Monsieur de Ruvigni m'a fait envoyer depuis quelque tems, tant pour les Plenipotentiaires d'Espagne que pour ceux de Lorraine; mais les premiers n'ayant été fondés que sur quelques défauts dans le formulaire desdits passeports, touchant la seureté du bagage, & liberté de dépêcher les couriers, compris icy devant en ceux que sa Majesté tres-Chrétienne a accordé aux Plenipotentiaires de cet Etat à Cologne, aussi bien que ceux que les confederez ont faite depecher pour V. Ex. J'ay bien esperé de les voir facilement surmonter par les offices de sa Majesté le Roy mon Maître, qui ont été déjà employés à la Cour de France sur ce sujet. Et j'ay tâché de donner à Monsieur Pomponne les éclaircissements necessaires là dessus.

Pour les difficultez faites sur ceux de Lorraine, je les trouve d'une trop grande importance, pour y oser sans les ordres de sa Majesté y mêler mes sentimens; & pour cela n'ay pas encore communiqué à Messieurs les Etats Generaux la lettre que j'ay reçu depuis trois jours de Monsieur de Pomponne sur cette matiere, mais j'attend à toute heure les commandements du Roy pour regler ma conduite. Cependant je supplie V. Ex. de vous assurer que c'est avec regret extreme que je voy cet accrochement à une affaire, en laquelle l'inclination aussi bien que l'honneur de sa Majesté est si fort engagée; & que je n'épargneray aucune peine & diligence pour la faciliter de ce côté icy. Je pourrais ajouter à ces considerations si importantes l'interet particulier que je prens au bonheur & la joye que je me suis proposé en la rencontre & conversation de V. Ex. à Nimegue, ou je veux esperer encore de trouver les occasions à vous témoigner combien je ressens ce retardement, & avec combien d'estime je suis,

Messieurs,

De V. Exces. le tres Humble,
& tres Obeissant Serviteur.

To

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, February 4. S. N. 1676.

S I R,

YOU will have found by my Two last, That I had before received from Monsieur *Pomponé* what You have since been pleased to tell me by Yours of the 21st, concerning the most Christian King's Answer to his Majesty's Representations about the Passports. I have discoursed it over this Day with the Pensioner, who finds no Remedy on this side, but takes the whole Matter for an Argument, That *France* has do Desire at present to see the Congress formed, or to enter in earnest upon the Negotiation of a Peace. He remarks upon the Liberty of Couriers, That the *Spaniards* can write but once a Fortnight to *Madrid*, and that by the common Couriers; but that the *French* themselves can have no Communication, either with *Paris* or any of their Garrisons, without this Liberty; and he thinks, they cannot mean any thing should be done at a Treaty with these Circumstances. He said, It was possible that *France* might insist upon this in Favour of *Sweden*, to whom, as You say, *Denmark* has refused the Passes; but they are Yesterday come, in the Form agreed upon, as You will find by the inclosed Memorial of that Envoy here. For the Point of *Lorraine*, he reasoned much of the Strangeness of such a Pretension; but I remember nothing new, or more than what I repeated in my last of Monsieur *Serinchamps's* Discourses on that Subject. As to this last, I can make no Conjecture how his Majesty is like to succeed on the side of *France*, and have no Prospect of any Expedient upon this. But as to the Two smaller Difficulties, methinks, it should be easie to procure the Passports from that Court in the same Form with what are given here, if his Majesty owns them to have been concerted, as You know they were, by his Order, and by the same recommended to the Practice of all the Confederates. And, indeed, nothing seems more proper, than for the Mediator to concert one General Form of Passports to be used by all Parties. I shewed those You inclosed in Your last, to the Pensioner; upon which he remarked likewise, That there was but one single Passport for all the Emperor's Plenipotentiaries, whereas there were Three for the *French*; but concluded, That he hoped still all might be adjusted by his Majesty's second Offices towards *France* upon this Matter.

I send You inclosed a Paper I received from the States, concerning the Business of Prince *William* of *Furstenburgh*, and another, concerning the Neutrality; which coming just now to my Hands, I send the Original Papers, though there seems some Defect in a Clause of the last, which leaves the Prescription of the Neutral Limits wholly to his Majesty, provided they extend not beyond the *Waal* and *Rhine*. I suppose, by my Letters from Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, You will have heard a great deal from him of the Necessity of enlarging the Bounds, in reference to the Convenience of the Ministers: upon which Subject I shall say nothing, but only wish, that *France* would leave this Matter so far in his Majesty's Hands, as to make that Compliment concerning the County of *Meurs*, to the Prince of *Orange*, either from that Crown, or from his Majesty; his Highness, I find, thinking it hard, that so small a Thing should be refused him, after his Majesty had thought fit to engage himself in the Proposal of it on both sides.

Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* told me in one Yesterday, of a Chicane made him by Monsieur *Beverning* upon the Point of first Visit, which, I doubt not, he has given You Account of. That very Hour I had his Letter, came to me the President of the Commissioners for the Foreign Affairs, by Order both of the Prince and the States, to acquaint me with a Letter of Monsieur *Beverning* upon the same Subject, and to desire me to direct what I would have done upon it. I found by the Letter, That Monsieur *Beverning* intended to make

no further or more formal Visit to Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, upon pretence, that should be done to us both upon my Arrival; but I desired Monsieur *Mauregnault*, the Person sent to me, That Orders might go away by last Night's Ordinary, to both their Ambassadors, to make their Visit together, and in Form, to Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, as Ambassador-Mediator, which the Prince told me in the Afternoon, had been accordingly resolved on.

I am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, February 11. S. N. 1676.

S I R,

I Received a great deal of Honour by the Testimony You were pleased to give me in Your last of the 25th past, of the Approbation given at the Foreign Committee to my Conduct, in giving no Communication here of Monsieur *Pompone's* Letter, till I had received Orders from his Majesty. I thought this so much my Duty, that I will confess to You, not to have given notice of it to the States, upon what I received from You in Your former, though it was in Substance the same with Your last; but bringing me no Orders, and only a bare Relation from You, I thought fit upon it only to discourse it to the Pensioner, saying, That he might do the same to the States, as a Matter he had from me in Communication; which he did, lest I should seem to make a Secret of what they knew here from Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, and Don *Pedro de Ronquillo*. But upon his Majesty's Pleasure, signified to me in Your last, I have put in a formal Memorial, to acquaint the States with it, having taken those Words which relate his Majesty's Part in it, out of Your own Letter; and which signify the most Christian King's Answer, out of Monsieur *Pompone's*: This I did rather than out of Yours, because what was contained in Monsieur *Pompone's*, was certainly that which they intended should be communicated from them to the States, and for that Reason (as the Letter mentions) transmitted to me, to save the Time of conveying it by *England*. I suppose, some little Mistake in the Construction of my former Letter, made You think, I intended not so much as to answer Monsieur *Pompone's*, without Orders from *England*: For You will since have found, that I did it by the very next Post; but that it was, by my good Fortune, in the very same Form, as well as Substance, that Your last instructed me; and that I did not only take Your particular Notice to him of my not having communicated his Letter to the States without his Majesty's Orders, but again repeated that Circumstance in my Answer to a Letter of the *French* Plenipotentiaries about the same time; a Copy whereof I sent You inclosed, together with that of my Memorial Yesterday to the States. You will lately have found in my Secretary's Papers, the Mention of a Conclusion made in the Treaty of Commerce between *Sweden* and this State; and yet, not long after an Accord here enter'd into with the *Dane*, of equipping a joint Fleet against next Campaign in the *Baltick*. I found in my last Letters from *England*, the first was thought a little mysterious; and since the last has relation to the Course of his Majesty's Mediation, I think it will become me to give his Majesty some Account of the true Springs in both.

The first was a Business that arose wholly from the *Swedes*, and was negotiated at *Stockholm*, particularly, by Monsieur *Ehernsteyn*. The publick Intention in it there, was, To make such a Treaty serve for some Introduction towards another,

another, by which a Suspension of Arms at Sea might follow between that Crown and this State. By this means, *Sweden* would, in probability, be able to succour *Pomerania* next Campaign; and this State would not, perhaps, have seen it very unwillingly, in case Matters on this side, and the Dispositions in *France* had drawn on towards the general Peace. The private Motion of that Treaty sprung from Monsieur *Ebernsteyn's* Desire to value himself by being instrumental in restoring, at least, the Beginnings of some good Intelligence between his Master and this State; having himself been always averse from the Breach, and now seeing the Counsels that promoted it so much decried in *Sweden* from the unhappy Events. And this was all the Mystery of that Treaty.

The States, tho' they approved the Treaty of Commerce, yet they confirmed not the private Articles proposed by *Sweden*, in order to a Suspension of Arms by Sea; tho' I did not observe any great Aversion towards it; but, on the contrary, a Resolution, at least, of not arming this next Summer in the *Baltick*, tho' they had been for Three Months past very warmly pressed to it by the *Danish* Ministers. But when the first News came of the Defaults in the *French* Passports, they began to conclude, that *France* was not at all in Earnest upon the Business of the Congress, which they guessed not more from the Point about *Lorraine*, than from that of *Couriers*; without the Liberty whereof, they esteemed no Negotiation could have any Effect, and the Prejudice would be infinitely greater to *France* and *Sweden* in point of Intelligence, than to the Confederates themselves.

The States thought this Counsel of delaying or breaking the Congress, proceeded from an Expectation in *France* of some great Design, wherein they expected the Success, either in *Naples*, or *Sicily*, or in *Poland*. And knowing the Endeavours of the *French* Minister at the Port, and the other in *Poland*, to bring about a Peace this Season between the *Turk* and that Crown, they suspected most the falling down of the *Poles* upon the Duke of *Brandenburgh* in the Ducal *Prussia*. The *Danish* and *Brandenburgh* Ministers here, made a good Use of this Apprehension in the States, and prevailed with them to clap up an Agreement with *Denmark*, for arming a joint Fleet next Summer in the *Baltick*, very much against their former Resolution, and wholly to the Disappointment of all that *Sweden* had proposed to themselves by their Treaty of Commerce.

This I reckon upon as the first important Effect of the Defaults found in the *French* Passports, and if the States continue in the same Opinion of the *French* Indisposition to the Treaty, or of their Designs to bring in the *Pole* upon the Duke of *Brandenburgh*, they will give in vigorously with the Confederates, to drive the *Swedes* wholly out of the Empire next Summer, to which they would otherwise not easily have been induced.

This leads me necessarily to another, which it may be fit likewise for his Majesty to know. The Expence of this State in the War, joined to the Diminution of their Trade, seems to disable them any longer prosecuting it than this Campaign; and, indeed, their Councils in it hitherto are chiefly animated by the great Steadiness and Influence of the Prince of *Orange*. The House of *Austria* foreseeing this, have framed a new Scheme of taking off from this State all the Subsidies they pay to the Allies, after this Campaign, of *Spain* continuing to pay them their Part, and of the Allies, especially *Denmark*, *Brandenburgh*, and *Lunenburgh*, contenting themselves with the other Moiety (now paid by the States) upon a general Treaty to be entered into by all the Confederates, for a Guaranty of the Conquest made last Year, or that shall be made this Year upon the *Swedes* in *Germany*; which, they think, will be an Advantage to the last named Confederates, and the Bishop of *Munster*, greater than half of the present Subsidies. And for those to *Mentz* and *Trier*, as well as the Emperor, *Spain* will take them wholly upon themselves; as, indeed, the Emperor has not, for this Year past, at all press'd the States for these Payments by Treaty made due to him. The *Spanish* and Imperial Ministers are pretty confident of bringing this to pass; and that, upon it, the States

will be able to continue the War with Ease; and if not with the same Number of Troops, and as Principals in it, yet, at least, as Accessaries, and with a Body of about Twenty thousand Men in *Flanders*. Several of the States tell me, They will not consent to give such a Guaranty, foreseeing it must ingage them in a long War: And the Prince himself will not, I believe, give into it, till he sees the Events of next Campaign, or the utmost that *France* will insist upon in the Treaty. For my own part, I apprehend it as an Affair that may go far towards the Continuance of a long War, and, consequently, the ill Success of his Majesty's Mediation, and therefore thought fit to give his Majesty the early Advices of it.

Though the King may have had Reason to stop Mr. *Skelton's* Journey at present, whose Errand to the Emperor would not, perhaps, have had good Grace whilst *France* persists in the Refusal of the Duke of *Lorraine's* Title, and thereby the Passport that may bring him to the Treaty: Yet if his Majesty should have the Fortune to surmount these Difficulties about the *French* Passports, I do not think he will have Reason to be discouraged in his intended Applications to the Emperor, upon this States excusing themselves from joining with him in it: For, upon Discourses with the Imperial and *Spanish* Ministers here, I find them both absolutely of Opinion, (though they profess it to be but personally their own) That the Emperor will certainly give that Point of Prince *William* to his Majesty's Intercession, whenever it is particularly and formally made to him. And both those Ministers have promised me, to ingage all their Credit at the Court of *Vienna* towards this Success upon Mr. *Skelton's* Arrival there, which I thought was an Office his Majesty would approve of, tho' I was not encharged with it.

I have received his Majesty's Ratification of the late Article agreed upon here concerning the free Trade from Enemy's Port, which shall be exchanged to morrow, and shall be sent You by the first Yacht.

I ask Your Pardon for the Length of this Trouble, and remain,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

Hague, February 11. S. N. 1676.

I Was extreme glad to find by one from You, which Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* gave me at his Arrival here, that You had so good Hopes of wearing off that Indisposition in which Your former had left You; and that You had already begun to use Your Legs, which, I doubt not, will recover themselves by Exercise, with the Help of the Season, and thereby restore You to the Air and Entertainments You used to be pleased with, and the Liberty of attending his Majesty's Affairs, as well as Your own.

I suppose, Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* never wants Discourse so much, as for a Help of it to introduce that about the Pacquet-Boats; and, perhaps, he does not think fit to begin one where You are more concerned than his Masters, of how small Consequence soever it be. Therefore I have not renewed it here, but whenever You make the Trial, and find any Stop from either his want of Power or Will, to give You the Satisfaction intended, I shall not fail to move it again to the Pensioner, and, if need be, to the Prince, upon the least notice You please to give me of it.

We will, if You please, leave off any further Mention of what passed in our former Letters, upon occasion of Sir *Gabriel Sylvius's* Journey hither. I do believe what You tell me, there is no Mystery in it: And yet, whenever we meet, I will tell You very frankly what I thought was once in Design; which must have been very injurious to me, though, perhaps, not so intended; and will
upon

upon it leave You to judge Your self, whether I was imposed upon by those from whom I received the Knowledge of it : For, of my many Weaknesses, that of my being credulous is none, especially where it is so unpleasant to make me suspect the good Intentions of those few whose Friendship I esteem, and would be glad to deserve. For the rest that You are pleased to say of the Intentions he brings over, as to my own Particular, they are of more Honour to me, than I at all pretend to ; who shall ever live with Persons that bear his Majesty's Character, as my Fellow-Servants, whatever Difference may be made by those we receive from our Master, according as he pleases to use us in order to his better Service. I wish him, with all my Heart, the Honour of either finding or raising any Dispositions here more agreeable to his Majesty's Desires in what concerns the Peace, than those I have yet been able to give Account of. But I think it more for his Majesty's Service, to give him a true one that he likes not, than a feigned or disguised one that he likes ; which is the way to engage him in Measures that will fail, and sometimes in Retreats of little Honour. Upon this Subject, I cannot but wish, Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* had either understood his Masters better, or been less heard himself upon the Business of Prince *William*, before Mr. *Skelton* came over ; and that, for the Time to come, some Difference were made between his Talk and his Memorials, since in the latter, I believe, he will be more cautious than in the other.

The Prince is out of Town, and will continue so till *Saturday*. The Congress is *accroché* by the Exceptions made here from the Confederates to the French Passports for *Spain* and *Lorrain* ; which You know the Detail of as well as I, and, perhaps, by this Time, better, in knowing the Answer of the French Court to his Majesty's last Application. What I write now to Mr. Secretary *Williamson*, You will have Your Part in, either in his Hands or the Foreign Committee ; and beyond these we have nothing here stirs at present, but the common Reports of Monsieur *de Ruyter*'s Victory over the French Fleet, which I yet see no certain Grounds for (tho' some Appearance) from the Advices that are yet come hither.

I am

Your most Faithful

Humble Servant.

To Mr. Secretary Coventry.

Hague, February 11. S. N. 1676.

SIR,

I Was extreme sorry to find by the Honour of one from You of the 24th past, That Your late Indispositions had been so frequent and so troublesome as You describe them. I hope You will find the Return of Your Health with that of the Season, which I very heartily wish, for his Majesty's sake as well as Your own. In the mean Time, I comfort my self with the Belief I gather from Your Letters to my Lord *Berkley*, of which Your last inclosed the Copies, that Your Illness has reached no further than Your Body, and not at all affected or lessened the Vigor of Your Conceptions, which have in those Letters pressed the Court of *France* further than I doubt they will easily yield, or can easily excuse. The Success I must expect from *England*, having given Monsieur *Pompone* no Encouragement to continue an immediate Commerce between us here ; which, I suppose, he had a Mind to, upon pretence of gaining Time, and might have been welcome to a Man that considered his Master

Master or his Orders, as Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* does his, in his present Ambassage.

I have given a full Account in my Dispatch to Night to Mr. Secretary *Williamson*, of the late Treaty of Commerce between *Sweden* and this State; which, I find, You think somewhat mysterious: And because I esteem that, and other Particulars in that Dispatch, necessary for his Majesty to know, I presume You will meet it certainly at the Foreign Committee, and therefore refer You to it.

They are here very full of the Belief given them by the last *Italian* Letters, of a great Victory of Monsieur *de Ruyter* over the *French* Fleet, and the Extremity of *Messina*, if not relieved. The last I have Reason to believe, from some Letters I have received, and others of Merchants I have seen; as likewise, That there has been an Engagement between the Two Fleets; but for the Successes and Particulars of it, I do not find any Ground of Certainty from any Advices yet arrived here, or the Comparifon of them from so many several Places, because they seem all derived from one Source; which was a Felucca come by chance into *Naples* with the Reports of them. In case it should be true, it would be of great Consequence, and make some Change in the present Scene of Affairs, and Dispositions towards a Peace.

The Prince is out of Town for a Week a Hunting, and is pleas'd to hear, You are so keen upon that Sport; and says, There are Two Places in *England* he will be sure to be at, whenever he sees *England*; which are, Your House at *Enfield*, and *Shene*; tho' the Fruits of one, will be too weak a Rival with him for the Hunting at t'other.

I am ever, with very much Passion and Truth,

S I R,

Your most Obedient

Humble Servant.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, February 18. S. N. 1676.

S I R,

I Am to acknowledge both Yours of the 1st and the 4th, which are come to my Hands since my last of the 11th. Your first inclosed the *Swedish* Passports, put into Your Hands by Monsieur *Sparr*; Your last, the *French* Papers, by Monsieur *Ruvigni*, containing the Reasons of the most Christian King's refusing those Passports insisted upon here in the Passports of *France*. I have communicated both to the Pensioner; who, as to the first, remarked upon them the Opinion of the Clause for Liberty of Couriers, and that of the Passports themselves expected for the Duke of *Lorraine* among their Allies. He concluded, both were done by Concert with *France*; and said, He did not believe, they could be accepted in this Form; but would acquaint the States with it, and give me their Answer. He observed afterwards the Date of them, and finding it old, he told me upon it, That he did not doubt but the Court of *Sweden* had changed their Mind upon this Matter since that Time. That by the Letters last Week from *Stockholm*, Monsieur *Romph*, the States Minister there, had assured them, That the Court was resolved to expedite the Passes in the very same Form with that agreed upon by the Confederates; and were absolutely of Opinion, That the Clause for Liberty of Couriers was necessary, and particularly so to themselves. And the Pensioner seemed to believe, that this Matter, and the Dispatch of the Two Plenipotentiaries from *Sweden*, would soon be made, either by a *Dutch* Vessel from *Gottenburg*, or by a Frigate to be sent from hence to that purpose. As

As to Monsieur *Ruvigni's* Paper, he told me, It was a Business of that Importance, the Congress depending wholly upon it, that he would not advance his own Opinion, without first knowing that of his Masters: That an Answer had been made to my last Memorial upon this Subject, which should have been in my Hands before this Post, but consisting chiefly in the due Acknowledgments of his Majesty's Offices, and repeated Instances to *France* for removing these Difficulties; he thought now, that I acquainted him with the Success, that it would be fit to enlarge it, but promised to take care that I should be possessed of it by next Ordinary.

For my own Part, I will confess to You, That I think Monsieur *Ruvigni's* Paper a Thing as strongly and as well reasoned, as I have seen any, and that I cannot but think they have Right in what concerns the Point of the *Couriers*, since the Prejudice to the Confederates from that Liberty, cannot be, in any kind, equal with that of *France* using it ill; and the Instances of what pass'd at *Cologne* and *Aix la Chapelle*, are so pertinent, that I do not see how they can be disputed; especially, upon the Offer of free Passage between *Nimeguen* and *Brussels*. All that sticks, in my Opinion, is, The Prejudice that *France* and *Sweden* will receive, by the want of allowed Intercourse with their Ministers: but of this they are themselves the best Judges.

As to the Point of *Lorraine*, I should likewise think the Paper had Reason too, if they grounded their Title to *Lorraine* upon Conquest, which is a very common Right in the World, and universally allowed, when, at least, confirmed by Time. But in case that Treaty of 1662, were attended with all those Circumstances which the Pensioner as well as Monsieur *Serinchamps* have deduced to me upon this Occasion, I doubt whether it will bear so much Weight. But at this I can offer no Judgment, without knowing the Matter from that side, as well as this; which I should be very glad to do, that I might, if there be Occasion, be better able to argue it with them here.

By what I can discover at first by Discourses among them upon this Subject, I am apt to think, that both the Prince and the States would be content to leave this Matter wholly to be governed by his Majesty, and make him an Arbitrator in it, as well as a Mediator, in case *France* would do the same. But I doubt whether they sit so loose from their Allies, as to divide from them in it, or whether the several Ministers of the Confederates here, will make such a Pace upon so important an Affair, without new and precise Orders from their Masters. However, I should be very glad to know, for my Government hereafter, upon this or the like Occasions, Whether his Majesty would be content to have such Offers made him, or rather declined, in their first Rise? I know, the Use of them might introduce a very great Authority to his Mediation in the Course of the Treaty, and in Points, perhaps, of greater moment than this. But whether his Majesty would willingly charge himself with absolute Decisions, and pass over the Respects of displeasing the Parties, who might think themselves aggrieved by them, is what I know not. But, perhaps, it is not unnecessary for me to have, at least, some Hint of his Majesty's Dispositions in such Cases, if they should fall in my way.

I leave the current News to my Secretary, as You please to give me Leave; but will add to it what I hear just now, that the Match will be made in all Appearance between the Duke of *Lorraine*, and the Queen Dowager of *Poland*, *Spain* having given their Consent to it; and, I believe, it is not without some Eye upon the Difficulties that, they say, the present King of *Poland* is like to meet with in his intended Coronation.

I am ever,

S I R,

Your most Humble Servant.

To

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, February 25. S. N. 1676.

S I R,

I Am to acknowledge the Honour of both Yours of the 8th and the 11th, since my last of this Day Se'nnight. I find both refer me to the further Notices You expect out of *France*, concerning the Difficulties at present depending in the Business of the Congress; and I can, as yet, give You as little Light from hence. The Pensioner sent me Excuses this Morning, That the Answer intended by the States to my last Memorial, and to the Reasons contained in Monsieur *Ruvigni's* Paper, could not yet be ready, by reason of Monsieur *de Lyrá's* Absence, without whose Communication, as Minister to the chief of their Allies, they could not agree upon any Resolution which concerned the Union in general.

I sent him the Paper put into Your Hands by the *Swedish* Ambassador, and desired upon it, that the Passports of this State might be delivered to the *Swedish* Minister here. The Pensioner returned me Answer, That he would move it to the States; but doubted, that it could not be till the Form of Passports were agreed on both sides, which ought to be the same to all Parties. The short of the Matter is this: *France* refuses the Liberty of Couriers, because they will not open their Country to their Enemies. *Denmark* makes the same Difficulties, and for the same Reasons. *Sweden* for the contrary, desires the Liberty of Couriers between them and the Confederates: But these are resolved to allow nothing to *Sweden* in this Point, but what *France* shall allow to *Spain*: And they are, for ought I see, upon the whole, very indifferent whether the Thing be agreed one way or other, so it may be general to all the Parties.

In the Case, You say, had been proposed to You by Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, of what may happen to the Domesticks of the *French* Ambassadors, if the Treaty should not proceed; I should have thought my self obliged to protect them (even without receiving his Majesty's Orders) to the utmost of my Credit here; and I question not but That would serve such a Turn as this, if there were Occasion; and therefore, I think, his Majesty may be at Ease on that side.

I am very well content to have little at this Time to trouble You with, either from Your own Letters, or any thing else that passes here; having been now for Four Days confined to my Chamber by a very painful Illness, which has much indisposed me for this kind of Exercise.

I am ever,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, February 28. S. N. 1676.

S I R,

THIS Morning I received the Honour of Yours of the 15th, with an Account of his Majesty's first Thoughts upon mine of the 18th, by which I shall govern my self for the discouraging any Propositions of that kind arising here,

here, either in this Matter of *Lorrain*, or others, unless I receive new Directions. The common Belief here at this present, is, That *France* will not insist so far upon the Difficulties raised in the *Lorrain* Passports, as to break the Congress upon it; especially since *Sweden* is resolved to break from them in it. On this side, they make no haste to give me any Answer upon the Reasons of *France* represented to them on that Subject, pretending still the Absence of Don *Emanuel de Lyra*. But Yesterday Monsieur *Serinchamps* shew'd me a Letter from his Master, where he said, He was sure he should not be abandoned by the Empire nor *Spain* in this Point; and that they would neither be brought to the Congress without the Allowance of his Title, nor to the Peace without the Restitution of his Dutchy. There was a great deal in it acknowledging and applauding his Majesty's Justice, in the Offices performed upon this Occasion towards *France*; and a great deal more, taxing very sharply the Procedure of *France*, in advancing Pretensions upon such a Treaty, wherein, he said, were *toutes sortes de nullités*: but that he should be sorry to be put upon more large or publick Deductions of that Matter, for the sake of the Dead; and not only the late Duke, but those Ministers of *France* who were the Instruments in that Treaty. The Reasons alledg'd in this Letter were very short, and upon the same Heads with those I sent You formerly from Monsieur *Serinchamps*'s Representations. He would not give me a Copy of the Letter, saying, His Master had so ordered him, and only to communicate it to me; because, he said, he would not be *obligé à des répliques en un temps ou les coups d' épée seroient plus de saison que ceux de plume*.

The Truth is, The *Lorrain*, the *Brandenburgh*, and the *Danish* Ministers, would be well pleased to see the Campaign end before the Congress begins; and so are glad to increase all the Difficulties lately fallen in. But these States are very desirous to have the Congress formed, and press both the *Spaniards* and Imperialists to send their Plenipotentiaries to *Nimeguen*, whether the *French* come or no, since they are assured that the *Swedes* will. They pretend by it, to throw the Blame of the War openly upon *France*; but the true Spring of it is, The Hope they have, that some Overtures of Peace may arise from the Accidents of the War in the Course of the Campaign; and that they may be much better improved by his Majesty's Mediation, when a Congress is on Foot, than by any private Ways of Negotiation. For these Reasons, they have resolved Yesterday at the Committee of Secret Affairs, That a Frigate shall be sent away to *Gottenburg*, not only to exchange the Passports with *Sweden*, but to bring away their Plenipotentiaries, who will be ready there, as the *Swedish* Commissary here assures them. But this Resolution is taken with the Condition of their Allies consenting, to which they are in hopes of inducing them.

The Prince coming to me this Morning, immediately after I received Your Letter, I told his Highness what You encharged me from his Majesty, concerning his Answer to the Elector Palatine, which the Prince was very much pleased with; and desired me, of Himself, to acquaint both the States and the Allies with it, as a Mark of his Majesty's Justice in the Mediation; which I shall do to-morrow, tho' I have not yet stirred out of my Chamber, and write in Pain.

I am ever,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To the KING.

Hague, March 3. S. N. 1676.

May it please Your Majesty,

UPON an Occasion given me by my Lord Treasurer, in a Clause of a late Letter mentioning a Dispatch of Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* hither ; I thought fit by his Lordship's Hand, to give Your Majesty the fullest Account I could of the Prince of *Orange*'s Dispositions and Intentions in this great Conjuncture.

I have since found by Discourse with Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*, That Your Majesty thought his Highness might be made more sensible of the Usage he has received, and ought to expect from *Spain*, in this Confederacy. I did not forget, among other Things wherein Your Majesty instructed me, to say a great deal to him upon this Subject. He still answered me, That he knew more of this than I could tell him : That it had gone so far in what concerned his Personal Interests with that Crown, as to make him tell the Duke de *Villa Hermosa* last Campaign, That he took this manner of Treatment from *Spain*, as a great Honour to him : For, he was very sure, at a Time wherein the least Step he should make awry, was of so great moment to that Crown ; they would not use him so, if they did not think him a Man of too much Honour, to prefer his own Resentments before the publick Interests he was engaged in. And he added upon it, That they knew him, for he should not do it.

Upon another Discourse of the House of *Austria*'s depending so much upon his Highness's own Dispositions, rather than those of the States, in the Pursuit of their present Alliances ; his Highness told me a Particular I had never heard before ; which was, That one Part of his Oath as Statholder, was, To take the Care of keeping the States to the Observation of their Treaties ; which he was resolved to do to the best of his Power.

Last *Friday*, his Highness coming to me upon an Illness that kept me in my Chamber, told me all that had passed between him and Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*, upon the Subject of the Peace ; which all ended in this : That Your Majesty desired a good Peace, and that his Highness desired nothing more than a good one, but not an ill one ; which, on the contrary, he would hinder if he could. That all the Question was, What was a good Peace ? And upon that, had desired of Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*, as he had before done of me, to know Your Majesty's Mind, and upon what Terms You desired or thought fit the Peace should be made : That Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* had answered, You had given him no Commission to give that Scheme, and would reserve Your self till the Treaty. Upon which his Highness had replied, That then, for his Part, he would neither help nor hinder the Peace : That it would be made when one of the Parties were beaten out of the Field, but not till then ; unless Your Majesty would declare to all the Parties, upon what Terms You thought fit, and desired to make it ; and, in this Case, it would be done in a Week.

I tell Your Majesty this, that for Your better Light, You may compare it with the Notes You receive upon this Matter from Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* ; and thereby know, whether the Prince's Discourses are different to different Persons ; which I believe they are not, however they may be represented. And, I am confident, no Reasonings can remove him from those Intentions I have always given Your Majesty an Account of ; unless the future Events of the War, or new Revolutions in the Confederacy, should inspire him with new Thoughts, or involve him in new Necessities.

The Prince in his last Visit to me, told me, He believed one great Part of Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*'s Errand hither, was come out to other Day. That he had fallen into Discourse of the ill Posture of the *English* Forces here ; the Necessity of a Person of Quality being at the Head of them ; and my Lord *Ossory*'s Desire to serve him in that Charge. That upon the Prince's agreeing in those Points, Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* pulled out a Letter, and said, 'Twas one he had thought

thought of writing to my Lord *Arlington* upon that Subject, if the Prince approved it. That he read it to his Highness, who said, He thought it was well; and that he might send it, if he would. The Prince told me, He observed the Paper was so worn in the Creases, that he knew it was a Thing brought out of *England*; and not written here, as Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* pretended; and believed, it was not only to go to my Lord *Arlington*, but that it came from him too. That he believed, it was not a Thing Your Majesty knew of; and observed a Clause in it, which he thought was put in on purpose to ingratiate it to Your Majesty, tho' he had taken no notice of it to Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*.

I took this Occasion to tell his Highness, That Your Majesty had talk'd with me, when I was last in *England*, of that Point, as of a Thing You would be glad of, and that might be provided for by private Concert between Your Majesty and his Highness, upon the Conclusion of a Treaty You intended of a nearer Alliance with this State, immediately after the general Peace; which his Highness, I find, thinks will be the proper Time for it; as I remember Your Majesty thought too, when You discoursed it to me. I did not find any Reflections or Dispositions in the Prince, different from what Your Majesty has Reason to desire them upon this Occasion; and doubt not of seeing all other Measures easie between You, in case Your Majesty can have so much Credit with *France*, or so much good Fortune, as to help him out of this War with some Honour and Satisfaction.

Your Majesty will please to use this Matter as a piece of Confidence from the Prince to me; though I thought it fit to be told Your Majesty, because I remember how averse You were last Summer from suffering my Lord *Offory* to come over during the War; and I thought You might be engaged in what You had no mind to, upon the Prince's seeming to press You with a Circumstance of a new Strain; or else be troubled to refuse what he seemed so much to desire. Whereas the Thing has risen wholly in *England*, and not here, as will be represented to You; so that the Matter is in Your Majesty to do just as You please, without any Danger of disobliging the Prince, who is but passive in it. And for that Circumstance, which, I suppose, intended to value somebody or other, by the Shew of extraordinary Confidence, and to introduce some more private Negotiations; 'tis a Fruit that, I doubt, is not yet in Season to be handled, nor will be before the General Peace is made, which must make way for all nearer Measures between Your Majesty and the Prince; and I am the more of this Opinion, because, I remember, it was absolutely Your Majesty's when I left You.

I humbly beg Your Majesty's Pardon for this Trouble, and Your Acceptance of that true and passionate Devotion, wherewith I am, and shall be ever,

Your Majesty's most Loyal,

and most Obedient

Subject and Servant.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, March 10. S. N. 1676.

S I R,

I Am to acknowledge Yours of the 22d, and in it the Significations of his Majesty's further and more resolved Pleasure, concerning what might be offered on this Side towards his Majesty's Arbitrage, upon Differences fallen,

P P P P 2

or

or like to fall in between the Parties. And by these Orders I shall wholly govern my self in that Matter as it occurs.

I received likewise in Your Enclosure, new Passports for the *Spanish* Plenipotentiaries, against which I do not think there will lie any Exception : So that if those for *Lorrain* were as forward, the Congress would soon begin. But upon that Point, I suppose, I may this Post send You the States Answer to Monsieur *Ruvigni's* Paper, which was agreed on at Don *Emanuel's* Return ; and the Pensioner assured me this Morning, it should be put into my Hands before the closing of this Pacquet.

Yesterday the Prince came to me, and told me, He came from a Conference they had with their Allies, upon a Letter from Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, with the Expedient his Majesty had discoursed of, both to him and Don *Pedro de Ronquillo*. His Highness told me, That for himself and the States they would willingly fall in with whatever his Majesty should propose ; but, to tell me plainly, there was not one Minister of any of their Allies, that liked it in any kind. The *Imperialists* and *Spaniards* said, modestly, at the Conference, That it was a Thing wholly new ; and therefore excused themselves from saying any Thing to it, without Orders from their Masters. The *Danish* and *Brandenburgh* said the same ; but added, They were sure their Masters would not consent to it. That nothing could touch their Sovereignties nearer, than that another Prince should give Liberty to their Enemies to pass through their Countries. But besides these Arguments, his Highness told me, that they all concluded, That by it *France* would certainly gain their Point, after having publickly laid a Claim to *Lorrain*, and thereupon refused to give the Stile of Duke. I only tell You these as the Prince's Discourses ; for not having received any Orders to propose the Matter here, I have neither done it, nor can charge my self with giving any Answer to it from the States : But the Pensioner told me this Morning, That would be done to Night, by Letters to Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*. At the same Time he desired me from the States, to know from Monsieur *Silvercroone*, the *Swedish* Commissary here (who has much press'd both them and me for the Dispatch of their Passports) Whether he desired the Exchange of them separately, and before that of the *French* Passports were concluded, or no ? For if he did, both the States and their Allies were very likely to consent to it. I desired to be excused from performing this Office : For his Majesty having undertaken the Mediation of a general Peace ; I took my self to be encharged with all Offices that any way tended towards it ; but with none that were aimed at any separate Measures between the Parties ; and therefore would not meddle, without his Majesty's Orders, in any separate Concert, or Exchange of Passports between them and *Sweden*.

The Pensioner seemed a little surprized, but said, He would speak with Monsieur *Silvercroone* himself about it ; since I did not think it, as the States had done, to be properly the Part of a Mediator. The Thing was sudden ; and this occur'd to me, at the present, as most agreeable to what I conceived of his Majesty's Scope and general Sense, in the Draught of those Instructions brought over by Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*. However, I should be glad to know, whether it be what his Majesty approves of, that I may have the more Light for my future Government.

I communicated to the Pensioner the Commissioners Paper concerning Revisions, and his Majesty's Orders to me upon it. The Pensioner told me, He was this Night going out of Town, towards the *Skincksconce* ; but would communicate it to the States, immediately upon his Return. In the mean Time he would freely tell me his Thoughts upon it ; which were, That since a Treaty had been concluded with those Words, and ratified by the States, upon Assurance given them by their Ambassador, and from You (as he pretended) that the Intention was not to have the old Way of Revision altered, and brought before the States : And though it was a Thing contrary to the Constitutions of their Government ; yet since his Majesty press'd them to it, he thought that it ought to be done, rather than break the Words of a Treaty concluded.

cluded. That he was likewise of Opinion, it should be made of as little Expence as any other Matters of that Kind are subject to here. But to make it without any Expence, as was proposed, or Salary, either to the Revisors, or Persons summoned from the respective Admiralties, was a Thing wholly contrary to the Orders of their State; and they could not be press'd to change them, when no Treaty obliged them to it.

I went to wait upon the Prince this Morning, upon his Journey to *Gelderland*, being the first Time I have done it since my Illness. His Highness's Journey, as well as the Pensioner's, is chiefly intended for viewing the *Skincksconce* (the Delivery of it to the States being absolutely agreed with the Duke of *Brandenburgh*) and for resolving whether it will be necessary to continue this Fort, or to build another, and thereby endeavour to change the Course of the *Rhine*, which is grown of late to throw so much of its Water into the *Waal*, as to spoil the Channel both of the old *Rhine*, and the *Yssel*; which they think is necessary to be remedied. Another Reason of the Prince's Journey was, an Interview agreed with the Marquis *de Grana* at *Cleve*; but he has been now here three Days with the Prince, is gone this Afternoon to *Brussels*, and having spoke with the Duke *de Villa Hermosa*, will return hither to meet the Prince, when he comes back from his Journey on *Saturday* or *Sunday* next. His Business is, to concert the Manner of carrying on this Campaign on all Hands. He has made me two Visits since his being in Town, discoursed much of his Master's Desires of Peace; and would have a Declaration of the contrary in *France*, from the Difficulties raised by this new Pretence to *Lorraine*; and speaks very broad of their Conduct in this Matter, as, indeed, all the rest of the Confederates are apt to do upon all Occasions. I am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, March 17. S. N. 1676.

S I R,

Since my last of the 10th I have had nothing to trouble You with from hence; the Prince and the Pensioner having been both out of Town till last Night. I am sorry mine was not come to Your Hands before the Dispatch of Yours of the 29th past, by which I received Orders to propose to the States, in his Majesty's Name, the Expedient that came to them last Week, from Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*; who has, I presume, before this Time given You an Account of its Reception here; at least, what I writ You from the Prince's own Discourses will have given You Light into that Matter. I went to his Highness this Morning, immediately upon Receipt of Yours, and acquainted him with the Orders it brought me. He told me, That I knew best what I had to do; but if he might advise me, I should defer making the Proposition to the States, till the next Pacquet from *England*; before which his Majesty would find, by the Pensioner's Answer to Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, what Reception that was like to meet with: And, for his Highness's Part, he should be sorry to see his Majesty's Name engaged, formally, in a Matter that would be refused. I argued the Point as far as I was able, as to the Fairness and Indifferency on all Sides, and Prejudice it would bring to none. The Prince grounded all the Difficulties upon the Allies, who, he said, were unanimous in declining it; and some with Sharpness, though others with Coldness, but such as look'd enough like Refusal. For he had never before, at any of their Conferences, observed Monsieur *de Lyra* to avoid concluding one Way or other;

other ; or to refer himself to new Orders from *Madrid*, as he did in this. The Prince added, That he would not judge what Reason those Ministers might have, that pretended it would too far touch their Princes Sovereignty ; but, he confess'd, he thought they had Reason in saying, it would be a yielding the Point to *France*, at least, indirectly ; and that it might have been done easier at first, and with less Prejudice to the Duke of *Lorraine*, before *France* had pretended a Right to that Dutchy. His Highness had heard, by this Day's Letters from *France*, That the most Christian King had already consented to this Expedient, and to the Liberty of Couriers, provided they kept their strait Roads. I confess'd I had heard the same this Morning, by Monsieur *Sylvercroon*'s Letters from the *Swedish* Minister at *Paris* ; but that I had understood the Meaning of that Court's Expedient was, That the other Passes should be granted reciprocally by the Parties, but his Majesty should give those of *Lorraine* alone, with the *French* Approbation and Enforcement of them. His Highness replied, That could less be done than the other ; for they were bound by Treaty to procure all their Allies Passports in the same Form with their own. That, he believed, the States would not part from their Treaties ; but if they should be inclined to it, he was bound by his Oath, as Stadtholder, to keep them to them ; and so he was sure he would do, as far as he was able. I told his Highness, That upon the Terms this Matter stood, for ought I saw, the Congress must break ; and it was only their Parts to consider and resolve, whether that imported them more or less than these Punctilios, which would not gain, or lose, an Inch of Ground, upon the Treaty. The Prince replied, It was no Punctilio, but a Point of Right, on the one Side or the other ; and that his Majesty ought to judge, whether they had Right in demanding the Duke of *Lorraine*'s Stile, or *France* in refusing it. That he could not tell, whether the Congress would break, or no ; which depended upon *France* : But there were many here (and he was one of them) that believed, they would have yielded this Point of *Lorraine*, in *France*, if Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* would have been content not to trouble his Head about finding out Expedients, in a Matter that was so plain : And that by Advices out of *France*, he had Reason to be of this Opinion.

This was the Sum of our Discourses this Morning ; upon all which I have resolved to defer the making of this Proposition to the States, in his Majesty's Name, till my next Letters, and his Majesty's Resolution, after he is acquainted with the Dispositions it will meet with here. But when his Majesty has these Lights, he will best judge how far to engage in it ; and upon Signification of his Pleasure, shall immediately be obeyed.

In the Course of this Matter it must be observed, That several of the Confederates, especially *Denmark* and *Brandenburgh*, are glad of any Delays to the Congress, till this Campaign ends ; and so improve all Incidents towards that End, though without openly owning that Disposition. The Unhappiness is, That *France* has given them an Occasion, which the States join with them in, esteeming unreasonable, and so, I doubt, will not break from them in it ; which they would certainly have done, in those of another Nature : As they lately did, when *Denmark* made a Difficulty of granting the *Swedish* Passports : Whereupon the States ordered their Minister at *Copenhagen*, to let that Court know, That if they sent not the Passports hither, within six Weeks, they would send those of this State without them ; upon which, those of *Denmark* were immediately dispatch'd to their Minister here. And nothing has contributed more to the States Resolution of sending a Ship to *Gottenburg*, for the *Swedish* Plenipotentiaries, than the Difficulties made by the *Danish* Minister here, about their passing by Land. In short, this State grows jealous upon the Discovery of any Design, in any of their Allies, to continue the War upon Advantages of their own, wherein this State has little Concernment. And such they esteem all the Pretensions on Foot, except that of *Spain*, in securing and enlarging the Frontier of *Flanders*. Nor has *France* any Way to break their Constancy in pursuing the War, but by giving the *tort* to the Confederates, of delaying the Peace (at least till the Fortune of Arms make a De-

a Decifion between the Parties). On t'other Side, the Allies find no better Ways to animate the States, than by giving the *tort* to *France* of declining the Treaty ; which they have made good Ufe of, upon this Difficulty about *Lorraine*. And, for my part, I am at an End of my Proſpect in this Matter ; and all my preſent Hopes of either Peace or Congreſs, will reach no further than, *Fata viam inuenient*.

I am

S I R,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, March 20. S. N. 1676.

S I R,

I Am to acknowledge the Honour of one from You of the 3d, with ſeveral Reaſons for ſupporting the Expedient lately tranſmitted from *England*, upon the Difficulties in the *Lorraine* Paſſports. I have made uſe of them in my Diſcourſes here, to prepare the Way for my propoſing it ; if his Maſteſty continues in that Mind, after having received the Answer given Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*, which was made by a formal Reſolution, at a Conference between the States and their Allies ; and containing, firſt, the Profeſſion of the ſeveral Miniſters, that they could conclude nothing in it, without new Orders from their Maſters : And then their own Opinion, that it could not be accepted by them : Ending in this, That Monſieur *Van Beuninghen* ſhould be written to, for theſe Reaſons to decline the Project, in the beſt and moſt decent Manner he could. The Reaſons I urge upon them are answered with great Modeſty, by thoſe of the Government here ; ſaying, That if the Quarrel, and, conſequently, his Maſteſty's Mediation, lay only between *France* and them, this or any elſe that his Maſteſty propoſed, would be eaſily accepted ; but, *qui a compaſſion a maître* ; and ſo laying the Difficulty wholly upon their Allies, who, it ſeems, are very unanimous in it. Upon what I find here, of this Nature, to diſcourage me from hazarding his Maſteſty's Name further, without new Orders ; and upon that Paragraph of Your Letter which tells me, That all You had ſaid upon that Subject was but Your own Reaſonings ; and that You had not yet had the Occaſion of knowing his Maſteſty's Mind upon it, which You expected to do on *Sunday*, at the Foreign Committee ; I have yet deferred my Propoſal of it, formally, to the States, in Expectation of the *Sunday's* Letters, which are due to Day, whereas Your laſt came but Yeſterday to me.

Yeſterday Monſieur *Sylvercroone*, the *Swediſh* Commiſſary, came to me ; and gave me the Knowledge of what had paſſed between him and the Penſioner, concerning the *Swediſh* Paſſports ; after I had excuſed my ſelf wholly from meddling in it. The States ſent one of their Deputies to the Commiſſary to know, whether he would give them, in Writing, an Assurance, that upon their ſending a Ship and their Paſſports to *Gottenburg*, the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors would come away to *Nimeguen*. And this Assurance the Commiſſary has given them in Writing ; and thereupon the Penſioner made him confidently hope the Thing would be done ; and told him, they would have a Conference with their Allies upon it, yeſterday in the Afternoon ; but, however, he deſired me *d'y donner la main* ; and would needs have me underſtand that there was nothing either in the States Queſtion, or his Answer, that made any mention of *France*, or of any Thing in it ſeparate from them. But that he look'd upon the Difficulties

culties about *Lorrain* Passports, as like to be easily surmounted, and then the *French* Plenipotentiaries would be at the Congress in three Days; whereas theirs had so long a Journey, that he thought it was fit to lose no Time. I again excused my self, absolutely, from making any Pace in this Matter, after the States had given me Reason, by the Pensioner's Discourses, to believe they understood it, as a Measure separate from *France*. He said a great deal to justify his own Conduct; which I heard coldly, till he would needs know my Opinion of it; upon which I told him, I could neither commend nor disapprove it, without seeing his Orders, which, I supposed, he would not shew me; and till he did, I desired him to be content without any Opinion of mine, in this Case. We passed afterwards into more general Discourses of the War, and the Peace; by which I found his great Apprehensions of the ill Posture the *Swedish* Affairs may fall into this Summer, by the Divisions of their Counsels in *Sweden*, as well as the Strength of their Enemies abroad; and, that if *France* could not help them by Fleets, or Armies, their Money could not make them a Match for so many Confederates, as they had to deal with. That they had more Reason to press the Congress than *France*; one being so much upon the losing, and t'other upon the gaining Hand. That when they came to it, they would do nothing without *France*, in case they should be there before them; but, he believed, they should use their best Offices towards inducing *France* to a Treaty, which was of so great Importance to *Sweden*; and he thought the *French* might do something for an Ally that had suffered so much for them.

This I take to be the Secret of this Interview, which the Ministers here are fallen into with Monsieur *Sylvercroone*, being grounded upon a Likeness of Interests and Dispositions, towards advancing it, whenever the Treaty begins. I hear besides, from some of the Ministers here, that there is a private Article in the last Treaty between *France* and *Sweden*; by which *France* has obliged themselves to see the *Swedes* restored to all they might lose by this War, in case of ill Successes in it: And this, they think here, will make *Sweden* press *France* the harder upon a Peace, the more they grow out of Hopes to recover by Arms what they have already lost. Which makes this State very desirous to bring the *Swedes* to the Place of Congress; and the rather, because they esteem the two Ambassadors designed from *Sweden*, to be of the Party that was no Friend to the War.

In the mean Time, the *Danish* Minister here has made a great deal of Noise upon the Pensioner's entring into Conferences with Monsieur *Sylvercroone*, and upon the States receiving a Paper from him; which they refused to do from Monsieur *Ebernstejn*, for several Months before he went away, after the War was opened. The Conference that was to be held Yesterday upon this Matter, with all the Allies, was put off till this Afternoon, for Want of the *Brandenburgh* Minister, who was to be in Town this Morning. I am not sure I shall know, before the Closure of this Pacquet, what the Result will be; but, by what I can make of the Dispositions on all Sides, I am apt to believe the Thing will be agreed; the *Imperial* and *Spanish* Ministers falling in with the Intentions of the States; and the *Danes* apprehending to give them too much Jealousy of their Designs, to break, or, at least, defer the Congress, till this Campaign ends. I am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, March 24. S. N. 1676.

S I R,

SINCE my last of the 20th, I have none from You, tho' a Pacquet be come in ; and I expected from Your last of the 3d, to know his Majesty's Mind in Your next, concerning my formal proposing the late Expedient, after the Knowledge given You of the first Reception it met with here. I have been since endeavouring, all I could, to make better way for it, in case his Majesty continue his Pleasure of having it done, notwithstanding the former Discouragement. I have since talked with several that are in the Councils here, as well as with the Pensioner, upon that Subject, but can gain no Ground with any of them. After all my Reasonings with the Pensioner, and telling him the Orders I had to make the formal Proposition, and desiring him to give a Hand to it, as the only way left to keep up any Appearance of the Congress ; he told me, That he could not undertake to say what would be the States mind ; but he had very good Presumptions from knowing what it had been : For tho' mine would be, perhaps, a more formal way of proposing it, yet Monsieur *Van Beuninghen's* was, as he writ them from the King's own Mouth, and thereupon was considered and debated by the States, and with their Allies, in the same manner that mine would be ; and therefore, he was confident, it could have no other Reception. For the States, he said, They would be very glad to receive it, or any other Advance towards the Treaty ; but that no one Minister of their Allies, but had express'd a Dislike to it : And the Emperor's Resident had said, That besides his Master, he would engage his Head, it would be refused by the Princes of the Empire. The Pensioner added, That besides the Delays of new Orders, to which they all had Recourse, the Thing would be represented at the several Courts by the Ministers here, who were all prejudic'd against it ; and I might judge what was to be expected from the Impressions they were like to give. That it was impossible for the States to break from their Allies in this Matter, having delay'd so long the Treaty at *Cologne*, upon the Point of *Lorraine*, when they were in so much worse Condition than now. That they had Reason to hope his Majesty would prevail with *France*, in a Point wherein he had always assured Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* there should be no Difficulty. He offered to send me several of Monsieur *Van Beuninghen's* Letters with that Assurance ; but I told him, I believed easily his Majesty did not foresee it, and was surprized with it when it came first from *France*, and sorry to meet with it. But the Case was now to find out an Expedient, since *France* was unmovable upon the Offices his Majesty had already performed in that Court ; and that their Parts were to consider, whether the Congress imported them so far as to pass over such Forms as were of no Consequence at all to the Substance of the Treaty ; or whether they were content the Congress should absolutely break upon them. He answered me, That if it broke on the *French* side, and upon a Point so unjust, they must have Patience : That he saw very well *France* would force this State upon the Resolutions of continuing the War, which was both against their Mind, and against their Interest ; but, if it must be so, and *Spain* would find a way to relieve them of the Subsidies they paid Abroad ; *Nous ferons bien voir à la France, que nous ne sommes pas encore hors d'haleine.* I tell You his Words, because they are of a Strain that I had never heard from the Pensioner since my coming over ; all his Discourses having used to carry a Bent to the Peace, and an Opinion of its Necessity. But upon this Occasion, and some Heat it gave him, he told me, They had ordered Monsieur *Hemskerke* to make the Proposition at *Madrid* ; and he doubted not but it would be accepted, if ever the Gallions arrived, or they could be persuaded in *Spain* to cut off all Pensions for Three Years.

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I gave You a Hint some time since of this being upon the Anvil among the Confederates, but did not imagine it would work up very fast ; because I foresaw it must draw on a Guaranty of the last Conquests upon *Sweden* : But that will not need, if *Spain* should be able to pay the whole present Subsidies ; and I perceive this State hath now a Prospect of other Measures with *Sweden*, than they thought of at that Time.

I have reasoned upon this Expedient likewise with the Marquess *de Grana*, upon his Return from *Brussels*. He adds one Thing more to what I hear against it from the rest ; which is, by asking, How his Master the Emperor can leave such a Discontent at Heart of a Prince, to whom he hath already intrusted a great Part of his Forces, and is resolved to commit the Charge of his whole Army this Year, in case any Difficulties should happen in Count *Montecuculi's* coming to command it. I believe his Journey hither hath had Effect upon the Hopes of the Confederates, by the Assurance he hath given them, That his Master's Army shall be in the Field, and encamped before the 20th of *April*, and stronger than in any of the last Campaigns. What I believed of the Conference among the Confederates held at the Time of my writing last, proved true : They agreed upon sending their Passports and a Ship of this State for the *Swedish* Plenipotentiaries ; though the *Danish* Ministers were brought to it *à reculons*. But I find here, That Monsieur *Romph*, Envoy of this State at *Stockholm*, hath not only assured them, That they will send their Plenipotentiaries away to *Nimeguen* upon the Arrival of the Ship ; but that they will come instructed to do all they can to procure a sudden general Peace ; and if that cannot be composed, to make a particular Peace for that Crown. And he writes them word, That a Resolution of the Senate is already pass'd to this purpose. Though this whole Matter passeth between the States and Monsieur *Sylvercroone*, without any mention of *France* ; and he gives it to me a very good Turn, of only hastning the Delays necessary to so long a Journey ; and pretending to believe these Difficulties raised by *France*, upon the Matter of Passports, may possibly have been occasioned, because they would not come to the Congress before the *Swedes* could be there : yet, I see plainly, the States reckon upon the *Swedes* coming to *Nimeguen*, though the Difficulties with *France* should continue ; and, consequently, that there will be a Congress this Summer, whether the *French* Plenipotentiaries come to it or no. And this I thought fit his Majesty should have early Advice of, that he might order his Measures accordingly, in case it should happen, and consider how far the Progress of such a Matter should be attended and observed by his Ministers ; and whether with any Endeavours, either publick or private, either of assisting or opposing it.

The Emperor's Minister here hath in the late Conferences among the Confederates, made great Complaints of Mr. *Skelton* having received at *Norimberg* the Orders sent him to make a Halt in his Journey, had, notwithstanding, gone afterwards from thence to *Ratisbonne*, and resolved to make his Stay there ; and had fallen into many secret Conferences with a *French* Gentleman, who is a Minister of the Duke of *Bavaria* there. That by it he had raised great Reflections among the Ministers of the Emperor and the Confederate Princes, especially upon Observation that many of these Meetings had been in the Night, or else at Places out of Town, that seemed chosen expressly for the Secrecy of them. The States answered at the Conference, That they did not think these Circumstances of Weight to be taken notice of to his Majesty, as Monsieur *Campricht* desired. However, both the Prince and Pensioner told me of it, tho' without pretending to make any Complaints : And I told them my own Belief, That there could be nothing of this kind by any Commission of his Majesty's ; and that what was, might be only personal Acquaintance and Conversation between themselves.

Mr. *Meredith* told You last Week of Eight Ships of War gone out of the *Texel*, without any Noise of their Preparation or Dispatch. I hear certainly, they are Twelve or Fourteen, and commanded by one *Bringist* (as I remember his Name is) who is Vice-Admiral of *Friezland*, and a very bold Man. I

am assured of a Thousand Land-men aboard ; but the whole hath been carried on by the Expençe of the Admiralty, without any Supply from the State ; and with such Secrecy, that I cannot possibly learn upon what Design.

I am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To the KING.

Hague, March 27. S. N. 1676.

May it please Your Majesty,

I Received by the last Letter from Mr. Secretary *Williamson* the Knowledge of a Justification made him by a *Danish* Envoy at *London*, of the *Danish* Envoy's Carriage and Expressions here, upon the Proposal of Your Majesty's late Expedient transmitted by Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*. Besides what I have written upon this Subject to Mr. Secretary, I could not but take notice of a Proceeding so disingenuous, as to let Your Majesty know, That the Prince telling me how that Proposal was received by the Allies, added, That one of them said, among other warm Things ; *Qu'on ne pretendoit pas se metre sous la tutele du Roy d'Angleterre*. His Highness said, He would not tell me who it was : And I reply'd, He needed not ; for I knew the Stile too well, not to be sure it was Monsieur *Meyercroon's* : The Prince confess'd it was so, but desired me not to speak of it : I do it now only to Your Majesty ; and that Your Majesty may see how far You may rely upon the Discourses of such Foreign Ministers, who say only what they think will please, instead of what they know is true. If Your Majesty desireth to make any farther Use of this than Your own Information, I will ask the Prince Leave to tell it ; if not, I hope Your Majesty will manage his Highness's Credit with his Allies, and mine with him ; and that You will please to pardon this Interruption from,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most Loyal,

and most Obedient

Subject, and Servant.

To Mr. Secretary Williamson.

Hague, March 27. S. N. 1676.

S I R,

BY Yours of the 29th past, I received Orders to propose his Majesty's late Expedient formally to this State ; but upon the Prince of *Orange's* Advice, I gave You notice of my deferring it till his Majesty's Pleasure were known, after the Account I had given of its Reception here upon Monsieur *Van Beuninghen's* transmitting it from his Majesty's own Mouth, and a formal Conference between the States and all their Allies upon it. By Yours of *March* the 3d, I received the notice of that Account being come to Your Hand, but

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was referred to the next for Knowledge of his Majesty's Mind upon it, after the producing it the *Sunday* following at the Foreign Committee. The *Tuesday's* Post after that, brought me nothing at all from You; but the next *Friday's* Post being now come in, brought me Yours of the 10th Current; which says not a Word more to me upon this whole Matter, but that his Majesty expected the States and their Allies Answer upon the Point. I thought it my Duty, immediately upon Receipt of this Letter, and Consideration of the former Circumstances, to put in the inclosed Memorial with the formal Proposition of it to the States; though I had, in Two late ones of mine, given You Account, both from the Prince's and Pensioner's, and several others Discourses, what Success I had Reason to expect, and, consequently, why I delay'd it till farther Orders. I know very well, that the Count *d' Estrades*, in his Ambassy here, received twice positive Orders from the King his Master, to propose Things in his Name to the States, which had been grounded upon Monsieur *Van Beuninghen's* Discourses in that Court; but the Count finding that they would be refused here, suppressed his Orders, and sent his Master word that he had done so, because he would not expose his Majesty's Name and Honour in a Thing wherein he was sure to be refused. I know very well, his Conduct was both approved, and he received Thanks for it from the most Christian King. I confess, mine should have been the same upon this Occasion, if I had not known my want of Credit to support me; and that, in such Cases, 'tis fit for such a Man only to obey, which must be my part; and therefore it will be Yours to expect it from me, and to consider how I am instructed. I could not yet receive any Answer to my Memorial, because they would be sure to do nothing in it, without a Conference with their Allies; but shall press them to it with Diligence, and with Wishes, that I may find my self deceived in the Measures I have taken here, or given from hence in this Matter; tho' I do not remember to have yet failed in those I have hitherto given You, in any one Point, and should be glad to be put in mind of it, if I do.

For those given his Majesty by the Foreign Ministers about him, I think You have had some Experience of late how they are to be rely'd upon: And though they may be excused, as proceeding from so good and so important a Design, as I suppose they have, of making their Court well to his Majesty, by such Advances or Compliances as have been lately among them; yet, I doubt whether You have Reason to ground upon them so far in Matters where his Majesty's Service may be concerned.

I told the Prince, That Don *Pedro de Ronquillo* had approved of his Majesty's Expedient there; upon which his Highness reply'd, That it might be so; but he was sure he had written to Don *Emanuel de Lyra* in a very different Stile. You now tell me, That the *Danish* Envoy there, came on purpose to You, to justify their Minister here, upon his having been represented from hence to have opposed and argued against his Majesty's Expedient; whereas he never had express'd any Dislike or Prejudice to that Matter. I desire You will please to tell Your *Danish* Envoy from me (at least, if You think fit) That I will leave that Matter to be disputed by Monsieur *Meyercroon* with the Prince of *Orange* and the Pensioner *Fagel*; who both told me very much the contrary, and I own to have written so from their Mouths. And since he brings me into the Lists upon this Occasion, I do not only name my Principals; but I question not to find so much Credit with some of the Ministers of the Allies here, as to know some remarkable Words of Monsieur *Meyercroon's* upon this Occasion at the Conference, which will be very fit for his Majesty to know, whether he pleases to discourse them or no.

I will add but one Word more upon this Subject; which is, That what Measures I give You of this kind, I have from the Prince's and Pensioner's Discourses; in which I have not yet found my self deceived, nor ever known their Opinions contested by the States here once since my coming over, in any Matter that concerned Peace or War, or any Foreign Alliances.

On the other side, if You doubt of my giving You other Lights at any time than they give me, I am content You should send any Letter of mine over to them by another Hand, and know whether I have either deceived, or been deceived in my Reports from their Discourses with me.

I am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, March 21. S. N. 1676.

S I R,

IN my last Letter of the 27th, I gave You an Account of my having proposed his Majesty's Expedient formally to the States. But having done it after many Discouragements, in my several Discourses with the Prince, Pensioner, and other Ministers of this State, as well as their Allies, and without any direct Orders from his Majesty, after he had received the Knowledge of those Discouragements; I was in some Pain to judge whether I had done well or no, till I was eased of it by Yours of the 14th; which brought me his Majesty's positive Command to that purpose. I have yet no Answer to my Memorial, nor can expect it before this Post goes away; this Afternoon being appointed for the Conference between the States and their Allies upon it. Yesterday was the Conference of the Commissioners with the Prince; who told me, The States continued of the same Mind they were; which was, That they could not break from their Allies in this Point, notwithstanding their Desires to comply with any thing that should be proposed by his Majesty. He added, That the Ministers of the Confederates here, would, he believed, make no other Answer, but that having no Power to conclude upon such a Point, they would report it to their respective Principals, and expect their Orders.

I told the Pensioner, since my last, the Justification that had been made You there, by Monsieur Gioel, of the Danish and Brandenburg Ministers Carriage here upon this Matter, and what I had written to You upon it, of my leaving Monsieur Meyercroon to dispute that Matter with the Prince and him. The Pensioner reply'd, That he knew very well he should not be troubled with any such Dispute; for neither Monsieur Meyercroon nor Blaspyle would say that to him, which they were said to have written into England. That the Warmth of Monsieur Meyercroon had been greater than any other Minister's here; and Monsieur Blaspyle had that very Morning told him again, That the more he had thought of that Expedient, the more he found it impracticable; because not only the Form of the Passports must be left to his Majesty, but in case of any Difficulty, or Breach of them, which should occasion Disputes among the Parties, the Interpretation of them must be left to his Majesty too: Nor could it easily be found out how the Violator of any such Passport should be punished, which was proper for every Prince to do in case of his own Subjects, as 'twas a Right that could not be given up to another.

That You may have one Instance more, how ingenuously You are dealt with by the Foreign Ministers with You in this Matter: The Prince told me, That Monsieur Van Beuninghen writ in his last Letter, That he was encouraged to press this Matter still, by the Hopes I gave his Majesty, that it would be accepted here. Whereas, You know what the Style of my Letters has been upon
this

this Subject, from my very first Discourses with the Prince : Nor could they have been true if they had been otherwise. Nor shall I ever give his Majesty any Representations that I do not think to be Right and True, till he shall please to tell me, That he had rather be deceived with false Lights, than be displeased with true ones.

Upon what You tell me, of a Resolution of the States, that came by chance to Your Hands, bearing Date the 20th of *March*, which was the Day the Prince first spoke to me of this Matter ; and that it would have been well that You had received a Copy of it earlier from my Hands : I will confess, I knew such a Resolution was taken, but not at all the Words or Particulars of it ; and that about Four or Five Days after, I saw a Copy of it, and in my next Letter sent You an Account of what was in it. But it is not a Thing You must expect of me, to be able to give You Copies or Accounts of such Resolutions ; tho' You call them Resolutions of the States General : Whereas, tho' they pass for such, and have the Authority of them ; yet, they are so far from being so, that many times the States General know nothing of them in Three Months after they are taken. And tho' You are pleased to say, That Copy came to Your Hands by Chance, yet, I am sure, it must have come by Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, or some others of the States Ministers in other Courts, or else by the Ministers of some of their Allies. And, upon this Occasion, it will be fit to inform You, of a Constitution in this State, which, I suppose, You are not acquainted with ; but which is become the chief Ressort of the Government here.

In the War between his Majesty and this State, begun the Year 1665, Monsieur *de Witt* proposed and procured a Commission to be granted by the States General to Eight Commissioners, of which, Two *Holland*, and one of each other Province ; who were called, The Commissioners of Secret Affairs. These were then chosen of such Men who were perfectly in Confidence with him. Power was given them by their Commission, To deliberate, to act, to execute, in all Matters that were referred to them by the States, with the same Authority that the States themselves could do ; and yet the Liberty of doing it with such Secrecy, that they were not bound to give any Account of what they resolved to the States ; but at such Times as they themselves thought fit. The Matters referred to their Management, were, All that concerned the War, any Foreign Alliances, the Proposals and even Conclusions of Treaties, in case they were esteemed necessary to be kept secret for a Time upon particular Reasons of State. All Resolutions taken by these Commissioners, were signed by the Deputy as President, who was of the same Province with the President of the States General, who was the only Officer that attended these Commissioners in their secret Deliberations. These Resolutions so signed, were sent to their Generals, Admirals, Ambassadors, and other publick Ministers Abroad, for their Instructions, by which they acted ; and were observed and obeyed as the Resolutions of the States General, who had, indeed, only the Name and Form, whilst these Commissioners had the whole Management of Peace and War : And the Disposal of Offices and Levies of Monies remained (as You know) in the Provincial Assemblies. It was with these Men I concluded that Treaty in 1668, in Five Days Time, which made so great a Change in the Measures of *Christendom* : And Monsieur *de Witt* there told me, That by this Institution, the Government had avoided those Two Reproaches usually laid upon Commonwealths, of wanting Secrecy in their Councils, and Suddenness in their Executions.

Upon the last Change of the Government here, and the restoring of the Prince of *Orange* to the Post of his Ancestors, this Institution of Monsieur *de Witt* was thought fit to be continued, but with this only Change, They were first to consult with his Highness before they pass'd any Resolutions ; which, in short, has devolved the whole Power and Management of Affairs upon the Prince, in Conjunction with these Commissioners ; of whom the Pensioner is one, and hath the Influence among the rest, that Monsieur *de Witt* had before. This, as You may imagine, is stomach'd by many in the Province and the

the Towns ; but, however, it goes down, and being grown into a Piece with the Authority of the Prince, does not seem likely to change, but with the Diminution thereof.

Yet the Pensioner, in any difficult Cases, sometimes summoneth the Ministers of the Twelve Chief Towns in the Province of *Holland* to consult with ; and upon the next Assembly of the States of *Holland*, usually gives them an Account of all Matters that have been acted by the Commissioners since the preceding Assembly, unless they judge the Reason or Necessity of Secrecy to continue still. The Pensioner told me, He had last Week given them an Account of all that had pass'd in the Difficulties of the Passports, and especially that of *Lorrain* ; the Resolution of their Allies to stick to that Point of having that Duke's Stile allowed him ; and the Opinion of the Commissioners, that this State was bound by their Treaties to adhere to them in that Pretence. That the States of *Holland* had unanimously approved of their Conduct in this whole Matter.

Now the Resolution You mention of the States General, was a Resolution of these Commissioners (who are called sometimes, Of the Secret, and sometimes, Of the Foreign Affairs, which is, indeed, their proper Business since the Change of the Government, the Management of the War being left wholly to the Prince) ; nor do I believe, the States General have yet any Knowledge of that Resolution ; nor is it to be had otherwise, than from the Prince, or one of these Eight Commissioners, who are sworn to Secrecy, or some of the Ambassadors or Foreign Ministers of this State, to whom such Resolutions are usually sent ; to some for Instruction, and for Information to others who are in Credit with the Government. This, I thought, might be very material for his Majesty and Ministers to know, as the main Ressort of the present Government, and by which You may judge where the Power lies, how it moveth, and what is often meant by Resolutions of the States General, which is grown a Term common to them, and to these Commissioners.

I have delivered his Majesty's Letters for the Emperor and Duke of *Brandenburgh*, to their respective Ministers here, so as You may reckon upon them as gone away by this Day's Ordinary. The Marquis *de Grana* is still here, detained, for these Two or Three last Days, upon the Endeavours of composing the Pretensions of the several Confederates to the past and future Conquests in the Dutchy of *Bremen* ; their Diffensions having given some Delay to the Beginning of that Siege.

The States of *Holland* resolved this last Assembly upon the Building of Six Ships, Four whereof to be of Eighty Guns a piece. I told the Prince, I believed they did it for a good Countenance, and to make the World believe they were richer than they found themselves : His Highness smiled, and said, It might be so ; but upon *France* having so many Ships, and of the greatest Rate, he thought they might have Reason here to look a little more about them ; But, for himself, he had no part in this Resolution, and would have been glad the Money might have been employed this Year upon the Land Forces. That it was done by the States of *Holland*, and at the Instance of the chief Trading Towns, especially *Amsterdam* and *Rotterdam*. I told the Prince, They might talk what they would of the *French*, and their Growth at Sea : But whensoever I saw them building Ships here of that Size, I should believe, it was done with some Reflections upon us. The Prince replied these Words : *Shall I tell you the Truth ? You may be sure, while the World stands, we will never fall out with England, if we can help it ; but if you will fall out with us, whether we will or no, we should be sorry to be found unprovided.* I said, I believed, that would be as little as t'other, now his Highness was where he should be. And so the Matter ended.

I am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, April 3. S. N. 1676.

S I R,

SINCE my last of the 31st past, I have none from You ; and intended not to trouble You this Ordinary, had I not been engaged to it by an Incident Yesterday ; of which it is necessary to give his Majesty an Account.

In the Morning Monsieur *Silvercroone* came to me, and told me, The Ship designed for *Gottenburg* would be ready to set sail to morrow, and that Monsieur *Mortagne* was to go with the Passports and the Ratification of the late Marine Treaty. He told me, Great Talk had been raised in *England* of his pressing this Dispatch ; and justified himself upon his Orders, as well as his Intentions, only to save Time in advancing the Congress. In the Afternoon the Greffier *Fagel* came to me from the States, to desire me, That I would interchange the *Swedish* Passports and theirs, which were both in my Hands ; they and the *Swedish* Ministers being both agreed upon it. I had Recourse to Your Letter of *March* 3. wherein I found these Words : “ That his Majesty “ entirely approved my Conduct in the Matter of the *Swedish* Passports, and “ my refusing to countenance any separate Interchange of them. That his “ Majesty’s Office being one common and general Mediation, and of one ge- “ neral Peace, could not countenance or suffer any separate Steps, in whatso- “ ever kind they were made.” Upon this, I thought my self obliged to refuse absolutely to deliver the Passports of one or t’other, unless the general Interchange of all Parties were agreed upon ; or I received particular Orders from his Majesty. The Greffier seemed much surprized at this Answer ; told me, The Intention of this Dispatch, was only in order to a general Peace, they hastning the Arrival of those Ministers who were farthest off, and like to find most Difficulty in coming to the Congress : That the *Swedish* Passports were sent hither from the States Envoy, and put into my Hands by him, the Greffier, so as they might reasonably demand them again, when they were agreed upon the Exchange with the *Swedish* Ministers : That I had not made any Difficulty of it, when the Pensioner had spoken to me upon the first Proposal of their sending a Ship ; and he supposed I would not do it now, when it was ready to go. I confess’d the last ; but said, I had since received the further Knowledge of his Majesty’s Mind in Cases of this Nature : That it was true, I had received the Passports by their Hands ; but with Intention, as I understood, to reserve them for a general Interchange : and repeated again, That I could not deliver them without his Majesty’s Order ; but that I would not fail to acquaint him with it by this Ordinary. Besides the Words of Your Letter above-mentioned, I considered his Majesty’s being now engaged in the Offer of the late Expedient, which puts the Business of Passports into another Way. And upon both these Circumstances, I thought it my Duty to make this Refusal ; though, I find, it will very much break their Measures taken in this Matter ; and will be interpreted, or rather accused both by them and the *Swedish* Ministers, as a Delay of the Treaty. I must refer my self to his Majesty’s Judgment, whether I have done well or no, and expect his Orders either to pursue or amend it.

The Conference upon my last Memorial has been put off till this Afternoon, by Three long Conferences upon the Business of *Bremen* ; which is at length agreed, and the Siege of *Staden* will go on.

I shall trouble You no farther, but to wish You the good Feasts, and to assure You of my being,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, April 7. S. N. 1676.

S I R,

THE Pensioner told me this Morning, I should be possessed of the States Answer to my Memorial concerning His Majesty's Expedient, time enough to send it away this Ordinary. He added farther, That this Answer was made by a formal Resolution of the States General themselves, and not by the Commissioners of the Secret Affairs. I hear, it was resolved by these last, at their Conference upon it, That tho' all the rest of their Allies should consent to it, yet, by their Treaties, they (the States) could not do so, if *Lorraine* refused it. The Marquis *de Grana* received Letters from the Emperor before he left this Place, and Monsieur *Campricht* since, with Orders, as they say, positively to refuse it. I am sorry to have given his Majesty so true Measures of this Matter from the very Beginning; and should have been glad to find my self discredited by his Majesty's meeting with such a Return upon it, as he was persuaded to expect by Men that ought to have known more of their Masters Mind, than it seems they did. But since You were pleased to tell me, His Majesty's Honour was not at all concerned in these kind of Refusals, I have all the Reasons that can be to be satisfied. Before that, I confess, I was of Opinion, That it was not so in any Proposals which his Majesty only handed from one Party to another: But I was very solicitous to see nothing refused that came from his Majesty himself, and as his own.

Upon my positive Refusal to deliver the *Swedish* Passports, or those of the States for *Sweden*, without his Majesty's Orders, they have not thought fit, it seems, either to attend that Delay, or to lose the Measures altogether which they had taken in that Matter; and therefore have dispatch'd their Ship for *Gottenburg* with new Passports from the States, and Orders to exchange them for new Passports from that Crown.

The Count *Montecuculi* has excused himself from serving this Campaign; and Monsieur *Serinchamps* tells me, That Orders are already come to the Duke of *Lorraine* to command the Imperial Army. The Prince says, He will go to morrow Night to *Bergapzoom*, and so to the Rendezvous. Whether he will make a Step hither again before they march from thence, is uncertain.

I am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, April 14. S. N. 1676.

S I R,

SINCE my last of this Day Se'nnight, I am to acknowledge Three of Yours: One by a private Hand, in pursuance of his Majesty's Letter in Favour of the *Jews* detained at *Surinam*; the others of the 21st and 28th past. I do not find either of the last contains any thing which requires Answer; farther than to say, That I meet with nothing more here of Noise or Complaint concerning Mr. *Skelton's* Stay at *Ratisbonne*: What it may have occasioned in the Empire, Monsieur *Ducker* will, I suppose, entertain You with suddenly,

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as he did me Yesterday here in his way to the *Briel*, from whence he designed to pass with this Pacquet.

For Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*'s last Memorial, I find it of a different Strain from the States Answer to mine ; and confess, this was different from what I expected ; which was only, the Allies Ministers referring themselves to new Orders from their Masters. But, I believe, they took a Pride in shewing the Ampleness of their Powers, to conclude Matters of the greatest moment in whatever concerns the Confederacy, without any Recourse to their Masters. Monsieur *de Lyra* told me the Night before the Conference where that Answer was agreed on, That he had never yet taken any thing *ad referendum* since he came hither ; and that he would not begin now : That he had made a Dozen Treaties without any Orders at all : That he had Power to do whatever he thought would be for the Service of his Master, without further Instructions.

This Morning the *Brandenburgh* Minister brought me the Inclosed for his Majesty ; and shewing me a Copy of it, I told him, That his Master had treated his Majesty's Expedient something better in his Letter, than his Ministers had done in their late Conferences. He replied, That they had a general Order to conform themselves here with the Ministers of the other Allies, in all Affairs relating to the Confederacy : That they had done so in this Matter, though their Master sat looser than the rest in it, having no particular Treaty with the Duke of *Lorrain*, as the House of *Austria* and this State had. He told me, The young Prince of *Brandenburgh* was now *incognito* at *Amsterdam*, but going from thence suddenly towards *Cassel*, to pursue the Match designed between him and the young Princess of *Hesse*.

You are pleased to say, in Your Letter concerning the *Jews* at *Surinam*, That You were informed from the Person who brought me his Majesty's Letter, that I had made some Difficulty upon it, for want of something more particular from You. He was an ill Informer : For what I said to him was, That upon a Difference I observed between the first Clause of the Petition, whereon his Majesty's Letter was grounded ; saying, The *Jews* complaining, were free Denizens of *England* : and a Clause in the Governor of *Surinam*'s Answer to the Commissioners Protest ; saying, he had hindred no *Jews* from going, that were free Denizens of *England* : I thought it necessary for me to know which of those Allegations were true ; and wonder'd You had not said a Word to me upon this Matter in any of Your Letters, which You usually did upon the Dispatch of such Letters to me from his Majesty. He undertook to inform me of the Truth in those Allegations ; and has since sent me word from *Amsterdam*, That though they were not all free Denizens, yet he was sure, his Majesty's Meaning was, to redeem them as if they were. And, I suppose, his double Diligence put him upon troubling You for a Letter upon what I said. I shall soon give You an Account of this Matter, if the Pensioner's Absence for some Days, does not retard this, as well as other Business.

I am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To Sir William Godolphin.

Hague, April 14. S. N. 1676.

My Lord,

I Have the Honour of one from Your Excellency of the 25th past, by this Ordinary, which gave me an Account, with more Certainty and Particulars, of the Rumour we had before concerning the Arrival of the *Spanish Gallions*. The Reflections You make upon it, are a true Picture of Mankind, and the Motions that are frequently made in their Minds, by Accidents, that touch them, perhaps, no farther than their Ears. The Effects of this kind reach even to these Parts, and, I believe, to the very Extent of this great Confederacy. This Place is now as dead as I have seen any great Town, or Seat of publick Business, the Prince being gone last Week into the Field, at least, to the first Rendezvous of his Troops near *Rosendale*, and with him all the Company that used to fill this Place. The Disgrace of the Chancellor in *Denmark*, and the Preparations for the Siege of *Staden* and *Philipsburg*, take up most Talk here at this Time; but will, I suppose, soon give way to the Actions now likely to begin something nearer us: The *French* Designs upon *Tyre*, *Aire*, or *Charlemont*, or some other considerable Place in *Flanders*, being like to open a great Scene there. The Forces of the Confederates will certainly be very great, as well as those of the *French*; and seem all to conspire towards a very active and bloody Campaign.

The Talk of the Congress seems so out of Date, that I am concerned for Sir *Lyonell Jenkins's* melancholy Post at *Nimeguen*; which still continues in Expectation, rather than Hopes, of some lucky Incident that may still revive it,

I am ever, with much Respect and Truth,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's

most Faithful

Humble Servant.

To the KING.

Hague, April 23. S. N. 1676.

May it please Your Majesty,

THE Day before the Prince of *Orange* left this Place, I attended him at *Hounslerdyke*, upon his own Appointment; and telling me several Times, That he had something to say to me before he went into the Field, and desired it might be there, and at some Leisure. When we were alone in the Garden, he was pleased to tell me, I would easily believe the Instances of the State, and of his Friends, as well as the Condition of his Family, must needs have put him often upon the Thoughts of marrying; but he had been still in hopes, that the Conclusion of a Peace would have made Way for it, sooner than he now thought it was like to do: For, at present, he did not see when or how that could be brought about, unless Your Majesty would resolve upon such Conditions, as You should think fit to have it made upon; and so propose them to the Parties, who were otherwise too distant in their Pretensions,

to agree easily themselves. That, upon this Prospect, he began to think, his Marriage could not longer attend upon the Motions of the Peace, which might be very slow and uncertain; and, therefore, he would tell me, freely, That he was resolved, in case he returned from this Campaign, to neglect no Time, or Paces, that could be made in the Pursuit of it. That for the Person, I might be sure his Inclinations would lead him into *England*, though he did not know what Dispositions he should meet with there; and, while the War lasted, it might, on this Side, admit of much Reflections, both from this State and their Allies. That, however, he would not go into the Field without writing to Your Majesty, and to the Duke, of what he had so much at heart; and begging the Permission, that, immediately after the Campaign ended, he might go over into *England*. That he thought this would be necessary, both that he might make his own Pursuit himself, in an Affair that so nearly concerned him; and that, by asking Leave so early, no Time might be lost upon that Occasion, when the Campaign was over. That he had Reason to desire this Affair might, at present, be managed with all the Secrecy that could be, and therefore was resolved to put the Letters concerning it into my Hands, and desired my Wife might deliver them, both to Your Majesty, and his Royal Highness, and that he would take Care to send them to me before he went.

This was the Sum of his Highness's Discourse to me, when I took Leave of him; and his Letters both for Your Majesty and the Duke, being some Days after come to my Hands, I thought it my Duty to send them, according to the Directions I receiv'd from the Prince, and shall leave Your Majesty to know the rest from his own Hand; though, I think, I have not mistaken any Thing of what he said to me upon this Occasion. I shall not farther increase Your Majesty's present Trouble, than by the humble Professions of that perfect Devotion wherewith I am, and shall be ever,

S I R,

Your Majesty's, &c.

To the Duke of YORK.

Hague, April 23. S. N. 1676.

May it please Your Highness,

WHEN I took leave of the Prince of *Orange*, at his going to the Army, he was pleased to tell me the Resolutions he had taken of writing to Your Highness, upon an Occasion he had so much at Heart; and that he would do it before he went into the Field. He said, He was resolved to apply himself directly to Your Highness, in all that concerned it, and to beg Your Intercession with his Majesty, that he might have Leave to go over into *England*, immediately after the Campaign ended. That he would likewise write to his Majesty at the same Time, to beg his Permission. And because he had Reason to desire, that whatever Paces he made, at present, in this Point, might be secret, he was resolved to put his Letters into my Hands; and desired that my Wife, upon her going over, might herself deliver them both to his Majesty and Your Highness, I thought it my Duty to observe these Directions: And having, by the same Hand, given his Majesty an Account of the Manner, and Circumstance, with which the Prince was pleased to enter into these Discourses; I shall not presume to trouble Your Highness with the bare Repetition of them, nor with any Thing more, at present, than the humble Professions of the Devotion and Truth wherewith I am always,

S I R,

Your Highness's, &c.
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To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, May 5. S. N. 1676.

S I R,

Since my last of this Day Se'nnight, I am to acknowledge the Favour of two from You; the first of the 14th past, inclosing the Articles concluded by Sir John Norborough, with those of Tripoli, very much to his Majesty's Honour, and the Advantage of his Subjects. The second, containing a large and particular Deduction of the several Considerations had by his Majesty, after his Return, upon the States Answer to my Memorial, as well as upon Monsieur Van Beuninghen's Memorial, concerning the late Expedient proposed by his Majesty, and the Diversity observed between them. I hope I have fully comprehended his Majesty's Mind in this Matter, as well from this last, as from the former Accounts You have pleased to give me of it; and having had the good Fortune to make some Paces perfectly agreeable to it, upon Incidents wherein I could not be previously instructed, I may well assure You of my keeping close to it, in those where I am. This I conceive to be the chief Intention of the Lights You have last given me; and not that his Majesty intended I should make any Representations upon them to the States; but only be prepared to reason those Matters with them, in case any Thing arises from them here, upon the Paper You intended to put into Monsieur Van Beuninghen's Hands, whereof You please to promise me a Copy by the next; and to say, what You writ last was for my own Information; and that Monsieur Van Beuninghen had excused himself, for giving that Account to his Masters by that Ordinary. I have not therefore entered into any Discourses of this Matter; nor shall, without Occasion given me by them here; or, at least, the Knowledge of their having received Your Paper intended Monsieur Van Beuninghen: But will only tell You my Doubts, from what I observe in Your last Letter; That, as he was sometimes engaged further for his Masters, than he had Power to make good to his Majesty; so he may have engaged further for his Majesty to them (upon private, or common Discourses, pass'd from his Majesty to him, upon Occasion of the Lorrain Passports) than was ever intended, or could, indeed, be so, in a Case not at all then foreseen. For in all our Conferences upon that Subject, they were ever full of the Assurances given by his Majesty to Monsieur Van Beuninghen, and from his own Mouth, that there should be no Difficulty in the Passports for Lorrain. But their Induction I always thought fitter for Leyden than the Hague: That it was all one to have no Passports granted, as not to have them granted in due Form: Whereas, what was the due Form, happened to be a Thing wholly in Dispute. But the Bottom of all this, I suppose, is, That the Parties are not yet weary enough of the War, to use any Compliances towards the Forming of a Congress; whose Motions must depend upon that of the Campaign, while it lasts. So that, for ought I see, this Knot is of those that must be cut through, and cannot be untied.

I took Care to satisfy the Emperor's Minister here about Mr. Skelton's Conduct, both from what You and He writ me upon that Subject. And this Minister took as much Care to have me believe, there was nothing of his own in what had pass'd; but that he had made the Complaint here, formally, to the States, as well as the other Confederate Ministers, by the express Commands of the Emperor himself. I think we are both satisfied in the Matter; since I cannot blame any Minister's Conduct, which is by his Master's Order: and, I suppose, there is nothing likely to arise further upon this Occasion.

I sent Yesterday the States Passes to the Domesticks of the French Ambassadors at Nimeguen, for their Return to Charleville, upon a Letter I received from the Ambassadors themselves, to that Purpose: Which I take for no very good Sign as to the Congress; though they assured me it was only *une affaire*

faire domestique, and they regarded nothing more than their own Conveniences during their Stay where they were, or in Order to their Journey by Land to *Nimeguen*.

I am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, May 11. S. N. 1676.

S I R,

LAST Night, about Ten a-Clock, arrived here the Express You were pleased to send away with the *Lorrain* Passport, inclosed in Yours of the 27th past: Which I received with great Sense of so happy Success, in an Affair by which his Majesty will receive no less Honour than Satisfaction; and whereof I have now, for some Time, so much despaired. I thought to have detained the Express till I had spoken with the Pensioner upon it; but the Master of the Vessel that brought him presses so much his Dispatch, and the Pensioner having excused receiving me this Morning at his own House, upon the Assurance of seeing me at mine: I doubted his Hour, after the Assembly rises, might be too late for the other's Impatience; and therefore resolved to let them make what Haste they pleased away, with this Acknowledgment of having received their Dispatch, and with the Inclosure of the Memorial I have drawn up, and resolve this Morning to put in upon it. The Joy, as well as Surprise, will be here as great as can agree with the Anxieties they are in at present, upon the certain News arrived Yesterday from their Army, of the Prince's beginning to march, on the 7th Evening, with Resolution to attempt the raising the Siege of *Bouchain*; either by attacking the *French* Camp at *Kievraine*, or that before *Bouchain*; which may very well produce some decisive Action. I now see no farther Difficulty in the forming of the Congress, nor Delay, besides the Distance of Ways; unless some may be occasioned by the Passports of the Allies, running in the first proposed Form, with Liberty of Couriers, which though *France* hath, in a manner, consented to, yet their Passports in my Hands being wholly without the mention of it, I know not yet whether the Ministers of the Allies will raise any Difficulty upon exchanging their larger Passports for those of *France*, that are, in that Particular, more restrained. But I hope to overcome this Difficulty, by the *penchant* of this State to see the Congress formed; and by proposing, in case they make the Difficulty, That the Exchange however may be made, though with Reserve of that Clause not being of Force, unless *France* shall consent to the same Liberty for the Confederates.

Whatever may further occur between this and to Morrow Night, shall go in Course by the Ordinary, so as I shall not lengthen this, by any Thing that was to make up that Dispatch, but only assure You of my being,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamfon.

Hague, May 12. S. N. 1676.

S I R,

I Am to acknowledge the Favour of two from You by the Ordinary of the 25th and 28th past. The first brought my several inclosed Copies, and with them a Letter of his Majesty's to the Emperor, which I have put into his Minister's Hand, and went away by the Ordinary of this Morning.

Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* kept his Word with You, and writ not over hither the Sum of Your Conference with him, till the Post after that which brought it me from Your Hands. Nor did the Pensioner enter very far with me upon it; only excusing the Signification of the Word *Juger*, which they meant only for the Expression of his Majesty's Opinion; and professing to be sorry for any Offence his Majesty had taken at it. He said, He was unwilling any Way should be given to Complaints on that Side; and that I was Witness, how little he had troubled me with any, and how he had stopp'd some from the Ministers of the Allies here: That otherwise they might have Reason to make some Reflections upon our Conduct of late in *England*; besides what they had been forced to take Notice of by Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, of his Majesty's giving Leave to raise a new Regiment in *Scotland*, for the *French* Service, contrary to the express Article of the last Treaty, whatever might be said for Recruits of the old. But the Negotiations of several Persons going abroad with Characters from his Majesty, troubled him yet more, though the States had not thought fit to complain of them. I told him, I thought they did very wisely, considering how little Ground some of those Reports were found to have. Upon which he replied, That himself had read a Letter from the Princess of *Courland*, wherein she says, That *de Cros* (who, it seems, had been formerly a Servant to the Prince her Husband) had writ him a Letter, upon his coming to *Copenhagen*, wherein he told him, That he came thither with a Commission, and Instructions, from his Majesty, to negotiate a separate Peace between that Crown and *Sweden*. I excused my self from believing, That either his Majesty would enter into any separate Mediation; or, if he did, that he would chuse a Person for it, who would tell his Commission where it was not necessary. And so his Discourse ended.

On *Saturday* last Monsieur *Blaspyle* came to me, and told me, He had certain Advice of six Ships equipping at *Rochel*, with four Men of War to convoy them, being laden with Corn, and other Necessaries, for the Relief of the *Swedish* Places either in *Bremen* or *Pomerania*; and that their Intention was to go first into *England*, and there get Passes from his Majesty. That though he was confident his Majesty would do nothing contrary to the Office of a true and impartial Mediator; yet he desired me that I would give his Ministers Notice of this Pretension of these *French* Ships, which they seemed to believe themselves secure of succeeding in; and which would be directly against the Interests of the Elector his Master.

Since the Dispatch of Your Express Yesterday, with the Answer of what he brought me from You of the 27th, inclosing the *Lorrain* Passports, the States have had a Conference with the Ministers of the Allies; and, as I conjectured at first, some Difficulty was made about the Exchange of Passports; upon the Difference in them, in Relation to the Liberty of Couriers. But the Pensioner sends me Word this Afternoon, That he doubts not they shall end that Matter in a Day or two; by agreeing upon some Act, or Declaration, which shall leave *France* to the Choice of either giving it, or wanting it, and so leave it one Way or other, equal to both Sides. That he doubted not, they should hereby be ready to make the Exchange of all Passports, some Day this Week. And that the States had written a Letter of Thanks to his Majesty, upon this Occasion, which should be in my Hands to go with this Ordinary.

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I find You reckon upon my having been possess'd of all the Passports ; but though I have been so long of those from *France* and *Sweden*, and of those from this State for both those Crowns, yet I never was, of any from the rest of the Confederates ; though the respective Ministers have taken Occasion to let me know, they had them in their Hands, and were ready to deliver them, when those of all the Confederates were come.

The next Pace, I think, will be to agree upon the Declaration of the Neutral Country : which is left by the Confederates to his Majesty, provided it be between the two Rivers. For my part, I see no certain Bound can be given it, unless by those Rivers, and the *Fossa Mariana*.

I am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, May 19. S. N. 1676.

S I R,

BY the last Post I had nothing worth Your Trouble, farther than the Notice of what I received from the Pensioner, as the Pacquet was closing ; that he hoped the Exchange of the Passports might be made the next Day, or on *Monday* at farthest. I heard no more from him till *Sunday* Night ; but finding a Conference had been appointed for eight a-Clock on *Monday* Morning, upon that Subject, between the States and their Allies, I thought fit to speak with the Pensioner late on *Sunday* Night, and endeavour to know of him, whether there were any new Occasion of this Delay, in a Matter that I thought deserved a better and speedier Reception. He told me, the true Reason was, That the Emperor's Minister had not yet the Passports in his Hands, but that they were at *Cologne*, from whence he was certain to receive them that Night : And that, after the next Conference, the Deputies of the States would certainly attend me with the necessary Passports, and make the Exchange.

I remember very well, that some Months since, the Emperor's Minister affirmed to be then possess'd of all his Passports ; which I took notice of to the Pensioner, the Delay being short, and then so near an End. But I have since Reason to believe, the Dispatch he expected was from *Dusseldorp* rather than *Cologne*, and concerted by him with the Duke of *Nieuburg*, in order to the producing such a Resolution as I received Yesterday from the States. The Pensioner had before observed to me some Difference between the Passports of *France* ; and those of the Confederates, and the Necessity of their insisting upon their being equal, which I undertake for. One was, That the Word *Repasser* was omitted in the *French*. Another was, That the Clause for Liberty of Couriers was so likewise ; whereas both were inserted in those of the Confederates. And the third was, That there was but one *French* Passport for any of the Confederates, except only for *Spain* : Whereas those of the Confederates were, three for the *French* and *Swedish* Ministers ; and so many would be necessary for each of the Confederates ; since they might think fit to send so many Ministers, and either from several Places, or at several Times, so as not to be capable of using one Passport. In all these Matters we found nothing of Consequence to hinder the Exchange of Passports, and Dispatch of them to the respective Ministers. Since, on the one Side, I made no Difficulty of engaging his Majesty's Endeavours to procure the Supplement of these Defects on the *French* Side : And, on the other Part, the Pensioner said, they would declare, That in case that

was

was refused, their Passports should reach no farther than those of *France*; which I did not contest.

Yesterday, being *Monday*, Afternoon, two of the States Deputies came to me, and told me, They came from their Masters, in the first Place, to repeat their Thanks, and those of their Allies, to his Majesty, for the late Offices performed in this Matter of the *Lorrain* Passports. In the next, to make the Exchange of them, having brought with them those of their Confederates; and to put into my Hands, at the same Time, the Resolution taken by the States and their Allies, declaring the Conditions upon which the Exchange was to be made. They excused the Resolution's not being yet translated into *French*, by Reason of the Haste they made to bring it me after it was agreed on; but did undertake to read it to me in *French*, out of the *Dutch* Original. The first Part contained those three Particulars mentioned, and in the same manner the Pensioner understood they should pass: But after that came a Clause, That whereas the Duke of *Nieuburg* was lately entered into the Confederacy; that his Majesty was desired likewise to procure Passports for his Ministers, and an Assurance from the King of *France*, of granting Passports to whatsoever Prince or State should hereafter enter into their Alliance: Without both which the present Passports should be of no Force or Effect. And with these Conditions they offered to make the Exchange of Passports.

I was, I confess, very much surprized to meet with a Clause so little expected, and, as I thought, so very impertinent; and thereupon told them, without farther Deliberation, my own Thoughts upon it. That for the small Difference in the Form of Passports, I thought there would be no Difficulty, and questioned not his Majesty's Instances and Success upon them. That for the last, I esteemed it a very unfit Return to so much Pains as his Majesty had taken in the Pursuit of this Affair, and the Diligence he had used, in the Dispatch of the *Lorrain* Passports, by Express, immediately after he had, with so much Difficulty, obtained them. That they had delayed the Exchange of them now for eight Days, and at length offered it with Conditions that I esteemed wholly elusory, and upon which, for my own part, I could not think fit to make the Exchange; not knowing what other Advantage would be gained by it, than to keep the Passports of the Confederates as long in my Cabinet, as I had already done those of *France* and *Sweden*: That upon the first Offer of his Majesty's Mediation, it was long before all the Confederates had accepted it; and long before they afterwards agreed to a Place of Treaty, proposed by his Majesty, though in their own Territories. That in *December* last they signified to his Majesty the Names of all their Confederates, for whom they desired Passports, and upon the Dispatch whereof they then assured the Delivery of theirs, and those of the Confederates, without farther Condition. That an Incident having fallen out upon the Stile of the Duke of *Lorrain*, his Majesty had, for several Months, laboured for the Removal of it, and, at length, obtained it, with great Difficulty. That when he now expected the immediate Change of the Passports, and, consequently, the sudden forming of the Congress, wherein his Honour was so far engaged, they clogg'd it with two new Conditions; of which I thought the first out of Form, and out of Time; and the other wholly out of Reason and Practice. That for the Duke of *Nieuburg*, I knew he was a Prince for whom his Majesty had not only a particular Esteem, but Kindness too; and if either before, or after, the Exchange of Passports, they should have signified that new Alliance to his Majesty, and their Desires of Passports for him, I believed his Majesty would employ the same Endeavours for his Ministers, as for those of the other Allies. But, hitherto, his Majesty had received no Notice of his entering into the Confederacy, unless they intended he should have it from *Gazettes*: Nor had the Duke of *Nieuburg* either received since, the Offers of his Majesty's Mediation; or, that I know of, signified his Acceptation of it, by himself, or the States, as all other their Allies had done: And, consequently, it was out of Form, to desire his Majesty's Offices in this Matter, before those Circumstances were pass'd. And it was very much out of Time, to desire them just upon the

the Exchange of the Passports, and with Condition of their being void without the Success of them ; since the Exchange was intended for the sudden meeting of the Plenipotentiaries at the Place of Congress. And this Condition must, of Necessity, delay it, till both his Majesty's Resolution were known in mediating a new Proposal, and that of *France* in granting it : In which I was not yet informed of either of their Intentions ; nor could be, till a Return from both Courts. That, for the other Part of the Condition, which was an Assurance from *France* of granting Passports to all Princes, or States, that should hereafter enter into their Confederacy ; though they made it seem plausible, by offering the Reciprocal to *France* and *Sweden*, from the Confederates ; yet I thought it wholly impertinent and impracticable. And though I could not pretend to know whether either his Majesty would think fit to desire it, or the most Christian King to agree to it ; yet I was sure I would not be of the Opinion for either of them to be done ; or for any Passports to be solicited by one, or given by the other, but for Princes and States that were named at the desiring of them. That the States might desire Passports for the Kings of *Macassar* and *Ceylon*, who were already their Allies, or for the Duke of *Moscow*, who, I hear, was invited into the Confederacy of the present War. That I knew not, whether his Majesty would trouble himself with a Mediation in their Behalfs. That, to go nearer home, some Prince in the Alliance of *France* might change his Party, and enter into theirs ; and I did not know, whether, in such a Case, the most Christian King would think fit to admit such an Ally into the Treaty ; or whether his Majesty would solicit it : Nor did I conceive either could be resolved, without the considering of Circumstances, as they should appear when the Case came in Question. That, in the mean Time, to make the Validity of the present Passports depend upon a future Condition, which could not be secured before-hand, were to make the Congress wholly desperate : For no Ministers, either from *France* or *Sweden*, could think fit to come to *Nimeguen*, when in case at any Time during their Residence there, upon the States desiring Passports, a new Ally, which *France* (upon Circumstances that might attend it) should have Reason to refuse, the present Passports were to become immediately void ; and not only thereupon, the Negotiations, if begun, or never so much advanced, must immediately cease ; but the *French* and *Swedish* Ministers must remain in their Enemies Country, without any Safety to their very Persons ; since that could be grounded only upon their Passports, which would remain in danger of becoming invalid upon any such Accident. That, for my own part, I took this to be a Strain of some of the Allies, which were Enemies of Peace, and so employ'd their Wits to find out Pretences of delaying, or breaking the Congress. That, however, since they brought it me as a Resolution of the States, I desired it in *French* (as all used to be that passed between his Majesty and this State) ; though the Use I intended to make of it, was not so much to send it to his Majesty, as to draw up, immediately, an Answer to it of my own, containing the present Remarks I had made to them upon it, and what others should occur to me upon second Thoughts, which I would not only send to the States, but, at the same Time, print and publish it ; that all their Subjects might see upon what Points they and their Confederates turned the Affairs of the Peace : In which I knew very well how the People of these Provinces were concerned, whether the Government, or their Allies, were so, or no.

Upon these Representations the Deputies of the States were so far moved, that, instead of replying, or maintaining the Resolution they had brought, they told me, What I had said was of so much Weight, that they thought themselves obliged to represent it to the States, before they delivered me the Resolution. That they desired me therefore to excuse them for the Delivery of it, till next Day ; and, in the mean Time, were very glad to understand my Opinion upon it, which they would report to their Masters that very Evening, and doubted not of having another Conference upon it, this Morning, with their Allies.

At their going away, after all this had pass'd, one of them told me, privately, *Que j'avois la plus grande raison du monde* : That their Compliance with some of their Allies had engaged them in this Matter, upon a Letter from the Duke of *Nieuburg*, that came Yesterday, desiring no Exchange might be made of the Passports, without securing his according to his Treaty.

That which I understood to be at the Bottom of this whole Matter, is, The Interest of the Emperor, not only to secure the Passports for the Duke of *Nieuburg*, who is at present entred into the Alliance, but likewise for the Duke of *Bavaria*, who, they believe, will also be suddenly engaged, and, chiefly, by the Offices of the Duke of *Nieuburg* to that Purpose ; who being of the same Family, has great Credit and Influence in the Court of *Bavaria*. And, they believe neither of them will be engaged without the same Condition, of being equally considered in all Treaties, and comprehended in any Peace, with the rest of the Confederates already named.

I know not what I shall receive from the States this Evening, and before the Closure of this Pacquet. But, in the mean Time, I thought it necessary to give his Majesty this Account of what has hitherto pass'd : And am of Opinion, the States will not be able to bear the Noise of this Matter, if they persist in it ; but that, in such a Case, they will be forced to consider the Humour of their People, as well as the Interest of their Allies.

Thus far I had written by four a-Clock this Afternoon ; since which Time the Deputies of the States have again been with me, and told me, That having represented to the States the Reason I gave them Yesterday, against the Resolution they had then brought me, they had since had a Conference with their Allies upon them ; and that they all agreed, That to express the general and sincere Intentions they all had towards a Peace ; and withal, the great Regard they had for the Opinion of an Ambassador of his Majesty's, in what he thought concerned both the Honour and Desires of his Majesty in the Mediation of the Peace, they would remove those Difficulties I had observed like to arise upon Yesterday's Resolution ; and to that End had altered the Resolution it self, and brought me in a Form, which, they doubted not, would agree with his Majesty's Intentions ; and had given it the same Date, to the End there might be no Appearance of the former Resolution : And that in Pursuit of it they were ready to exchange the Passports, without any such Conditions as were Yesterday mentioned.

I read the Resolution (which I send You inclosed) and found nothing else to reflect on, but the last Clause ; and asked them, Whether they understood it to refer only to the precedent Period, concerning the Equality pretended in the Passports ; or, likewise, to that former Clause about the Duke of *Nieuburg*. They both affirmed, That it was meant only to refer to that immediately preceeding, and not to what concerned the Duke of *Nieuburg*. Upon this we proceeded to the Exchange of Passports ; in which we found several Points a little defective : As, That four of the *German* Princes had not yet sent their Passports ; nor could they assure me when they should have them. But the chief was, That those of the Emperor were not yet here ; but they affirmed, that they were every Day expected, and that they had been here some Months since ; but upon those of *France* being short of the Form agreed on, especially in the Clause about Couriers, the Emperor's Minister had sent for new ones in the same Form ; and was assured they were at *Cologne*, where he had likewise sent the old ones, so as to be now possess'd of none.

In the next Place, there were no Passports from *Spain*, no more than from the Emperor, for the Bishop of *Strasbourg* ; but these they assured me were consented to by both, and undertook to put them into my Hands. In the next Place, because *France* had sent but one Passport for each of the Confederates besides *Spain*, they had each of them sent but one for *France* ; and the same hapned likewise in those of *Sweden*. But the Exchange of our Passports having begun by those of *France* and *Spain*, and this State, and some of these Difficulties not appearing till that was performed, which seemed the most material ; we concluded to go on in the Exchange, as far as we were provided :

S f f f 2

And

And thereupon proceeded as far as You will see marked in the inclosed List. Those from *France* and *Sweden* to the Emperor, and the four *German* Princes who have not yet sent their Passports, I have retained still in my Hands till theirs arrive. I shall expect those of the Emperor till *Friday*; by which Time the Deputies assure me they will be here. If they come not by that Time, I shall be sure, however, to dispatch away all those I am already possess'd of, to the *French* Ambassadors, by the Conveyance You prescribe me of an Express to *Mastricht*; and deliver those for *Sweden* to Monsieur *Sylvercroone*, the Commissary of that Crown; excepting one You desire for Monsieur *Spar*, which I shall send in Blank to Your Hands, being already possess'd of three from the States; and resolving to endeavour to get as many by that Time from *Spain* and *Denmark*, if those Ministers have so many in their Hands.

For the Bishop of *Strasburg* I formerly sent You one from this State; and shall follow it with the rest as soon as they arrive. In the mean Time, You will please to procure three Passports for the Emperor, for I have yet but one; and that may, for ought I know, be the Reason of the Emperor's Minister's disowning to have any Passports; being a Man something punctilious, and having desired me, a Week ago, to procure 'em, not without Complaint of such a Neglect from *France*; but without any Thing that look'd like his wanting those of his Master.

I hope his Majesty will approve the Progress I have made in this Matter, though it be not yet compleat; which has fallen out, chiefly, by the Number of Passports failing on the *French* and *Swedish* Part. I cannot but be glad to find it upon the Terms it now is, considering where it was Yesterday; and did not expect so absolute a Change of the Resolution, in so little Time; having last Night found Monsieur *Serinchamps* very peremptory in defending that Resolution of the States. But this Morning the *Hannover* Resident told my Secretary, That there had been very warm Debates upon it, between the States and some of their Allies, who persisted so far, that the Pensioner asked them: *Et que prétendez vous donc, Messieurs? de nous faire déchirer par la canaille.* But these Passages of their private Conferences You will please may not be publick, because that may hinder me another Time from knowing them; which is sometimes necessary to acquaint me with the Springs from which the publick Motions of such Affairs arise.

I have Reason to think You tired out with this Length; and am very sensible of being so my self: Which leaves me only to acknowledge Yours of the 5th, not finding any Thing requires farther Return than what I have already said about the Passports You mention from Monsieur *Spar*, and the Bishop of *Strasburg*.

I am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, May 22. S. N. 1676.

S I R,

BY last Post I gave You an Account of the Exchange of Passports being made late that Night: I delay'd the sending them away to *Mastricht* till this Morning, both in Expectation of the Emperor's Passes by last Ordinary from *Germany*, and likewise in Hopes of obtaining Two Passes more from each of the Confederate Ministers by the Offices promised me by the States Deputies to

to that purpose. Yesterday one of them sent me word, They had endeavour'd it in vain, and they would give no more than one, tho' they had more in their Hands, till they receive as many from *France* as was desired of them.

This Morning the Emperor's Minister sent me word, His Passports were not come by the last Night's Ordinary; and that the old ones, which he expected from *Cologne*, had been in Monsieur *Fisher's* Hand, who was since gone up into *Germany*; so that he sooner expected the new ones from *Vienna*. Hereupon, I made my Dispatch ready to be sent away to *Mastricht* by Noon: When, just upon the parting of it, I received a Letter from Monsieur *Pompone*, desiring me, That instead of the Passport for the Duke *de Vitry*, there might be one for the Marechal *d' Estrades*, whom the most Christian King had appointed his Plenipotentiary in place of that Duke, upon the Continuance of his Indisposition. I was forced hereupon to open my Pacquet again, and sent the Duke of *Vitry's* Passport to the Greffier, with this Desire; but he returned me Answer, That the States were up, and that it could not possibly be done till their sitting again to morrow Morning; so that it will be to morrow Noon before my Pacquet with the Passports can go away.

If You think it necessary for the *French* Ambassadors to have Three several Passports from each of the Confederates, You will please to desire the same Number for each of them from *France*, which the *Swedish* Commissary here has promised to do from that Crown; but especially for the Emperor, who has, it seems, already named Three Ambassadors for the Congress. You will please likewise to press the Declaration of the Neutral Country, which the Confederates, on their part, have left wholly to his Majesty to extend as he pleases, provided it be between the Two Rivers. If his Majesty pleases to pitch upon any certain Line to the East from one River to another, the Thing is done: But, for my part, I cannot see how any other can do it, but the *Fossa Mariana*, which is an open Canal, and so will leave no Dispute: Besides, it takes in *Cleve*, where, for ought I hear, the Princes who have accepted the Pope's Mediation, design the Residence of that Minister, or in some Village near it.

I send You inclosed, a Passport of the States for Monsieur *Spar*, which Your last desired; though he writes word to Monsieur *Sylvercroone*, That he goes not to the Congress, but into *Sweden*. I send You likewise a Passport from the Duke of *Lorraine* for the Bishop of *Strasburgh's* Minister; which is all yet come to my Hands. That of the States You have long since; and Monsieur *de Lyra* has promised me one from *Spain* with the first; as the Emperor's Resident has likewise done for his Master, with the other Passports.

I am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, May 26. S. N. 1676.

S I R,

BY my last I gave You Account of one Day's Delay fallen out in Dispatch of the Passports, by the Change desired by Monsieur *Pompone* in that for the Duke of *Vitry*. The next Day, being *Saturday*, I procured the Passport for the Marechal *d' Estrades*, and dispatch'd away the Trumpet to *Mastricht* about Noon. He seemed to doubt he could not be there under Four Days, so as I cannot expect to hear of him again till the End of this Week.

I assu-

I assured the *French* Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor's Passes, and the other Four *German* Princes (that were wanting) in some few Days; but endeavoured to possess them, how little those Passes would be necessary for their Journey to *Nimeguen*, which I hoped they would not delay upon that Occasion. I know not how they will understand or govern themselves, but shall inform You as soon as I receive Advice by the Return of the Trumpet.

I have this Day received Yours of the 12th, and shall make the best Use of what You there advise me, concerning the mistaken Grounds of so many Surmizes here, about his Majesty's Partiality in the present War, which I have met with oftener of late, than I thought fit to trouble You with, and ought to ask Your Pardon for doing it at all, unless it be upon formal Complaints from the States: Tho', perhaps, it may not be unfit for You to know something of their Thoughts and common Discourse in this kind, as well as of their formal Paces.

I am fully instructed by Your last, in the State of his Majesty's present Resolutions concerning the first Visits, which are to attend upon his further Pleasure, after the Mind of the *Austrian* Ministers is known. As to that of the Neutral Country, I very well remember the State it was left in, which You are pleased to mind me of: But, as *France* refused the Extent his Majesty would have given it, to take in *Meurs*, so the Confederates absolutely (and, indeed, from their first accepting of the Town of *Nimeguen*) excluded that Offer of Two Leagues round it, and confined the Neutrality to the Two Rivers. Nor is the Jealousie of the *French* entring into the Heart of the Country, greater in the Prince and those of the present Government here, than it is in the *Spanish* and Imperial Councils; so as that is a Limit that cannot take place: Nor, indeed, if it could, do I see how any Line described only by Distance of Leagues, or any other Measures, can ever free that Matter from perpetual Disputes upon Incursions which Parties may make, and trust to wrangling about what Distance the Place was at where the Hostility was committed. Therefore, I desire You will put his Majesty in mind of some Resolution in this Matter (upon which I refer You to what I said in my last) since, till it be agreed and declared, there can be no Safety for the Ministers that will be repairing to the Congress.

I shall speak to the Pensioner, of Monsieur *Oudart*'s Business, the very next Time I see him, and give You an Account of it. Which is all I remember at present necessary to lengthen this Trouble, from,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To the Ambassadors of France,
Messieurs Colbert and d'A-
vaux.

Aux Ambassadeurs de France,
Colbert & d'Avaux.

Hague, May 22. N. S. 1676.

La Haye, May 22. S. N. 1676.

Messieurs,

AFTER so many Difficulties in the Affair of the Passports, at last, about Two Days ago, they have been exchanged. I have ever since been in Expectation of the Emperor's Passports, which his Minister gave me Reason to believe, would be brought

Messieurs,

Après tant des difficultés sur l'affaire des passeports, l'échange se fait à la fin depuis deux jours. J'ay attendu depuis pour avoir ceux de l'Empereur, lesquels son Ministre icy m'a fait esperer par le courier d'Allemagne, arrivé hier au

brought by the Courier which arrived here from *Germany* last Night. Those of the Elector Palatine, of *Mayence*, of *Treves*, and of *Munster*, are also behind ; but are promised to be delivered in a very few Days. The other Confederates will give me no more than one Passport each, altho' I have good Reason to believe, that their Ministers here have Three in their Hands : Their Dealing thus, is founded upon this ; That each of them have been furnish'd with one Passport only from *France*. Notwithstanding these little Defaults, and the Restrictions made by the inclosed Resolution of the States General ; I thought it my Duty no longer to put off dispatching those Passports which I have already received for Your Excellencies ; being fully persuaded, that these Incidents can in no wise be any Hindrance to You from making use of them for Your Journey to *Nimegue* ; the Rout that Your Excellencies will take, being at a sufficient Distance from any of the Territories of those Princes who have not as yet sent their Passports. The Imperial Minister assures me, That the Delay on his side is only owing to a Change made in the Form of the Passports, occasioned by the Denial of *France* to permit the free Passage of Couriers : This has stop't the first Passports upon the Road, which had been dispatch'd by the Emperor ; and the Incident about the Duke of *Lorraine*, which since fell out, is the Reason why no more Haste has been made in dispatching new ones. I do not apprehend that there is any great Mystery in this ; but believe, that it is all rather owing to Oversight, than to any ill Intention. I shall, however, take Care to press, as far as possible, the doing what is yet behind ; and, in the mean Time, I hope Your Excellencies will endeavour to get Two other Passports dispatched for the Emperor, and Two for the States, for whom, as yet, I have received only one, no more than I have for any of the other Allies, excepting *Spain*. The Ministers of *Brandenburgh* demand also Three, in granting which I don't see there can be any Difficulty. I have sent this present Dispatch to Monsieur d'*Estrades*, by a Trumpeter, as I was ordered by his Majesty, and should

au soir. Il y a aussi ceux de l' Electeur Palatin, de *Mayence*, de *Treves*, & de *Munster*, qui manquent encore, & qu'on promet en fort peu de jours. Les autres Confederez ne m'ont voulu donner que chacun un passeport, encore que j'ay raison de croire que leurs Ministres icy ont trois en main ; mais ils se fondent sur ce qu'il n'y a eu que pour chacun d'eux un passeport de *France*. Nonobstant ces petits defauts, & les restrictions portées dans la resolution de Messieurs les Etats enveloppée, j'ay crû de mon devoir de ne plus deferer la depeche des passeports qui j'ay en main, vers vos Excellences, ne croyant pas que ces circonstances vous peuvent empêcher de vous en servir pour le voyage de *Nimegue* ; la route que V. Ex. doivent tenir se trouvant assez éloignée de terres de ces Princes là, qui n'ont encore envoyé leurs passeports. Le Ministre de l' Empereur m' assure que ce retardement n'est arrivé que par le changement survenu au formulaire des passeports sur le refus de la *France* de consentir à la liberté des couriers ; ce qui a fait retenir en chemin les premiers passeports depechez par l' Empereur, & que l' incident de *Lorraine* estant survenu depuis, on ne s'est pas pressé de depecher les seconds. Je croy qu'il n'y a pas grand mystere, & qu'il y a eu plutôt de nonchalance que de malice. Je ne manqueray pas de presser tant que je pourrois le reste de cette affaire ; & en attendant j' espere que Vos Exs. tacheront de faire depecher deux autres passeports pour l' Empereur, & deux pour cet Etat, pour qui je n'ay receu qu'un encore, comme pour tous les Alliez hormis l'*Espagne*. Les Ministres de *Brandenbourg* en demandent trois aussi, sur quoy je ne vois aucune difficulté. J'ay envoyé la depêche presente par un trompette à Monsieur d'*Estrades*, selon les ordres

should be very glad to hear, as soon as may be, that Your Excellencies have received it, and to have the Honour and Pleasure of shewing You at *Nimeguen*, with how particular a Respect and Esteem I am,

dres de sa Majesté, & seray bien aise de savoir au plûtôt que V. Exs. l'ayent bien receu, & que j'auray bientôt l'honneur & la satisfaction de vous faire voir à Nimegue le respect & estime particuliere avec laquelle je suis,

Messieurs,

Your Excellencies most

Humble and most

Obedient Servant.

Messieurs,

De V. Excellences

tres Humble & tres

Obeissant Serviteur.

To Monsieur d'Estrades.

Hague, May 22. N. S. 1676.

S I R,

BY Order of the King my Master, I send to You the Pacquet directed to my Lords the Ambassadors of his most Christian Majesty at *Charleville*, in which are contained the Passports of the Confederates necessary for their proceeding to the Place of Congress. I make no question but You will take all needful Care to forward so great a Work, and pay all due Regard to his Majesty's Desires, that no Hindrance may be any way put to the advancing it as much as possible.

I desire You, Sir, to let me know by the Trumpeter, when he returns, that it is come safe to Your Hands; and that You still have in Your Remembrance one who has been so long time, and shall always continue, with a very particular Esteem,

S I R,

Your Excellency's most

Humble and most

Obedient Servant.

Au Monsieur d'Estrades.

La Haye, May 22. S. N. 1676.

Monfieur,

PAR les ordres du Roy mon maître, je vous envoie le paquet destiné pour Messieurs les Ambassadeurs du Roy tres-Chrétien à *Charleville*, & contenant les passeports des Confederez necessaires à leur voyage au lieu de Congress. Je ne doute pas que vous en aurez le soin qui est deu à l'acheminement d'un si grand ouvrage, & au desir de sa Majesté, qu'il n'y a point de retardement à le faire avancer tout ce qui sera possible.

Je vous supplie, Monfieur, de me faire savoir par le retour du trompette, que vous les aurez bien receu, & qu'il vous souvient encore d'une personne qui a été si long tems, & qui sera toujours avec une estime tres particuliere,

Monfieur,

De V. Exe. le tres

Humble & tres

Obeissant Serviteur.

To Monsieur d' Estrades.

Au Monsieur d' Estrades.

Hague, May 23. N. S. 1676.

La Haye, May 23. S. N. 1676.

S I R,

I Had Yesterday finished the inclosed Dispatch, to send it You, pursuant to the Orders of the King my Master, with my Request, That You would please to forward it as soon as possible to the Lords the Plenipotentiaries of his most Christian Majesty at Charleville : When the Trumpeter was upon his Departure, I received a Letter from Monsieur Pomponne, in which he advised me, That Your Excellency was appointed one of them, in the Room of the Duke of Vitry ; and therefore desired me to dispatch forthwith a Passport for You, and to stop that which was already in my Hands from the States General for the said Duke. For, as for the Spanish Passports, they have Blanks left in them, and so there is no need that they should be changed on this Occasion. This has caused one Day's Delay, there being no Possibility of dispatching the Passport Yesterday in the Afternoon, because the States never assemble but in Mornings. In the mean time, I greatly please my self with receiving so agreeable a Notice, which gives me Hopes of enjoying an Assistance and a Conversation such as is Yours, the latter of which will not be more agreeable to me, than the former will be advantageous in conducting an Affair of such high Importance, and that deserves to pass thro' Hands as experienced and successful as Yours are. On this Account it is, that I ought rather to wish his most Christian Majesty Joy of this Choice, than Your self, since You will find, no doubt, a great deal of Trouble in it, as well as reap a great deal of Glory from it.

I send You a Copy of the inclosed Letter to Messieurs Colbert and d' A-vaux, as also the Resolution of the States mentioned therein, that You may see in what Condition this whole Affair lies. I beg the Favour of You,

to

Monsieur,

J' Avois hier achevé cette depeche envelopée pour vous l'envoyer selon les ordres du Roy mon Maître, & vous prier de la faire tenir au plutôt à Messieurs les Plenipotentiaires du Roy tres-Chrétien, à Charleville. Quand le trompette devoit partir, j'ay receu une lettre de Monsieur de Pomponne, par laquelle il me donna l'avis que votre Excellence en étoit un, au lieu du Duc de Vitry ; & me pria de faire depecher un passeport pour vous, en retenant celui que j'avois en main pour ledit Duc de la part de Messieurs les Etats Generaux. Car pour les passeports d' Espagne ils sont tous en blanc, & n'ont besoin d'aucune changement sur cette occasion. Celuy-ci a causé le retardement d'un jour, le passeport ne se pouvant depecher hier l'après dînée, puisque les Etats ne s'assemblent que les matins. Mais en meme tems j'ay été consolé par un si agreable nouvelle, qui m'a donné l'esperance de jouir d'une telle assistance & conversation comme la vôtre, dont l'une ne me fera pas plus agreable que l'autre utile dans une affaire de si grande importance, & qui merite bien une main aussi habile & heureuse que la vôtre. C'est pourquoy je dois plutôt feliciter ce choix à sa Majesté tres-Chrétienne, qu'à vous, qui aurez pour votre partage beaucoup de peine sans doute aussi bien que de gloire.

Je vous envoy une copie de la lettre envelopée à Messieurs Colbert & d' A-vaux, comme aussi de la resolution des Etats y mentionnée, à fin que vous voyez l'etat de toute cette affaire. Je vous

T t t t

supplie

to give me notice by the Trumpeter,
at his Return, that the Pacquet is de-
livered safely into Your Hands.

*supplie de me faire savoir par le retour
du trompette que vous aurez bien receu le
pacquet.*

I am,

Je suis,

S I R,

Monfieur,

Your Excellency's

De V. E. &c.

most, &c.

To the Prince of ORANGE.

Hague, May 29. S. N. 1676.

May it please Your Highness,

THE Inclosure of this Letter from his Majesty, must bear me out in giving Your Highness this present Trouble. It came to me seconded by one from Mr. Secretary *Coventry* upon the same Occasion, and was delivered to me by the Lady in whose Favour, I suppose, it was designed. I told her, I did not believe Your Highness would do any thing in those kind of Affairs till Your Return from the Field; and she seemed to believe so too; but, however, desired, I would send Your Highness the Letter; which I promised by the first: And that is all my Part in this Affair.

All that I can say in another, wherewith Your Highness encharged me, is, **The Duke of York.* That the * Person chiefly concerned, endeavoured to have it excused absolutely till after the Peace; and that such an Answer might be given; upon which Time was taken to consider: Since which I have heard nothing, but imagine 'tis possible Your Highness may by a nearer way.

Having exchanged the Passports, and dispatch'd them to *Mastricht* a Week since, I do not foresee any thing likely to hinder the *French* Ambassadors Journey to *Nimeguen*, tho' it may be a little delay'd by the Count d' *Estades's* Exception to his Pass from the States, which stiles him only *Conte*; to which he desires may be added, *Marechal de France*. I suppose, There will be no Difficulty made upon it, nor, I hope, in the Emperor's Passports, tho' they are not yet come; but, I believe, it may have been only Negligence, without any other Mystery.

In my last Letters from *Madrid* of the 7th current, our Ambassador there writes me word, That after a Consultation in that Court upon the Proposal of his Majesty's Expedient, of giving all the Passports himself; the Count de *Pignoranda* had come to him with a Message, declaring that King's Consent to it, so far as concerned all his Dominions and Territories subject to his Obedience. The Ambassador writes farther, That this Resolution was taken there, contrary to the Advice of many passionate Letters that were written thither upon that Subject from *Holland* and *Flanders*. I thought this was a Light fit to give Your Highness, because You would not, perhaps, receive it any other ways: For Monsieur de *Lyra* professes to know nothing of it, and would make a Difficulty of believing it; though I am sure it cannot fail after the manner it comes to me.

I have not yet fixed the Time of my going to *Nimeguen*, expecting other Motions that way, unless new Orders press me from Court. I doubt not, but what passes in the Field, will signifie more than what will pass there this Summer as to the Peace, which Your Highness says (in the Honour I received of one from You of the 18th) You will labour in. I am very sorry for the Accidents You tell me have hinder'd You in so great a Design, and very glad of the

the Hopes You exprefs of being able to advance it ; ſince nothing can be of more Glory to Your Highneſs, and nothing can touch me more than whatever is ſo ; being as I am, and as I ſhall be ever, with ſo much Devotion and Truth,

S I R,

Your Highneſs's moſt

Obedient and moſt

Humble Servant.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, June 2. S. N. 1676.

S I R,

ON Saturday laſt, I received a Letter from the Mareſchal d' Eſtrades by the Trumpet I ſent, with Acknowledgment of my Pacquet incloſing the Paſſports for the French Plenipotentiaries, which, he ſaid, he had diſpatch'd away immediately to Charleville ; excepting only his own Paſſport from the States. This he ſent me ; but finding Fault with their treating him *Le Sieur Comte d' Eſtrades*, without the Stile of *Marechal de France* ; and deſiring me to procure another with that Change. This I have done, and diſpatch'd it away to him this Afternoon ; but could not, at the ſame Time, ſend him the Emperor's Paſſports, which are not yet arrived.

I do not think it can be this Default, which makes ſo little Advance as yet in the Preparations for *Nimeguen*, that Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* writes me word, their Servants there own to know nothing yet of that Matter ; and have no Orders to get any thing ready to convey or receive them. I rather ſuppoſe, it may be the Buſineſs of the *Compte d' Eſtrades's* Equipage, which he intends very great ; having ſent hither for Paſſports for his Servants, to buy Two and forty Coach-horſes ; and by a Liſt the Trumpeter ſhewed me of their intended Equipage, his Share is Four and twenty *Lacquais*, and all the reſt in proportion. The other Two will have the ſame Number between them. The *Spaniards*, You know, that cannot vye with the French in Things of more Importance, will not fail of doing it to the Height in this. And I remember laſt Year, when the Marquis de *Manceras* was deſigned for the Congreſs, a Liſt was ſent hither of the Equipage he intended, of which there were to be Twenty Pages. I ſuppoſe, the Marquis de *los Balbaces* may not go lower ; having, they ſay, a Revenue of Two hundred thouſand Crowns yearly, beſides the Allowance for his Ambaſſy. If all be like to go at this Rate in ſuch a Town as *Nimeguen*, I do not ſee how we ſhall avoid one of the Three Judgments, of War, or Famine, or Sickneſs ; beſides, that it is not his Maſteſty's Intent, for ought I find, that his Ambaſſadors ſhall enter the Liſts upon any ſuch Emulations. I cannot tell if theſe Circumſtances may make it ſeem worth his Maſteſty's conſidering, whether it would be fit to write to the ſeveral Crowns concerned in this Treaty, That to prevent the Diſorder and Inconveniencies of too great Trains in a ſmall Town, upon the Aſſembly of ſo many Miniſters, his Maſteſty had commanded His not to exceed each of them the Number of Four Pages and Eight *Lacquais*, and would be glad the reſt would follow that Example. As likewise for all Crimes againſt the Peace of the Place, each Ambaſſador ſhould be allowed to put his Servants ſo guilty, into the Hands of the uſual Juſtice of the Town of *Nimeguen*. And that they ſhould be inſtructed to live eaſily in all Points of mere Ceremony during the Congreſs, like Perſons who were ſent thither with Diſpoſitions to advance the Peace, and

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not

not to sharpen the Quarrels of their Masters, by those of the Ministers ; which may otherwise very well fall out. I thought it possible some such Circumstances could not be amiss to add to circular Letters, which his Majesty might send, for hastning away of the several Ambassadors, upon the End so happily attained in all preliminary Difficulties : For, I doubt, there may be need of such Instances towards the Dispatch of the *Austrian*, *Danish*, and *Brandenburgh* Ministers, by the Dispositions I observe from the Motions of those Courts thus far of the Way.

This Day one of the States Deputies brought me the inclosed Paper, grounded upon a Memorial given them by the *Brandenburgh* Ministers, in a Stile so *brusque*, as I hear, as to desire of the States, That till the Change pretended, were made in his Master's Passports, they would give Order to forbid the *French* Plenipotentiaries Entrance into the Town of *Nimeguen*. I hear, he expects not only to send Ambassadors, but to have them treated, in all Points, like those of Crowned Heads : In which, I neither know his Majesty's Stile, nor that of *France* ; but suppose, it will be necessary for us to be distinctly informed of the first.

I was extreme glad to find by Your last of the 16th, his Majesty's final Resolution upon that Matter of the first Visit ; which I ever foresaw would engage us, and, perhaps, the Congress, in some Difficulties. You will please more particularly to instruct, whether we are to give the first Visits likewise to those that come after us from the Duke of *Lorrain* or the Electors, with Characters of Ambassadors : For, I hear, those from the Duke and the Elector of *Brandenburgh* will certainly do so.

Monsieur *de Lyra* will not acknowledge to know any thing of what Sir *William Godolphin* writes me, of that Crown's having consented to his Majesty's Expedient : But I have told it the Pensioner, who says, He will another time desire him to consult with his Instructions, or, at least, with his Letters, to know whether he is like to be avowed or not.

I am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, June 5. S. N. 1676.

S I R,

SINCE my last of the 2d, I am to acknowledge the Honour of one from You of the 19th past, with his Majesty's Commands concerning an Authentick Explanation to be drawn from the States, of those Words in their Resolution of the 18th past, *Que l'échange se feroit sur ce pied* ; as likewise concerning the Offices his Majesty desires should be made from hence in the Case of Prince *William of Furstenburg*.

For the first, I do not expect any Difficulty will be made in it, having this Day spoken with one of the Deputies present at the Exchange of the Passports, who remembers and acknowledges what they then said to me upon the Interpretation of those Words ; so that by next Post, I hope to send You the Declaration You desire to that Effect.

For the second ; I shall speak with the Pensioner about it, the first time I can see him : And since, I suppose, his Majesty desires it only that the Thing should be done upon the Offices to be performed by Mr. *Skelton* at *Vienna*, I shall use my utmost Endeavours towards it, by ingaging, as far as I can, either the Offices of the States, or some of the chief Persons among the Com-
missi-

missioners of Secret Affairs (if the Pensioner continue to decline it) so as it may be understood at *Vienna* either by the States Ministers there, or by the Emperor's here; that this State would be glad his Majesty may have Satisfaction in this Point. I shall likewise endeavour to engage the Imperial Ministers here in this Pursuit, and the Marquis of *Grana*, whose Credit goes a great way, they say, in that Court. And all this I shall do as from my self, without interressing his Majesty's Name any further in this Matter.

I have at length, after many and long Discourses about the Matter of Revisions, received the inclosed Answer: which, I see, contains what the Pensioner always told me: That, what they are engaged to by the Letter of their Treaty, tho' against their Intention and his Majesty's, as they were then assured from their Ambassador, they will yet perform: But, that they cannot, upon that Pretence, be pressed to Things wholly against the Constitution of their Government, and wholly unprovided for by the very Letter of the Treaty.

I am ever,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, June 9. S. N. 1676.

S I R,

I Am to acknowledge the Favour of one from You of the 26th past; which had but too just an Excuse for the Haste of it, upon so unhappy an Accident as You had been that Day surprized with by the Fire in *Southwark*. I was very glad to find You expected suddenly some Determination in the Business of the Neutral Country; which seems to be the Point now most pressing in relation to the Congress.

The Emperor's Resident tells me, There is an Express upon the Way, with the Passports from that Court, and pretends to expect them with the End of this Week. But I foresee, he will make Difficulty of delivering any more than he receives; and You are not yet pleased to give me Hopes of having Two more sent for the Emperor from *France*, which I put You in mind of some time since. I do not hear, that the *French* Ambassadors are like to make any Difficulty of coming to *Nimeguen* for want of those Passports; nor for the States having in their Resolution of the 18th past, tyed up the Exchange, in a manner, to the Reciprocation. Nor do I think, they will have need to make any Difficulty, or that there will be any Danger, as to the Validity of the Passports, though such little Circumstances should be either refused or delay'd by *France*. I send You, however, inclosed, the States Declaration in Form, as You desired, of those Words, *Sur ce pied lá*; relating no farther, than to the Clauses immediately preceding, about the Equality pretended in the Passports.

I have been casting about how I might best succeed in what his Majesty desireth to be effected, in the Business of Prince *William*. I spoke first to the Pensioner, who is obstinate to excuse himself from meddling in it, or consenting to any Thing from the States in Favour of it. But I put it so home, from his Majesty's having Reason to expect this Point of Deference from the Emperor, after having received so much greater from *France* in the two Preliminaries; that he said, For his part, he wished the Emperor would do it, so he had no Hand in it. And upon my Proposal, That Monsieur *Mauregnault* should both write to the State's Resident at *Vienna*, and speak to the Emperor's

peror's here, to possess them both that the States would be content the Thing were done, and wish'd that his Majesty might not be disoblig'd in it : The Pensioner consented to it, but desired that I would speak to Monsieur *Mauregnault* ; and that I would do it in his (the Pensioner's) Absence, who was going to the Prince. Immediately after he went, I spoke with Monsieur *Mauregnault*, who was content the Thing should be done ; but would not adventure to do it of himself : And said, This private Way had been propos'd before, by Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* ; but was not thought fit to be either done by any of the Commissioners, without Order, nor to be propos'd at the Council of Secret Affairs. All I could do, was to engage him to speak with the Emperor's Minister last Night, and to endeavour to possess him of it, as what, he believed, was the Opinion of the States ; though they did not think fit to enter into it. From him I went immediately to the Emperor's Minister, because the Post was to part for *Vienna* last Night ; and I knew not whether Mr. *Skelton* might not have Orders already to advance his Journey.

To all I said upon this Subject, though as wholly from my self, and out of a Desire that his Majesty should not have Occasion to think himself less considered by the Emperor than by *France* : He answered, That he wish'd it himself ; but that upon the least Representations I had engaged him in, he was ordered to say no more upon that Subject ; because the Emperor had resolv'd to open that whole Matter at the Beginning of the Congress, and in such a Manner, as, he was sure, would satisfy all the Princes there. Besides, he said the States had ever express'd so great a Repugnance in this Matter, that he believed his Master consider'd them in it, as well as himself. However, I did not leave him till he had promised to write last Night, and represented all the Reasons I had given him, and the Assurances I made him, of the States being rather desirous the Thing should be done ; which I knew he would be confirmed in by Monsieur *Mauregnault*, before the Post parted.

This is all I have yet done, but am resolv'd, to Morrow, to try one Point more ; which is, to engage Monsieur *Mauregnault* to propose it at the Committee of Secret Affairs, which is now very thin, while the Pensioner is absent ; and endeavour to engage them either to write themselves to their Resident at *Vienna*, or, at least, to order the Greffier to do it : So as he may satisfy the Emperor that it is a Thing desired by the States ; and will be thought prudent by them to make such a Compliment to his Majesty, at this Time. If I can compass it, I hope it may go by the Post on *Thursday* Night, and You shall have a farther Account of it by next Ordinary.

I am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, June 12. S. N. 1676.

S I R,

SINCE my last I engaged Monsieur *Mauregnault* to move the Commissioners of Secret Affairs, to write to their Resident at *Vienna*, concerning Prince *William*, and in the Terms I propos'd ; according to what I told You in my last. He has been since with me, and told me, He chose his Time, when there were but three more ; but they excus'd themselves, upon their Resident being either parting, or already parted, from *Vienna* this Way ; having lately obtained Leave to return hither, upon his particular Affairs. Though this be given me in Payment, yet, I believe, the Truth is, they are timorous of

of acting any Thing in the Absence of both Prince and Pensioner, without being instructed in either of their Minds. So that I have been able yet to go no farther than engaging Monsieur *de Lyra's*, and Monsieur *Campricht's* Offices at *Vienna*, upon Monsieur *Mauregnault's* telling them, what he thought was the Mind of the States. Upon the Pensioner's Return I will try once more, Whether he will be content to be understood by the other Deputies in this Matter, whether he speak or no ; which he ever excuses, upon a solemn Vow he has made to the contrary.

I told You, in a Postscript of my last, That the Emperor's Passports were just then arrived. The next Day that Minister here put in the inclosed Memorial, which the Deputies came to acquaint me with the same Afternoon. I told them, They might understand it as they pleased ; but, for my Part, I look'd upon it as a captious Thing, and should so declare my Sense of it publicly, if upon the Suggestions in it, he made Difficulty, or Delay, to exchange the Passports ; since he knew very well the Form of those from *France*, and that they were without the Clause for Couriers : And if Exception had been taken at that, the Emperor's Passports might have been drawn up accordingly, as the *Spaniards* have been of a Second Edition. That for the Number, I had writ to have it supplied from *France* and *Sweden*, and expected it. But in the mean Time, to take away all Excuse, I was content to exchange one for one, till I should be possess'd of more. Hereupon I gave the Deputies the Copies of the *French* and *Swedish* Passports, to be communicated to Monsieur *Campricht*, according to his Desire.

Yesterday I sent to Monsieur *Mauregnault*, to know what was like to be done : But he returned me Answer, That the Resident was satisfied with the Form of the *Swedish*, but not of the *French* ; and that he was resolved to put in another Memorial, to excuse himself from making the Exchange till all was reciprocal. I went to Monsieur *Mauregnault*, and made him sensible, how all these Exceptions of the Resident were expressly provided against, by their Resolution of the 18th past ; and that the States were to answer to the World, for all captious or elusory Paces, that were made in this Matter of the Peace, by their Allies, as well as themselves ; since it was in their Power to support them in it, or to leave them. This Afternoon Monsieur *Mauregnault* sent me Word, The States had resolved their Deputies should go to the Resident, and absolutely demand that two of the Emperor's Passports, one for *France*, and t'other for *Sweden*, should be put into their Hands, to be exchanged for the same Number from those two Crowns. That they, the Deputies, were to go this Afternoon ; and if they found him, they would give me a farther Account of it, before the parting of this Ordinary.

I hear of another Difficulty made by the *Danish* Minister, about the Want of an &c. after the Words *Dania & Norwegia*, in the *Swedish* Passport ; which both the Pensioner and Monsieur *Mauregnault* have recommended to me : But I refused to meddle in it, unless they gave it me in Writing, which, they say, will be done ; and then, I suppose, You must be troubled with it, as I always expected to be with any Delays or Difficulties that could be raised by several of the *German* Confederates, who hope to find their Account in the War. But, I believe, though the States seem not inclinable to separate at all from them in the Gross of the Affair ; yet they will not support them in what is only captious or dilatory : Nor could they, I believe, answer it to the popular Clamours it would raise here ; which is an Argument I am often fain to have Recourse to, and not without Reason, or Success.

By the extraordinary Diligence of this last Pacquet, I am already possess'd of Yours of the 30th past. To which I find no other Return due at present, besides the Acknowledgment of what You there tell me, of his Majesty's Resolutions already taken, in Order to the Congress ; and the Expectation You give me of what will be farther considered, as to the Treatment of Electoral or Ducal Ambassadors. As much as I have heard, no such have been received in the *Spanish* Court ; but in the *French* they have, from the Duke of *Savoy* ; I think never from that of *Lorrain* ; and cannot well tell whether from any Elector, or no.

I am

I am very glad his Majesty falls in with my Representations, about devolving the Care of the Peace, and Punishment of Criminal Offences, upon the Magistrates of the Town : Not only for what You please to remark, for the Newness of the Thing, if it were left to the Mediators, as this State has designed ; but because it were impossible for us to discharge such an Office, without certain Disfaste to some of the Parties ; which, I think, is our Part to avoid, all that can be. However, for what may concern our selves and our Servants in that Matter, I think it will be necessary for us to have Instructions, allowing us not only to propose it to the rest, but to do it our selves, in case Occasion be given. For, without Orders, I doubt, it will not be fit for us to subject our selves, or any that belong to us, to any Justice besides his Majesty's.

For the Compliment You enjoin to be made to the States, or the Pensioner, upon the Change of his Majesty's Resolution concerning the first Visits, since the Arrival of their Ambassadors at *Nimeguen* : I shall chuse rather to do it to the Pensioner, at his Return, than pass any Formalities upon it towards the States. What You intended towards the *Dutch* Ambassadors already at *Nimeguen*, is, I believe, performed. For, among several Queries in Point of Ceremony, which Sir *Lyonell Jenkins's* great Modesty sent me last Week, upon the expected Approach of the *French* Ambassadors, one was, Whether to take Notice of that Matter to the *Dutch* ? and, Whether before or after he made the Visit to the *French* ? Upon his earnest Desire I adventured to give him my Opinion in all of them ; and in this it was, To take Notice of the Change of his Orders to the *Dutch* Ambassadors, even before the Arrival of the *French* ; and to tell them, That his Orders being general, he would now do the same to any other *Dutch* Ambassador that should hereafter arrive. I have found by Sir *Lyonell Jenkins's* last, that he was pleased to approve of what I had writ upon all the several Points, and resolved to do accordingly. So that, I suppose, this is already performed, and in the Manner I mention.

I shall send You a Deduction of what concerns the Merchant-Adventurers by the next ; and remain ever,

S I R,

Your, &c.

Since the writing of this, and just upon the Closure of the Pacquet, two of the Emperor's Passports are delivered me, in Exchange with one from *France*, and another from *Sweden*.

To the D U K E.

Hague, June 16. S. N. 1676.

May it please Your Highness,

AFTER so great an Honour as this Pacquet brought me, by one from Your Highness of the 30th past, I thought it could not too soon be either acknowledged or obeyed. And, therefore, I presume to give Your Highness most humble Thanks for the Honour I received, at the same Time I dispatch'd away the inclosed to the Prince of *Orange*. I very well remember his Majesty's Mind, which he was pleased himself to signify to me when I was last in *England*, upon Discourse of the Prince's Journey thither ; but never had any Occasion to make Use of it, till I took Leave of him, the Day before he left this Place. For though his Majesty had last Winter some Jealousy of such an Intention ; yet I never heard the Prince say one Word towards it, since my first coming over till then ; unless it was when my Lord Chamberlain was here : And whatever he said then in my hearing, look'd rather like Civility, or Return of Compliment, than any serious Thought. When he
entered

entered those Discourses upon it, which I gave his Majesty and Your Highness an Account of, I told him his Majesty's Mind : To which he replied, That he had always thought so too, while he had any Hopes of the Peace being made : But he did not see how that could be, unless his Majesty would make it, by declaring the Terms upon which he thought it fit and reasonable for both Parties to agree. That he did not find his Majesty disposed to make this Peace ; having never received any Answer to what he had written upon that Subject. And, therefore, the War being, in his Opinion, like to draw out in Length, he was resolved to try if he might have his Majesty's Leave, to make that Journey after this Campaign, and thereupon to write those Letters he sent me. Further than conveying them I had nothing in Commission from his Highness, but only to endeavour that it might be a Secret. And I must confess, as far as my short Sight will reach, I think there can be no Inconvenience in that, from Circumstances on all Sides, whether it ends here or no ; which will depend wholly upon His Majesty and Your Highness.

I am sorry this Station furnishes me with no Occasions of entring into Your Highness's more particular Service, by the Honour of Your Commands ; which should always meet with the Obedience that becomes me, and the constant Devotion wherewith I am,

S I R,

Your Highness's most Faithful,

and most Obedient,

Humble Servant.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, June 19. S. N. 1676.

S I R,

Since my last, I have received from the *French* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, two Passports for the Emperor, as many for the Duke of *Brandenburgh*, and this State ; with three for the Duke of *Nieuburg* : So as there want only from *France* two for *Denmark*, whose Minister here is, to the full, as punctilious as any other. Those for the Emperor I exchanged Yesterday, and transmitted the three Imperial Passes immediately to the Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, who, by their Letters, press'd me for them, as well as for the rest from the *German* Princes. The others I could not yet exchange, the *Brandenburgh* Ministers being out of Town, and the *Nieuburg* Passports not being yet arrived. Those likewise from the four *German* Princes I before-mentioned, are not yet come ; but I question not, a few Days will bring all into my Hands. Those last arrived for *Brandenburgh* are in the Stile he desires, of Ambassador and Plenipotentiary. I do not hear of any other Duke, or Prince, besides that Elector, that intends to give his Minister the Stile of Ambassador ; and I wish he would have declined it : For, on the one Side, he expects they should be treated like those of Crowned Heads, and they, I doubt, will not understand it so. I know some have said upon it, That they thought as much ought to be given to a King's Envoy, as to an Elector's Ambassador, if that Stile be allowed them : I hear it has never been so in *France*, no more than in *Spain* : And that the Pretence is grounded, chiefly, upon his Majesty having treated Prince *Maurice* so, being Ambassador from the Elector of *Brandenburgh* : Which I had never heard any Thing of till t'other Day, from the *Lunenburgh* Minister here.

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Having

Having observed in his Majesty's Instructions of *December 16th, 1675*: to his Ambassadors for the Congress, that I was commanded to repair immediately to *Nimeguen*; after having procured effectually from the States, whatever should be found necessary to be done on their Parts, as well for the actual forming the Assembly, the determining a reasonable Circuit of Neutral Country, next adjacent to *Nimeguen*, between the two Rivers of the *Waal* and the *Meuse*; as for the dispatching by themselves, and their Confederates, the Passports necessary for the other Parties, in the Forms that are proper. And conceiving to have now accomplished all three Points; the Determination of Neutral Country between those two Rivers, being wholly left to his Majesty by the States, and their Allies; and the Passports necessary being all exchanged, and those less important being yet every Day expected: I thought my self obliged by the Tenor of his Majesty's said Instructions, especially upon the Arrival of the *French Ambassadors*, to prepare my self for my Journey to *Nimeguen*. And having a House there already upon my Hands, at the Rate of very near fourscore Pounds a Month; (though his Majesty is not pleased to consider that, or any other Expences necessary upon this Removal) I have given Order for carrying away my Goods to *Nimeguen* with the first, intending to follow them so soon as my House, by their Arrival, will be ready to receive me; which, I suppose, may be about the Time that, in Answer to this, I may know if his Majesty has any further Commands for me here before I go.

I remember but two Businesses relating to this Place, that I am yet to give You the Account of; which are, that of the *Jews* Petition for *Surinam*, and that of the *English* Company at *Dort*. I promised You a Deduction of this last by a former Post; and have deferred it only because I would do both together, and speak to the Pensioner once more, upon both of them, before I did it; which I have not yet been able to do; but hope to do it by the next, and give You the Account of them; as well as of what he will be induced to in the Business of Prince *William*.

I am ever,

S I R,

Tour, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, June 24. S. N. 1676.

S I R,

With Your Two last of the 6th and 9th, I have received all the several Papers You were pleased to send me, concerning the several Parties Acceptance of his Majesty's Mediation; as likewise what concerns Mr. *Skelton's* present Dispatch. I have, since my last, made my utmost Attempt, both upon the Pensioner, and the other Commissioners of Secret Affairs, in Order towards the facilitating that Pursuit, by some Offices from hence. And though the Pensioner continued obstinate to move nothing in it himself; yet I prevailed with him, at length, to let the others understand, That he should not dislike their doing it: And that whatever the Emperor should be content to do, in Compliance with his Majesty, he believed this State would be satisfied with. Hereupon I got Monsieur *Mauregnault* to propose it again Yesterday; and at Night he came to my House, but not finding me within, he left Word with my Secretary, that what could be done was resolved in that Business; and that they had written to communicate it to the Prince, according

according to their Forms. I have not been able to find him to Day, so as to know the Particulars ; but suppose they will amount to something that may conduce to the Good of the Affair, which I shall, by next Post, give You Account of. I have made all my Instances in this Matter as wholly from my self; but Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* writ them Word, that I had Orders from his Majesty, which I was content they should believe from him, though I owned it not.

I send You inclosed a Letter for his Majesty, from the Duke of *Hanover*, delivered me by his Resident here ; who desired that his Master's Passports might stile him Duke of *Brunswick* and *Lunenburgh* ; and his Ministers, Plenipotentiaries ; not, *Ministres & Deputez*, as the *French* Stile runs to all the *German* Princes, except those they sent last for the Dukes of *Brandenburgh* and *Nieuburg*. I observed in these last, with some Wonder, that the Stile used not only to the Elector's, but to the Duke of *Nieuburg*'s Ministers, is, *Ambassadeur & Plenipotentiaire* ; whereas, in the former Passports lying still by me, for the Electors *Palatine*, *Mentz*, and *Triers*, it is only *Ministres & Deputez* ; which the *Hanover* Resident tells me, he hears none of them will accept of ; and, that the *Brandenburgh* Minister here was almost disgraced, for accepting one in that Form, upon the Exchange. I received Letters from the *French* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, two Days since, excusing that the two Passports remaining due to *Denmark* had been forgot, and promising to sollicite their Expedition by the first. But the last You sent me for that Crown, from *Sweden*, will not be accepted by their Minister, giving that King the Title of *Dania* only, without *Normegie*, as the first *Swedish* Passports run ; and it pass'd, though with some Exception for want of an &c. but this is absolutely refused : And I know not how such Difference or Uncertainty has happened in the same Matter, and from the same Hand. You shall, by the next, receive the Copies You order of all the Passports that have not pass'd Your Hands ; Your Letter being arrived too late for it, by this Ordinary.

I told You in my last, of my preparing for my Journey to *Nimeguen*, upon the several Points enjoined me, as necessary to forming the Congress, being now so near wound off. But, as the Instances of the *French* Ambassadors there, as well as Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, press me to hasten that Remove, so the Ministers of those Princes whose Passports are not yet exchanged, press my Stay till that Matter is wholly ended ; and the States are very desirous to have the Neutral Country determined before I go. Between these two ; as for the Satisfaction of the first, I have given Order for shipping away the best Part of my Household-stuff to Morrow ; so I shall stay here my self, till I receive his Majesty's Orders in Answer to my last. I desire likewise to know his Majesty's Pleasure, Whether upon my going to *Nimeguen*, he would have me leave a Secretary here ; or, whether he think the Business here, in my Absence, will require another Hand.

I am promised the Answer about the *Jews* at *Surinam* by the next ; and shall not fail to send with it the State of the Merchant-Adventurers Company ; so as this shall give You no farther Trouble, than by the Assurances of my being ever,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Treasurer.

Hague, June 24. S. N. 1676.

My Lord,

I Have, by some Letters from my Wife, received so great Testimonies of Your Lordship's Favour to me, that I find it as hard for me to make the Acknowledgments that become me, as it would be to neglect them any longer. Therefore I could not forbear engaging Your Lordship in this Trouble ; though I have nothing else to bear me out besides the humble Thanks I am to return Your Lordship, for concerning Your self so obligingly in what touched me so unjustly ; and the Assurances, That no Man can be either more sensible of Your Favour, nor more resolved to deserve it by my Services, whenever they be worth Your Lordship's employing upon any Occasion.

I am endeavouring, as fast as I can, to get loose from hence, in order to my Journey for *Nimeguen* ; where we are like to enter into a wide Sea : And though we should steer the Course his Majesty prescribes us never so well, yet it will be a great deal subject to the Winds that shall rise from the Humours of the several Parties, and the Tides that will run differently according to their Successes. The *French* have given of late all the Facility they could to the Congress, and made haste to the Place, as desiring no better Peace, than upon the present Plan of Affairs. The Confederates, especially the House of *Austria*, are sullen, as Losers use to be, and so, in all the Paces of the Treaty, are slow and resty ; hoping for something from the Campaign, which may make room for Pretensions that would hardly be in countenance as Things stand at present. The *Swede* is earnest for a Peace ; as having more Hopes of recovering himself that way, than by a War. This State desires it as much as any, and has no Pretences of its own ; but dares not break from their Confederates, not trusting *England* enough, nor *France* at all, so as to depend upon either after the Peace is made. *Denmark* and *Brandenburgh* are eager in the War ; finding the *Swedes* weak, divided, and unrelievable by *France* any further than their Money, and so hoping to drive them this Summer out of *Germany* ; which, for ought I see, they may endanger, if the Concert of the Confederates prove answerable to their Strength in those Parts.

With these Dispositions the Congress is to begin ; but how it will end, must certainly depend, in a great measure, upon the Successes that will attend the Campaign. The Designs, at present, of the Confederates, seem to determine in the Siege of *Stratsonde* in *Pomerania* ; of *Philipsburgh* in *Germany* ; and in *Flanders* upon that of *Mastricht* : And it will be hard if one of these does not occasion a Battle, which may be more decisive than any Siege.

I know Your Lordship has but too much Share in the Trouble of my constant Letters to Mr. Secretary *Williamson* ; and therefore, I shall not give You any further Interruption, than by the very unfeigned Professions of my being most passionately, and ever,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most Faithful

and most Humble Servant,

To the KING.

Nimeguen, September 2. S. N. 1676.

May it please Your Majesty,

THOUGH what we writ jointly this Day of our Conjecture, that some of the Parties, perhaps, on each Side, would this Winter endeavour rather to fall into separate Measures with some of the Parties, than to advance a general Peace, was grounded upon what Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* told me, he had observed in his late Visits and Conversations with the *French Ambassadors*; wherein they owned, very plainly, their Hopes and Expectation of breaking the Force of the Alliance this Winter, by drawing off either the *Dutch*, or, at least, some of the *German Princes*: Yet I thought fit to trouble Your Majesty with some more particular Observations of my own upon this Subject, in Discourse more private with several of the Parties, and which I have not communicated to any other. Monsieur *Colbert*, after much Compliment to me the first Month I was here, of his Master's particular Esteem of me, and of his own believing, that no Man but I could make the Peace, in regard of the Interest he believed I had with the Prince of *Orange*, and of the Necessity there was of the House of *Austria's* complying with any Measures the Prince should take; has lately descended into more particular Discourses, Of the Advantages the Prince shall be sure to find in a Treaty with the King his Master: Of the Convenience the Prince would find in carrying it on privately with *France*, during the more publick Negotiations here: That the late Duke of *Bavaria* did the same at the Treaty of *Munster*, and thereby was the Person that made that Peace, and, at the same time, establish'd his own Interests with all the Advantage he could propose to himself: That the Prince of *Orange* might act the same Part here, and with the same Success both to the General Peace and to Himself: That he could negotiate it by no Man so well as by me; and none could have a Part of greater Honour or Advantage, than mine would be in the Conduct of such an Affair. I told him, upon this Occasion, the Truth of what I thought concerning the Prince and my Self in this Matter; which was, that though, perhaps, his Highness would hear me talk to him, either of his general or particular Interests, as soon as another Man, yet I had never known that Person who had *aucun pouvoir sur son esprit*: That Your Majesty had found You had a great deal less than You had Reason to expect; and that others had none at all, who pretended to have more than their Share: That by what I knew of the Prince's Dispositions, I much doubted the Relief of *Mastricht* would not dispose him to the Peace; and that he would be loth to sit down melancholy at the *Hague* with that Thorn at his Heart. That I heard he was *fort dépité* at present; but that when the Campaign ended, I should have Occasion of seeing him, and should then be sure to know the Bottom of his Heart; which I should acquaint Your Majesty with, and observe Your Directions upon it. Monsieur *Colbert* replied, That if the Prince would by me have given them any private Assurances, that the carrying of *Mastricht* would have disposed him to the Peace, he was sure the King his Master would willingly have given him the Glory of it, and employ'd his Army somewhere in *Flanders*; *Mais qu' il ne falloit pas quitter le certain pour l' incertain*; that he believed the Prince was in ill Humour upon it, *Mais que le temps le rameneroit*; and that he believed, that would not be before the End of the Campaign.

I observed, in some particular Discourses of M. *Beverning*, in a Humour when we are aptest to tell Truth, That at least, for his own Part, he was extreme ill satisfy'd with the *Spaniards*, and with the War being pursu'd only for the Interests of that Crown, who contributed so little towards it: That he desired the Peace so much, as, if *Spain* would not be reasonable in it, to wish for it without them. This, I know, is the Sense of the substantial Part of the People

in

in *Holland*, as well as his; and whether the Prince, and the Persons at present in the Government, will be able, after this Disgrace at *Mastricht*, to keep the Spirits there in Temper enough to carry on the War another Year, I cannot yet, or at this Distance, take upon me to judge.

I have observed by my Conversation with the *Swedish* Ministers, both at the *Hague* and here, that they desire a Peace with more Impatience than any of the Parties; and so far, that if they cannot have it general in a short time, they would be glad of a particular one, either with *Holland*, or the Duke of *Brandenburgh*. They do not think *France* considers them at all in proportion to the Losses and Misfortunes they have engaged them in: And one of their Ambassadors told me, He did not believe *que les affaires fussent encore dans l'assiette que la France demandoit, ny qu'il estoit necessaire pour leur faire tout de bon souhaiter la paix generale*. He said this a little mysteriously, making me believe, he had already particular Reason to think so; but should, in a little Time, know more, and would then, in Confidence, acquaint me with it.

I doubt it will be necessary for me, in the Course of this Affair, sometimes to give Your Majesty some such Accounts as this, of what may pass to me in particular Confidence from some of the Ministers, either by force of Old Acquaintances, or any other Motions they shall find towards it: And, possibly, they may give Your Majesty more Light than the more open Paces here. But if Your Majesty will avoid the Trouble, and appoint any other Person, to whom I shall address such Dispatches, I shall not farther presume to give Your Majesty these Interruptions; but content my self with Your Majesty's Pardon for what is past, and with Your Justice in believing and accepting that inviolable Truth and Devotion, wherewith I am, and shall be ever,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most Loyal

Subject and Servant.

W. Temple.

To the KING.

Nimeguen, September 20. S. N. 1676.

May it please Your Majesty,

UPON the Prince's Return from the Army, he was pleased to write me a Letter, giving me notice of it, and desiring me to meet him at his House near *Utrecht*, which I did on *Thursday* last. I staid Two Days with his Highness, and had very large Discourses with him upon the Events of the present Campaign, and Appearances of the Treaty. As to my own Part in them, I shall only say, That they were all apply'd to those Ends, and in that Method, which I thought most agreeable to Your Majesty's Intentions, and to the several Instructions I have had the Honour to receive from Your Majesty, or by Your Order upon this Subject. The Substance of all his Highness's Discourse, I shall sum up in as few and as short Heads as I can for Your Majesty's Ease.

He express'd great Sense of the Misfortune of this Campaign, and said, He knew very well, *Le mal heur de son poste, ou pendant que les autres faisoient les fautes, c'estoit à luy de souffrir la honte*. When I told him, That was too hard an Expression, and that no body thought he deserv'd, he repeated it again, and said, It must be so in the Opinion of all the World, but only some few, who knew the Inside of the Business: That he saw no Remedy for it with the present Conduct of *Spain*, nor with such Men as they employ'd in *Flanders*:

That

That some of them were loth to venture the Army, and some as loth to venture themselves, and others knew not how to do either *à propos*: That I might very well think, however, that he had no mind to sit down with the Disgrace of such a Campaign; and that if the *Spaniards* could but garrison their Towns, so as to make any Defence in Form, he would yet hope, he might have his Revenge another Year, by trusting to no Army but his own.

When I asked, Whether he thought the States were in Humour, or the Country in Condition to go on with the War? he said, He would not dissemble it; They had a horrible mind to the Peace; but so they had for these Two last Years: That they were, however, able to go on with it, especially if they were eased of their Subsidies to the Allies, and would be insensibly engaged in it, as they had been these Two last Campaigns, if they could not have a Peace with some Honour and Safety.

When I took notice of his little Inclinations to any sudden Peace, he said, on the contrary, He had a mind to it, and that no Interests of his own should delay it; but that he could not tell how to come by it (which Words, I remember, he spoke in *English*): That he would deal plainly with me as to his own Thoughts; That though a Congress was necessary, yet, he believ'd, we could not hope to make a Peace here in less than about Four Years: That he was of Opinion, if Your Majesty would have it this Winter, You must make it Your self, by telling all the Parties upon what Terms You expected and thought reasonable it should be made: That if You would not do this, You must at least employ more private Negotiations towards it, and first sound *France* to the Bottom, instead of sounding him (the Prince); and this for Two Reasons: First, Because *France* was single, and Master of their own Resolutions, which he was not; and tho' he could answer for himself, yet he could not for those he was engaged with. Next, Because if his Highness or *Spain* should first declare themselves upon the Conditions of a General Peace, *France* might very well make use of it towards breaking their Alliance, or the Confidence of it, which they could not do towards *France*, which had no other Ally but the *Swede*, and him but very little considered, either in the Peace or the War.

When I would have enter'd into some Discourse of Conditions the most apparent for the Peace, he said, That, upon the whole, he did not believe, in the present Posture of Affairs, *France* could possibly be brought to such Terms as it was possible for the Allies to accept; nor was it reasonable to think or to hope they should, after such a Campaign as had pass'd in *Flanders*. But it was not yet ended in *Alsace*, nor, perhaps, in *Flanders* neither: For tho' he would not go into the Field again to do nothing, yet, if there should happen a good Occasion, he would be gone again at half an Hour's Warning: That, however this Campaign should end with *France*, 'twas like to pass well enough against the *Swedes*; and as they had already Eighteen thousand Men of the *Lunenburgh* and *Munster* Troops by the Conquest of *Bremen*; so they hoped to have Thirty thousand more next Campaign, if the *Swedes* were beaten out of *Pomerania*, which was not unlikely yet before the Year ended.

He said, We must talk over this Matter again when the Campaign was done, and that we should then know better what to say upon it: That it would be necessary for me to come sometimes to the *Hague*, and to that end advised me to get Leave to do it whenever I saw Occasion. I told his Highness, That I had it already, and should make use of it whenever his Highness thought it necessary, and would let me know it, as well as upon any other Occasions of Your Majesty's Service there.

I remember no more to trouble Your Majesty with out of all our Discourses upon this Matter. There was one thing more his Highness said, which, I think, will be fit to tell Your Majesty, tho' he might not intend it. He told me, He had received a Letter from Your Majesty, in Answer to that he sent by my Wife; That You had refused him Leave to go over into *England* before the Peace, and with Terms something hardish (which were his *English* Words);

That

That he thought it was fit to take an Answer when Your Majesty gave it him ; and therefore he should trouble You no more about it : That Your Majesty best knew when You thought was a fit Time for him to do it, and he suppos'd, would let him know it, since, it seems, he did not himself.

I cannot but add one Word of an Advice of another kind, and from another Hand, because it was new to me, and look'd considerable. Upon Discourse with Count *Oxenferne*, about the Court of *Vienna* (where he had been lately Ambassador) he told me, The Emperor was so infirm, that it was not believed he could ever have Children that would live ; that this being foreseen, he found among the Ministers there, that it was resolved, in case of his dying without Sons, to leave the whole Succession of the Dutchy of *Austria*, and its Dependancies to the Duke of *Lorrain*, with Condition to marry the Emperor's Sister, and by this means to make way for his being Emperor, which he did not believe there would be any Difficulty in, especially when such an Accident should find him in the Head of the Imperial Army.

I humbly beg Your Majesty's Pardon for this long Interruption, and Your Acceptance of that humble and hearty Devotion wherewith I am, and shall be ever,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most Loyal,

and most Obedient

Subject and Servant,

W. Temple.

To the KING.

Nimeguen, October 19. S. N. 1676:

May it please Your Majesty,

I Cannot better acknowledge the Honour of receiving Your Majesty's particular Commands, than by assuring Your Majesty of the infinite Satisfaction I shall have in obeying them. I do not remember, that the Reflections I made upon my last Discourse with the Prince, went so far as what Your Majesty is pleased to make upon them in Your last Letter. I did not conclude upon all which past, that he had a mind to continue the War ; but rather, that he was unresolved between the Desires of repairing his Honour by another Campaign, and the Fears of being more in such Company as he is joined with in *Flanders*. But though his Dispositions seemed doubtful, yet his Judgment was indeed very positive, that the Peace would not be made this Winter, unless Your Majesty undertook it, by advancing some Propositions of Your own towards it : He concluded, That we should talk it over again after the Campaign should be ended on all sides : And, indeed, the Winter Quarters of the Imperial Armies, where-ever they fall, will open the Prospect into the next Year's Events, more than any thing that has pass'd this Summer : For if the *French* can maintain a Defensive War in *Alsace* another Campaign, I believe, they will take *St. Omer*, *Cambray*, or *Valenciennes* (if not two or all of them), in spite of all the *Dutch* and *Spanish* Forces will be able to do in *Flanders*, unless a very great Change happen in their Conduct or Fortune. But if the *German* Armies should enter into *France*, that Crown may, perhaps, have Work enough on that side, and be thereby forced to call away so many of their Troops out of *Flanders*, as to leave the Prince of *Orange* an easie Campaign there. This, I find, the *French* Ambassadors here apprehend, in case the

the *Swede* be wholly beaten out of *Germany* this Season, and the Alliance continues united and vigorous another Year. And Monsieur *Beverning*, after all his *Fanfares* about a separate Peace, (which Your Majesty will meet with in Two of our joint Letters by the last and this Ordinary) seems too publick and affected to mean much more, than to induce the Emperor into those Measures : For after he had talked himself sober with me upon that whole Subject, he said at last, in plain Terms, That if the *Germans* would let *Brisac* alone, and enter into *France* next Spring, the States would not make the Peace this Year ; and that they had already taken their Measures, and found they could go on with the War another Campaign, and with the same Forces they had this last, or something greater, if there were a good Occasion.

He intends to go again into *Holland* about the 10th of next Month, when the next Assembly will be of the States of *Holland*, at which Time the Counsels and Measures are usually taken for the ensuing Year, and always for the chief Expence of it, as near as it can be then foreseen. I hope my Lord *Berkley* will by that Time be here, and then I shall take an Occasion of going again to the Prince, and shall, I suppose, be able, at so critical a Time, to make a clearer Judgment of what Your Majesty may hope from him, as to the Peace ; and neglect no Endeavours to give his Highness those Impressions which are not only agreeable with Your Majesty's Intentions, but, in my Opinion, with his own Interests too, in the Posture he stands with Friends and Enemies, both at Home and Abroad. I shall then give Your Majesty a full Account of what Dispositions or Motions I find at the *Hague*, which the *French* Ambassadors say, upon all Occasions, must chiefly govern what passes here. In the mean Time, I shall only beg Your Majesty's Pardon for this Interruption, and Your Justice in believing me what I shall ever be, with the greatest Devotion and Truth,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most Loyal,

and most Obedient

Subject and Servant.

W. Temple.

To the Prince of ORANGE.

Nimeguen, October 31. S. N. 1676.

May it please Your Highness,

I Received lately a Letter from his Majesty, dated at *Newmarket* the 8th of this Month, and in Answer to the Account I gave him of Your Highness's Discourses with me at *Soesdyke*, and Your Opinions, that his Majesty proposing the Terms of a Peace to the Parties, will be the only way of making it. His Majesty says upon it, That he doubts Your Highness has a mind to continue the War, which he is sorry for ; because, as it is conducted by Your Allies, he fears, You will not find Your Account in it ; and assures me, one of the great Motives he has for the Peace, is the Belief, that Your Highness will be the better for it ; That it has ever been his Endeavour, and is so still, to oblige *France* to declare it self to him upon what Terms they will be content to make the Peace ; but if they will not, it must take the Forms which the Congress here will give it ; and if that will not bring it to pass, his Majesty must content himself with having done what he could towards it, according to the Figure he has taken of the Common Mediator. Upon another Subject his

X x x x

Majesty

Majesty says, He is glad to understand from me, that Your Highness is of Opinion, You must learn from his Majesty the Time of Your going over into *England*, which is not yet proper for it ; but when it shall be so, he shall be as glad to see You, as You can with Your self.

I have given Your Highness the King's own Words in what I have written, between Two Marks, and intended to have given You a larger Account of it my self at the *Hague* before this, if my Lord *Berkley* had come hither so soon as we were made believe : It cannot be long before he arrives ; and it will not be long after, I hope, before I shall have the Honour of kissing Your Highness's Hands, and ending the Discourse we began at *Soefdyke*. In the mean time, I am with great Thanks to acknowledge the very great Favour which my Wife says, Your Highness is pleased to offer, of lodging me at the *Hague*, and may very well take Your Highness at Your Word, if the Weather and my Health continue ill, as they have been of late.

I send Your Highness inclosed a Letter I received from Mr. *Sidney*, which came not sooner, because, as I found by another, he had great Disputes with his Father before he would give this Answer. I am very sorry for it ; but since You find the Lieutenant Colonel so very capable, I hope it will be no Loss. In case he has the Regiment, Major *Archer* has begg'd of me to mention him to Your Highness, for the Lieutenant Colonel's Place, which I should not do, but that I remember Your Highness express'd a very good Opinion of him ; and I find by him, That he cannot (as he says) possibly live on the Regiment he is with *Fenwick* and *Weasly*. I hear, this last is endeavouring to turn out one Captain *Knight*, for having been a Friend to Major *Archer* in some of their Quarrels ; I humbly beg Your Highness to suspend any such Resolution, till I have the Honour of seeing You. I am ever, with perfect Truth and Devotion,

S I R,

Your Highness's most Obedient,

and most Humble Servant,

W. Temple.

To Mr. Secretary Williamfon.

Hague, January 5. S. N. 1677.

S I R,

SINCE my last, the Day after my Arrival here, I endeavoured to speak with the Pensioner upon those Matters relating to this Ambassy, and still remaining without any Answer, or, at least, Dispatch. After having twice excused himself upon his Indisposition, at length he gave me an Hour ; and I found him in the Posture of a sick Man, complaining of *une Fievre lente*, and Weakness upon the Loss of very much Blood ; which, he said, was all *Sanguis adustus*. Which I repeat from his own Mouth, as Expressions that, compared to other Circumstances of our Conversation, made me conclude his Illness to be at least as much of Mind as of Body ; and derived, perhaps, from the Fatigue and Chagrin of his Business, rather than his ill Constitution ; tho' something of that be natural to him.

I first complained of the States Delay, not only in the Satisfaction, but even in the Answer due to Two of his Majesty's Letters, upon the Business of the Three *Scotch* Ministers, which I took to be clear in the Words of the Treaty, and subject to no Dispute or Evasion. He confess'd, It might look like

like a Neglect in the States, not to answer the Letters they had received from his Majesty ; but they had delayed it, in hopes his Majesty might have been satisfied with the Reasons their Ambassadors in *England* had been charged to represent on that Subject ; and they were unwilling it should appear by their Letter, either that his Majesty demanded a Thing of them by virtue of a Treaty, which they did not think the Treaty obliged them to ; or that any of the King's Subjects, who were, or should be hereafter banished by his Majesty, might from their Letter take occasion to hope for Refuge in these Countries. But if I would enter into the Debate of this Matter at a Conference with the States Commissioners, and should not be satisfied with their Reasons, but desire them in Writing, they would either give them me to represent to his Majesty, or else they would comprehend them in a Letter to his Majesty, in Answer of those they had received from him.

I said, I was resolved to enter upon this Matter, and see the Bottom of it while I was here ; but hoped, they would upon it be so far satisfied with the Clearness of the Case, as to answer his Majesty's Demand rather by Compliance than Reasons : And so we resolved to attend Two or Three Days, in hopes he might at that Time assist at the Conference, since he desired it ; and I knew very well, nothing would be done to any purpose without it. I found, however, That the Stress of their Pretensions will lie in the Difference between Persons banished, and either Rebels or Fugitives who are named in the Articles. For the Pensioner thinks his Majesty may declare any of his Subjects Rebels or Fugitives ; and such a Declaration is enough (being signified to the States) to ground the Demand now made. But when a Prince or State banisheth any Man, they thereby declare him to be a Subject no longer ; and have not afterwards Power to declare him Rebel or Fugitive, especially if he have offered himself to the Law ; as Two of these Men, he said, did, and did not fly their Country, but by Sentence were forced to do it. But the Issue of this Matter I must refer to our Conference ; as likewise that of the *Dort* Company, and the Ships *Thomas* and *John*, which were recommended in Your last to my Care.

When these Discourses had pass'd, the Pensioner asked me, Whether I had brought them the Peace from *Nimeguen* ? and I replied, Since he was so ignorant of what had passed there, I would tell him ; That they had carried their Matters there *en habiles gens* : That to bring their Allies to the Congress, they had pretended to treat by the First of *November*, whether they came or no : That after the Day they had found Fault with the Powers ; offered at new ; made the Mediators course from one to t'other ; spun out Two Months Time in these Paces, and thereby were gotten in sight of both *Spanish* and *Imperial* Ministers, which, I supposed, was the Thing they always intended.

He answered me, with something in his Face both serious and sad ; That either I did not know the Course of their Affairs here, since I left the *Hague*, or else I would not seem to know them : That they desired the Peace from their Hearts, and not only so, but thought it absolutely necessary : That they would certainly have entered into the Treaty, if the *French* had either brought Powers in Form to be admitted, or obliged themselves to procure new ones. I said, I believed him, and that they could have found no better way to bring their Allies to the Congress.

He replied, *Je vous diray donc encore, que nous n'insisterons pas sur une paix selon les pretensions de nos Allies, & ne vous reponds pas que nous ne la ferons même separée.* I said, It was at least a Matter of that Moment, that, I believed, they would think of it before they did it.

With this, he drew his Chair up closer to me, and begun, with great Earnestness, a very long Discourse upon this whole Matter ; saying first, That they had thought enough of it already ; and, for his Part, he was grown, by thinking much, to conclude it was without Remedy : That they had great Obligations to *Spain*, for entering into the War to save this Country ; but therein to save *Flanders* too : But they had made no ill Return by continuing the War now Three Years only for the Interests of *Spain* ; since there remained

nothing of Consequence between *France* and them : That they had, besides, engaged to carry it on this following Year, with the same Number of Forces they did the last ; and so they would, if their Allies had performed their Parts : But for *Spain*, they took no Care, but only to let them see they were resolved to perish : That they sent their Fleets home from *Sicily* without any of the Payments agreed for, and left them to be paid by the States here at their Arrival. That not a Penny could be got of 300000 Guilders they owed them for Carriages and Provisions the last Campaign, and which was designed for their Magazines in *Flanders* against the next : That they had represented to *Spain* the absolute Necessity of keeping so many Forces in *Flanders* as would defend their Towns, while the Prince took the Field ; which he was content to do with the Army of this State ; but not a Word of Answer : That they had then desired *Spain* to receive so many of the Forces of their Allies, as might serve to defend their Places ; but, instead of this, they drove them out of their Country. That, for the Emperor, they had always told him, unless his Army would march into *France*, or give a Battle, *Flanders* could not be defended last Year, nor this next, unless his Forces took up their Winter Quarters in *Alsatia*, or that side of the *Rhine* : but at *Vienna*, they consider'd *Flanders* as much as the *Dutch* do *Hungary* : And because the Imperial Officers could make greater Advantages of Winter Quarters in *Germany*, than in such a harassed Country as *Alsatia*, their Armies must return this Winter, and thereby lose all the Advantages that might have been made of the last Campaign : That for want of Magazines in *Flanders*, Two or Three of the best Frontier Towns would be lost next Year before the Imperialists could possibly take the Field ; and if *Cambray*, *Valenciennes*, and *Mons* were gone, all the rest would certainly revolt ; considering the Miseries they had already suffered, and must still by a longer War : That either the Prince could not be soon enough in the Field to prevent it, or else he would not be able to subsist for want of Magazines, and the Country's being like to be deserted and waste by this Business of Contributions unsettled ; or else he would not be strong enough to venture a Battle, or raise a Siege ; considering how weak the *Spaniards* would be, how poorly their Towns would be defended, and how strong *France* would come on that side into the Field, while they had no Enemy upon the *Rhine* : That the Prince's Friends could never suffer him to go into the Field, only to see Towns taken under his Nose, and, perhaps, the whole Country lost, while he was expected to defend it, and render'd incapable of doing it by the Faults of the *Spaniards* ; who yet would lay it to his Charge, and be the first to reproach him : Which would be done likewise by his Enemies at Home, and Ill-willers Abroad ; who would be glad of the Occasion.

In the mean time, from *France* they could have whatever Conditions they pretended, either as to the restoring of *Mastricht*, or the *Reglement* of Commerce, or the Advantages of the Prince ; and as to this last, all they could desire. That they had Letters every Week from the Marechal d' *Esstrades* upon this Subject, and from other Hands : And, for his own part, though he should fall into it with Regret, yet he did not see what else was to be done ; and he did not know one Man in *Holland* that was not of the same Mind.

This long Discourse ended with saying, That he did not talk to me like an Ambassador, but a Friend, and one whose Opinion he esteemed : That he discovered to me *leur fort, & leur foible* ; and would be glad to know what else I thought they could do *dans l'accablement de cet Etat par une si longue guerre*, and all the Circumstances that now attend it both from their Friends and their Enemies.

I gave him Thanks for the Confidence he express'd towards me ; but desired to be excused for giving my Counsel or Opinion to a Person who was so able to take Measures for the State and for Himself. But I desired to know what he reckoned would become of *Flanders* after this State had made a separate Peace ? He replied, That it would be lost either in one Summer or two ; but more probably in one : For, he believed, the Towns of *Cambray*, *Valenciennes*, *Namur*, and *Mons*, might be taken in one Campaign ; or, if *Valenciennes* were only

only taken on that side, *Cambray* would be out of Care, and must fall of it self: That after this, none of the great Towns would offer at defending themselves, unless it were *Antwerp*; and for that, perhaps, some Measures might be taken with *France*.

I asked him, How he reckoned this State was to live with *France*, after *Flanders* was wholly lost? And whether he thought it would not be perfectly at Discretion?

He said, If they could hope to save *Flanders* by continuing the War, they would not think of a separate Peace: But if they saw it must be lost by one as well as t'other, they thought it best by the last; which would not only less exhaust the State, but be less Dishonour to the Prince too: That after *Flanders* was lost, they would live so with *France*, that they should find it more for their Profit to preserve this State, than to destroy it: That he knew very well, it was not a Thing to be chosen; but they should be forced to it, as Men are sometimes to desperate Remedies: That they had long hoped some Resource from better Conduct in the *Spanish* Affairs: That they had believed some Impressions of the *German* Army in *France* it self, might have brought the Business à un accommodement raisonable: That he, for his own Part, had ever believed, *England* it self would cry *Halte* at one Step or other; and if they would be content to see half *Flanders* lost, yet they would not see it all; and the same of *Sicily*: That the King had the Peace in his Hands for these Two Years past, and might have made it when he pleased, and upon what Conditions he thought fit: That for their Parts, Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* had desired his Majesty to say whatever he would have in it, and that this State would endeavour it upon any Terms his Majesty proposed; but that he could never get one Word of Answer: That he had full Power to make any sort of Alliance with his Majesty that he desired; but nothing of that neither. That he confessed it was true, *Cuncta prius tentanda*; but he found at length, it was *immedicabile vulnus*: And he saw nothing left for them to do, but a separate Peace: That he understood very well, what I meant by asking how they were to live with *France* after the Loss of *Flanders*; but he had cast up that too: That, first, *La visée de la France sera plutôt sur l'Allemagne ou sur l'Italie, que sur eux*: That, in the next place, he knew it would not be their Interest to conquer or destroy this State, but could make better Uses by preserving it in a Dependance upon them: That the King had seen their Country, and understood it so; and had said upon all Occasions since, That he had rather have them for his Friends, than his Subjects: That for their Religion, which he had as much at Heart as any Man, he did not fear any thing in that from *France* neither: That the King was not *si coiffé de sa Religion*, as thereby to lose any Interests of his State; and he knew very well, that any Force or Change in Religion here, would quickly destroy the Trade; and thereby the Sea Forces of this Country, which he might make better use of, than if it were left *un grand marécage*. But at last, if their State must fall in Four and twenty Hours, 'twere better for them to defer it to the last; and that it should happen at Night, rather than at Noon.

All this was discoursed with so much Earnestness, that I was afraid it had done him Hurt; and, indeed, it left him not in Condition or Breath, to go on with a longer Conversation. And so, having said, It was not a Matter to be resolved between us Two; and that I wish'd him Health enough to go thro' the Thoughts and Business of so great a Conjunction, I left him.

The next Morning I went to the Prince; and after some common Talk, I told him, I had seen the Pensioner, and asked, Whether his Highness knew what Discourse had passed between us? He said, No, he had not seen him since; and asked me, What it was? I repeated several Heads of it, and said, It all concluded in the Necessity of this State's making a separate Peace; and that he said, There was not one Man in *Holland* against it. The Prince interrupted me, and said, Yes, I am sure, I know one, and that is my self; and I will hinder it as long as I can: But if any thing should happen to me, they would do it in Two Days Time. I asked his Highness, Whether he was of the

the Pensioner's Opinion in what was likely to happen next Year in *Flanders* &c. He said, The Appearances were ill ; but Campaigns did not always end as they began : That some Accidents might happen, which no Man could foresee ; and if a Battle should be given, none could answer for the Event. After this, and two or three little Things he said about our Indifference in what became either of the Peace, or of *Flanders* ; his Highness rose up, as if he did not care for going on further with the Discourse ; and so broke it off.

I have been very exact in the Account of all these Passages, the Introductions to them, and often the very Words (which I have marked) because I believe them the true Representations of the present Dispositions here in this Matter of a separate Peace. That is, The People in general, the Towns, the States, are all bent upon it, from an extreme Dislike of their Allies Conduct, both in the Treaty and the War. But the Prince alone, upon whose Honour the Allies have wholly relied in all their Negotiations with this State, is not yet able to digest it ; and being equally apprehensive of the Dishonour may befall him, either by separating from his Allies by a Peace, or pursuing the War in Conjunction with *Spain* (whose Weakness and ill Conduct will make the Faults, of which he must, in common Opinion, bear the Blame). He is certainly at this Time, most extremely desirous of a general Peace ; and will not only go into it, in such ways as his Majesty shall think the most expedient ; but will take it the kindest in the World, if his Majesty should think fit to use his Offices with *France*, so as to bring it about with Honour to his Highness, in some moderate Satisfaction to his Allies.

If his Majesty interposeth no further than by the bare and formal Offices of his Mediation at the Place of Treaty, and the *Austrians* hold off, as they have hitherto done ; I suppose the *French* and *Dutch* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen* will fall into separate, and, perhaps, private Negotiations of the Differences between them ; which, I guess (from the Dispositions I can observe on both sides) will be very soon and easily adjusted : And then the *Dutch* will be ready to clap up a separate Peace in Two Days Time, whenever they grow more out of Patience at the Slowness and Unsincereness of their Allies in the general Treaty ; or more apprehensive of Dishonour and ill Success in the War ; or when these or any other Circumstances shall bring the Prince to fall into the same Opinion with the States upon this Matter.

Monsieur *Colbert* hath in many and particular Discourses, besides others from the Marechal *d'Esstrades*, told me so much of their Desires to enter into this Matter of separate Negotiations and Measures with the Prince and this State ; of the Easiness they should find in Points of Commerce, and Advantages his Highness should receive by it to himself, both in the Treaty, and in the Course of the King their Master's Friendship hereafter ; that, I suppose, there can occur no Difficulty of that side, whenever it grows full ripe on this. And therefore, I presume, the Knowledge of all these Circumstances would be necessary for his Majesty's Information, in so great and so nice a Conjunction ; and more particularly so, for his Instructions to us, as to our Conduct at *Nimeguen*, whenever we meet with such Motions there, as are likely to arise from such Dispositions here.

I beg Your Pardon for so long a Trouble, and one Word, if You please, of the Inclosed by last Post from hence being delivered to his Majesty, and Your Belief of my being always,

S I R,

Your most Faithful,

Humble Servant.

To

To Mr. Secretary Coventry.

Hague, January 8. S. N. 1677.

S I R,

I Am to acknowledge the Honour of one from You of the 5th past; since which Time I found it necessary for me to make a Turn hither; both from a Letter of the Prince which desired it, and some Business relating to this Ambassy that required a Dispatch; and also, that, in such a Conjunction, I might be perfectly informed how the Game was like to play: which could be known no where but here, nor, indeed, by other Hands than those I deal with; which are the Prince and the Pensioner. You will have known from my Dispatch last Ordinary, all I am like to know upon the Subject of a general or separate Peace: And I find by Sir *Lyonell Jenkins's* Letter this Day to me, that he is fallen upon the Scent of this last at *Nimeguen*, since I came away; and likewise, that he has received some Letters from Court since I left him; which looks as if You had apprehended it there already, and given some Orders in a late Letter about our Conduct in the Case, by way of Protestation; which he seems much in pain about, and desires my Help in, without having sent me any Copy of Mr. Secretary *Williamson's* Letter upon that Subject; so that I can make no Judgment at all of the Thing, how it is given us in Charge. But if it should be, as I apprehend by his Letter, that in case we find a separate Peace between *France* and *Holland*, concluding or concluded at *Nimeguen*, without our Communication, we should protest publickly against it in his Majesty's Name. I do not well understand to what purpose such a Thing can be intended. If we dislike the Thing, and it appear to sanguine Men at Court, as dangerous as to melancholy Men in the Country, we may endeavour to prevent it; but if it be once concluded, our Protestations can, in my Opinion, serve only to irritate the Parties, and bind them faster together by the Apprehension of our being angry at them both, and at their Conjunction. Nor can I well see, either what Ground such a Protestation can have, any more than what Effect. For the Parties have not obliged themselves to his Majesty, upon his Mediation of a general Peace, either that they will not treat without his Mediation, nor separately; or, if they had, the same Interests that force them to break through so many Obligations to their Allies, would make them as bold with those to a Mediator. Besides, I observed in Monsieur *Colbert's* Exceptions to our Form of Powers, he said, There was one essential Default in the very Dispositive; which was, The Omission of that Clause, that they might treat with the adverse Ministers, either with or without the Intervention of the Mediators: And so we may certainly reckon they will do, when Interest leads them to it.

I am forced to trouble You with this Discourse, having received this Letter from Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* since I closed mine this Night to Mr. Secretary *Williamson*. I know not whether what I have said be at all to the purpose, because 'tis very likely I may have misapprehended the late Instructions sent us over, which are mentioned very short in my Colleague's Letter to me. Besides, I am the apter to think I may be mistaken; because, I remember, upon our desiring Instructions Two Months since, how to conduct our selves in case of separate Treaties, we had no Answer given us upon it. And I will tell You, That not only the Allies are of Opinion, that we would promote it; but the Prince himself seems to believe, we would be glad of it; though I assure him, all our Instructions run quite contrary, and empower us only to perform our Offices towards the general Peace.

I am ever, with the Esteem and Truth that become me,

S I R,

Yours, &c.

To

To my Lord Treasurer.

Hague, January 8. S. N. 1677.

My Lord,

UPON the Incident of a Letter just now from my Colleague Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, concerning some Instructions he had receiv'd since I left him, in relation to a separate Peace, I thought it necessary to write the Inclosed to Mr. Secretary *Coventry*, having already closed my Pacquet to Mr. Secretary *Williamson*; and our Instructions commanding us to correspond with the Secretaries of State; so as all Advices of Importance are necessarily address'd to one of them for our Discharge.

However, I thought what I had written fit to be presented to Your Lordship as early as I could, in hopes You will give Your Hand towards our full Instructions in his Majesty's Mind upon this Matter. For my Part, if I apprehend right what Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* writes to me about a Protestation, I cannot understand the Drift of such a Counsel, nor why one should be angry, when one hurts no body but one's self. To prevent the Thing may be a wise and necessary Counsel, and in which his Majesty's Meaning ought to have been signified early, where it was likely to be of moment to that end; but if the Thing should be done, I cannot imagine either how to ground our Offence, or seek our Revenge, and it would be to stay till we are struck, and then trust to crying out. Whereas, for ought I know, it were better to anger either of the Parties before a separate Peace, than both of them afterwards; and if we must strain any Points of Courtesie with them, to do it rather by making a fair and general Peace, than by complaining and protesting against a separate one.

I beg Your Lordship's Pardon for this Trouble, and Your Justice in believing me ever,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, January 12. S. N. 1677.

S I R,

I Have received the Honour of Yours of the 26th past, with the Copy of another of the same Date to the Plenipotentiaries at *Nimeguen*; for which I humbly thank You. As to what concerns the Points depending here, I can add little more than what I writ last; but that I have received Assurance that the States will give sudden Order for returning of the Money, and Security given the Master of the *Thomas* and *John*, taken by a Dutch Man of War from a *Dunkirk* Caper; and this they will do upon the Assurance I give them (from his Majesty's Letters) of the like Procedure on our side towards them in like Cases.

All I have left, is, The Affair of the Three *Scotch* Ministers, which must be brought to a Conference; and that the Pensioner's Illness will not yet suffer him to assist at, since it must be at my House, and he has not yet stirred Abroad, but is something better to Day, so as to give me hopes it may be to Morrow, or *Thursday*; if not, I will have it on *Friday* without him, and drive it as far as it will go. His Illness begins to be apprehended by many, being a continual, tho' slow Fever, and would extremely disconcert the Measures of
this

this State, if any thing of ill should happen to him. Don Emanuel de Lyra, who has absented himself from his Post here for near three Months, upon the Shame of appearing without Money for the Fleet from *Sicily*, and that to *Denmark* last Year; and the Want whereof would have endangered some Trouble at *Amsterdam*, if the Ships from *Sicily* had been able to come in before the Frost, writes now Word from *Brussels*, That he is preparing to come away immediately; and that he shall do it with less Regret and Shame, being possess'd of the Money due, *por el Mediterraneo, y el Baltico, y sin Gasconado*; which are the Words of his Letter, and have so much Credit with the Prince and the States, that they take it for a Thing done; and it was high Time. The Prince tells me, He thinks the Remises come by last Ordinary to *Brussels*, are of Two Millions and a half of Crowns, but that more is expected.

The *Danish* Minister presses very much for Money, Ships, and Men here; but I believe they will go hard from this State; who pretend the *Danes* may content themselves with their new Conquests, and the *Spanish* Subsidies, towards carrying on the War. I know not whether they reckon well: For, however the last Action in *Schonen* pass'd, or however it be told, I look upon it as very advantageous to the *Swedes*; not only by gaining their Point in the Relief of *Malmoe*, but also by being left Masters of the Field in that Province. And tho' the Loss may have been equal on both Sides, or, perhaps, greater on the *Swedes*, yet I take that Crown to have much greater Resources than *Denmark*, both in Bodies of Men of their own Natives, and in the Moneys from *France*; whereas *Denmark* will find very hard to repair the Loss of their Foot in this Battel, without Levies from *Germany*, which will cost more Money than they can well furnish, without the Subsidies agreed, both from this State and *Spain*.

I intend to get away from hence as soon as possibly I can, upon the pressing Instances made me from my Lord Ambassador *Jenkins*, as well as from Monsieur *Colbert* and *Beverning*; but, chiefly, from the great Embarrass that You will find fallen upon the Business of the Assembly, by the irregular Demarches of Count *Kinski*; whereof I have been this Day acquainted, by a Copy of the Joint-Letter that goes to You with this Ordinary; which, if they proceed one Pace farther, as, it seems, he intends, must of Necessity break all Communication between the *Imperial* and *French* Ambassadors, and, consequently, give a Stop to the Progress of any General Treaty. Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* presses me so earnestly to give him my Advice, by to Morrow's Packet, what to do, in case they receive a second, and more formal, Notification from Count *Kinski*, of his Arrival, in order to a second Visit of Ceremony, that I cannot avoid giving my Opinion upon it; since the Case is like to happen before he can receive Directions from You.

I think they are to use all Endeavours possible to divert Count *Kinski* from this Resolution: First, because it is contrary to the Stile hitherto used by all Ambassadors in the Congress. Secondly, Because our visiting the Count a second Time in Form, will be to give him a new Honour, which has not been pretended by, or given to, any other Ambassador. Thirdly, Because upon this Practice the *French* will certainly make him no Visit, as receiving from him but half the Honour which he will have done, not only to the Mediators, but to the Ambassadors of all the Allies, by two formal Notifications. Fourthly, Because the Mediators have already declared to him, as well as to the *French*, their own Opinion in the Case; and if any Thing at all be allowed to a Mediator, it is regulating such Matters of Form as these. My last Reason concerns the Honour of the Mediation, and so must be private among us; which is, That a Preference has been declaredly given to the Mediators by Count *Kinski*, in the first Notification, which, it seems, is not like to be taken Care of in the second.

To gain this Point of Count *Kinski*, it will be, perhaps, necessary to employ the Offices of the *Dutch* Ambassadors, as well as the foregoing Reasons; and, possibly, to tell him one of greater Weight than all the rest; which is, That if the Ministers of *Austria* retard the Progress of the Assembly, by any of these

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Motions, contrary to the usual Stile and Form, it will be interpreted as a new and affected Delay ; and the End of that will be, to drive the *Dutch* into private Negotiations, or separate Treaties ; whereas the only Way to keep them close to a general Peace, were, for the *Austrians* to express all Facility towards it that others have done, at least, in the formal, and preliminary Parts of it.

If by all these Reasons and Perswasions, Count *Kinski* will not be prevailed with, I think the Mediators ought to tell him plainly, That in case of a second Notification, they cannot take Notice of it, or make him a second Visit in Form, without first receiving his Majesty's Orders, and so attend Your positive Directions, upon the Account given You by this Ordinary.

In case Count *Kinski* will be prevailed with to content himself with the first Notifications, and Visits made him upon them ; then, I suppose, the *French* and *Swedes* may be appeased upon receiving their Notifications so late ; since Count *Kinski* pretends to have yet notified none but the Mediators, and to have received Visits from the rest without Notifications.

For my part, I see no other Way out of this Wood ; and if by Count *Kinski's* Obstinacy, it must come to his Majesty, I know not well what in that Case can be done, but to stick close to the Stile already used in the Assembly ; where no first Visits have been distinguished by *Cognito* or *Incognito* : Since a Change made by his Majesty in this Practice, will not only break all Correspondence, or Visits, between the *Imperialists* and *French* ; but will give an Offence from his Majesty to the *French*, by giving a Point more to the Emperor than to their King ; whereas they pretend to yield only Place to him, but no Distinction of Rank.

I thought fit to trouble You with my Thoughts upon this Occasion, as well as to transmit them to my Colleague at *Nimeguen* ; in regard they may possibly serve to give his Majesty some little Light, before the Resolution be taken in it. And I will presume to add one Consideration more, upon the other Embarrass already fallen out, between us and the *Brandenburgh* Ambassadors, wherein, it seems, his Majesty has not yet interposed his Judgment : The Allegations on either side are so blank contrary one to another, that it is difficult to determine them ; though the Testimony of Monsieur *Courtin*, *Oxenstiern*, and *Colbert*, in what they have themselves practis'd, or seen practis'd so often, seems not easily to be scrupled. But the great Strength of the *Brandenburgh* Pretension will be the late Resolution of the Emperor, dated, as I remember, *November 25.* last past, in the Practice intended thereupon in their Favour by the *Imperial* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, and thereupon, possibly, by the *Spanish* too. Now this new Concession of the Emperor seems, on one Side, to weaken the *Brandenburgh* Allegations, as to former Practice (in which case there would be no need of this new Resolution) : But, on the other Side, it seems to induce other Kings to give them what the Emperor does, to whom they yield in Point of Place.

This only is to be considered, Whether other Kings will take themselves to be obliged by the Emperor's Stile to *German* Princes ; since he may have an Interest in doing it, toward the Decision of what remains in Question between him and other Kings. For, though the Emperor pretends to be in Rank above other Crowned Heads in *Christendom* ; yet, as I take it, the other Kings consider him only as the first of Kings, but not as of a Rank above them : But if the Emperor can procure, by his Example, the Electors to be treated equally, in all Points, with the Crowned Heads, it will be an Advantage to his Pretensions, since there is certainly a Difference of Rank between him and his Electors. In case *Spain* gives it, by the Emperor's Example, and from Considerations of their present Confederacy, both with the Emperor, and Princes of *Germany* ; the Inducements will then be stronger for his Majesty to do it ; and the Question remaining will only be, Whether his Majesty should do it, without Assurance that *France* and *Sweden* will do it too ? For since his Majesty has already declared the Stile he intended the Electors, and grounded it upon the Precedents of *Munster*, and other later Assemblies ; if he should change his Stile, upon the Example of the Emperor and *Spain* alone,

alone, it may seem a Partiality to the Opinion and Practice of those Two Crowns, and against those of *France* and *Sweden* : Whereas, his Majesty, as Mediator, may be allowed not to change his own Stile, but upon a Change or Consent of all the other Crowned Heads.

But the Determination of these Matters must be given us by Your Orders from his Majesty to us, and our Parts are no other but offering the small Lights we can towards his Majesty's better Information in these Cases.

Monseigneur Colbert sends me word, That they have received their own *Plein-pouvoirs*, and in such a Form, *que Monsieur Beverning avouë luy même qu'il a tout cequ'il demandoit* : Which I take notice of, as something that has pass'd between them without the Communication of my Colleague at *Nimeguen*, for as much as I observe by their Dispatch. And I doubt not but the Delays of the Allies will hasten Monsieur *Beverning*, one way or other, to enter the sooner and deeper into the Business, as far as lies particularly between *France* and them.

I took notice in the Duplicate of the last Letter to the Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, of his Majesty's Pleasure concerning Mr. *Hyde*, whom I have not yet seen ; his Arrival happening at *Nimeguen* several Days after I left it. But I have given Order for the offering him all the Convenience of my House or Equipage, during his Stay there ; and was surpriz'd with the News, by this Day's Letters, of his having already left *Nimeguen* upon his way hither, where I am now like to see him first.

I am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Ambassador Jenkins.

Hague, January 13. S. N. 1677.

My Lord,

I Was sorry to find by Your Lordship's Yesterday, how great an Embarrass Count *Kinski* is like to bring upon You there, by a Proceeding which I take to be very contrary to all Form and Stile used among Ambassadors, either in the present Congress, or any other Place. By what I can guess from the exact Account given of it in Your joint Letter, I judge, That in case he persists to give the second Notifications, in order to second Visits of Ceremony, it must necessarily break off all Communication between Him and the *French* Ambassadors, and thereby wholly obstruct the fair and easie Progress of this Assembly. Therefore, in my Opinion, Your Lordship ought to use all possible Endeavours to divert him from this Resolution : And to this purpose, very many Arguments will easily occur to You : As, First, That it is contrary to all Stile ; because, if he intended his first Interviews *incognito*, he ought either to have come himself frankly to such Ambassadors as he had a mind to see, or receive such Visits as were made him in the same manner, without any Notification : For any formal Notification, signifieth plainly, that he is not *incognito*, but owneth a Character of Ambassador, in right whereof such Notifications are always given. Secondly, If Your Lordship makes him another Visit in Form, You give him a double Honour in respect of what You have given any other Ambassador ; which is a Thing they will all resent. Thirdly, If this happens, the *French* will certainly not visit him, because he will have given Two Notifications to other Ambassadors, and but one to them, which makes them plainly go less than the rest. Fourthly, It is a lessening likewise to the other Ambassadors, who have visited him upon his first Notifications ; since he hath

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engaged them to make them a Visit in Form, and pretends for it to have returned them only a Visit *incognito*, wherein there is no Equality. Fifthly, The Mediators have already declared their Opinion both to him, and to the *French* Ambassadors: And if any thing be allowed them as Mediators, it will be certainly the Liberty of directing or adjudging such Points of Form as these are, whenever they think fit to declare their Opinion.

If these Arguments will not prevail with the Count *Kinski*, I think You may use one more of greater Weight (but as in Confidence to him); which is, That these kind of Paces, contrary to usual Form, will be interpreted as new and affected Delays; and that the Effect of them will be to drive the *Dutch* into separate Negotiations and Treaties; whereas his Majesty's Intentions aim wholly at a General Peace. But the *Dutch* seem resolved not to go on with the War, unless they can *mettre la France dans son tort*: And upon this he may be brought to advise with the *Dutch* Ambassadors; and they, on the t'other side, may be persuaded to employ their Offices to divert him from his present Resolution. In case all these prevail not, Your Lordship, I think, may plainly tell him, That You cannot make him a second Visit in Form upon his second Notification, without first receiving his Majesty's Orders, which thereupon, I suppose, You will attend, in Answer to the Letter that went by last Post.

In case Count *Kinski* be content the first Visits already made, should pass for those of Form, and thereupon will send his Notifications to the *French* and *Swedish* Ambassadors, I suppose, You may easily prevail with the *French* to receive them, and make their Visits upon them before Don *Pedro de Ronquillo* appears, in regard Count *Kinski* declareth, That he hath yet notified none but the Mediators; and that the Ground of his not doing the same to the *French* before, seemed only his Doubt, whether upon it they would visit him, or no.

This is all I can say upon this Subject, and should not have said any thing at this Distance, and to Your Lordship, who are so well able to judge Your self upon all these Emergencies; but that You are pleased to engage me to it by Your Letter: And I cannot make a Difficulty upon what You so earnestly desire of me, in this, or any other kind; being ever, with so much Esteem and Truth,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most Faithful

Humble Servant.

To the KING.

Hague, January 15. S. N. 1677.

May it please Your Majesty,

I Know no better Acknowledgments I can make Your Majesty for so great an Honour as I received last Night by a Letter from Your own Hand, than in the best Obedience I can yield to the Commands it brought me; especially that of giving Your Majesty, with all speed, an Account of what Conclusions the Prince should fall into upon the Subject of it. I have already had Two Audiences from his Highness upon this Occasion, and discoursed over the whole Thing with the best Advantage I could, to what Your Majesty proposes to Your self, and to the Prince, with so great Reason, in the Course of this Affair. I shall not trouble Your Majesty with the Particulars of these Conversations, but give You as short and as close as I can, his Highness's last Answer and Con-

Conclusion upon them ; which is this, and to which he told me he would refer himself in the Letter he intends this Night to Your Majesty.

His Highness says, That this being the first Time Your Majesty has pleased to tell him plainly the Conduct You would have him hold in the Course of this Affair ; he is resolved to let Your Majesty see how great Esteem he makes of this Confidence, by the most perfect Compliance with what Your Majesty proposes as the first Step to be made in it ; and by falling in with Your Majesty in the Concert of the rest, as far as he can possibly, whenever he shall know more of Your Mind : That their Ambassador shall receive Orders to give in a Memorial to Your Majesty in their Master's Name, desiring and pressing the Continuance and Enforcement of Your Majesty's Offices towards a General Peace ; and chiefly upon this Ground, That they apprehend the Loss of *Flanders* without it ; and that his Highness will so concert it here, that this shall be in such Terms as will reach Your Majesty's End, and shall be left for You to make what publick Use of it You think fit : That, because this cannot be prepared before the next Post, his Highness will this Night put into my Hands a Letter, signed by himself and the Pensioner, to Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, giving him Order to apply all his Discourses in common and particular Conversations, to the same End ; and even to receive Instructions from Your Majesty in what Manner and Terms, in what Places, and to what Person chiefly to apply them. That this Letter being not to be communicated so much as to the Commissioners of Secret Affairs here, shall be inclosed by me to Your Majesty's own Hands, to use as You please ; to give it privately Your self, or cause it to be delivered by any other Hand, and at such Time as You think fit : And his Highness questions not Monsieur *Van Beuninghen's* governing himself in this Affair intirely to Your Majesty's Satisfaction : That for the Ministers of their Allies, he cannot answer for them, because he knows very well, they have not a mind to the Peace, as his Highness and this State have. That it will be hard to make them say what they do not think of *Flanders* being lost without the Peace ; but that he knows Don *Emanuel de Lyra* to be so reasonable a Man, that his Highness hopes to bring him to Your Opinion, that this Conduct is fittest for their Ministers in *England*, and to prevail with him to write effectually to Don *Bernardo* upon it : And to this End the Prince told me, He would write to Don *Emanuel de Lyra*, that it would be absolutely necessary for him to come immediately hither ; and that at his Arrival, he would use his utmost Offices to dispose him to it.

In all these Paces, his Highness thinks he goes to the utmost Length Your Majesty can desire ; and, indeed, I could not think of any thing more to propose. But, after all, he said, He could not ingage to go farther in the Endeavours of effecting the Peace, till he knew upon what Terms Your Majesty intended it ; For, there are some that may be supported, and others that cannot ; and such as these they will venture *le tout pour le tout*, rather than agree to them. And therefore, it would be necessary to know Your Majesty's Mind as soon as was possible.

I told his Highness, I would represent this to Your Majesty ; but desired him to consider, That there might very well be Three Weeks or a Month's Time between Your Majesty's knowing His Mind first, and telling him Your own upon it ; or his Highness's knowing Your Majesty's first, and then telling You His upon it, and expecting afterwards a Return from Your Majesty. His Highness made a Pause at this and other Arguments I used towards prevailing with him to explain himself first ; especially that of my believing Your Majesty would be more pleased with it, and take it as a Piece of more Confidence from him. And having thought a while, he answered : That to shew Your Majesty how frankly he would deal with You, and with how much Confidence he desired to live in all that passed between You, he would not make a Difficulty of explaining himself first, though he might have Reasons to do it : That if Your Majesty had a mind to make a Peace, he thought You must do it upon the Foot of *Aix la Chapelle* ; which You would have the more Ground for, because You had both made and warranted it : That for Exchanges, he
thought

thought there should be no other proposed upon it, but only of *Aeth* and *Charleroy*, for *Aire* and *St. Omer* ; which Two last, he thought, imported a great deal more than the others ; unless *France* would declare, That they ended this War with the Prospect of beginning another, by which they may get the rest of *Flanders* : That this is all need pass between *France* and *Spain* ; and for what concerns the Emperor and this State ; That the Emperor having taken *Philipsburgh* from the *French*, should raze it ; and the *French* having taken *Mastricht* from this State, should raze that too. And so this whole War should pass, *comme un tourbillon qui avoit enfin cessé, apres avoir menacé beaucoup, & fait fort peu de remuements au monde.*

He said, For any other Interests that might be involved in this War, it would not be necessary now to say any thing of them : For if thus far were agreed on, the rest must follow one way or other : That the Emperor and *Spain* had proposed other Schemes to themselves by the War, and therefore desired the Continuance of it, and would fall hardly into this ; but if Your Majesty did, he would, for his part, do his utmost to effect it in Concert with You, he hoped with Them : And, however, desired to know, what You thought fit to be changed in this Scheme he had drawn of it.

I observed Two Things to his Highness upon it ; *First*, That by it the County of *Burgundy* would be restored to *Spain* ; with which Condition, Your Majesty was absolutely of Opinion, when I last attended You, that *France* would not hear of a Peace ; and, I thought, nothing had since pass'd in the War to make You believe it less. *Secondly*, That after so many Conquests made, and so many expected by *France* at this Time, it would be very hard to believe, they could be brought to restore such Acquisitions as they were possess'd of, so very considerable, and without any Equivalent. He answered to the First, That *Burgundy* could not be left in the *French* Hands, without Restitution of several other Towns in *Flanders* ; upon which so many Debates would arise, as must, of necessity, draw the Business into great Lengths, and leave all to the Decision of another Campaign. But if Your Majesty persisted in Your former Opinion upon that Matter, there was no way but finding out what was proposed by *France*, as the Equivalent of *Burgundy* upon the Treaty of *Aix*, and regulate it accordingly.

From the Second, he said, I had Reason, and he did not believe *France* would do it at this Time upon other Motives, than those of Your Majesty's Interposition. But if they would not consent to these Terms, or some others near them, that Your Majesty should think fit to propose, the War must go on, and God Almighty must decide it : That all the Allies, beside this State, desired nothing else ; and the *Spaniards* believed, if Don *John* came to the Head of their Affairs, as he might very well be by this Time, it would be a new World with them : And, the Truth was, That Crown had great Resources, how ill Use soever they made of them : That one good Town well defended, or one Battle well fought, would change the Business : That, for his own Part, he would give in, all that could be, with his Majesty, to bring about a General Peace, upon very moderate Terms : But, if *France* would make them insupportable, they would venture All rather than receive them : And if they hoped the ill Conduct or ill Fortunes of their Allies, would bring this State to make a separate Peace, let the Pensioner, or any else, tell me what they pleased, they should never do it whilst he was alive : And he would say one thing further to me, That he had it in his Power to hinder it. That if he died, he knew very well, it would be made next Day : But he did not trouble himself how the World was like to go when he was gone out of it ; and, perhaps, we were the Persons most concerned to look after that.

This was the End of his Highness's Discourse ; and the last part of it was spoke with a good deal of Emotion : With which he rose up ; and I promised to represent the whole to Your Majesty in the truest Lines and Colours I could possibly (as I have done here) ; and he told me, He would come to me before this Post went away, and put the Two Letters he promised into my Hands.

I most humbly beg Your Majesty's Pardon for a Trouble which should not have been so long, if it had not been necessary ; and that You will please to accept that true and hearty Devotion wherewith I am, and shall be ever,

S I R,

Your Majesty's, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, January 15. S. N. 1677.

S I R,

LAST Night I received the Honour of Yours of the 29th past, with Two from his Majesty, one to the States, and the other to me : The Acknowledgment whereof by this inclosed, I humbly desire You will please to present to his Majesty's own Hands, with the first Opportunity. For that to the States concerning the Three *Scotchmen*, I intend to deliver it to Morrow, and have deferred till then the Conference I intended this Day upon it. The Pensioner is of a sudden restored, in a great measure, to his Health by this Thaw, and assured me to Day, that he will be to morrow at the States, when his Majesty's Letter shall be delivered ; and at the Conference I will, at the same Time, demand for the Afternoon. The Business is very hard to make him comprehend in point of Justice upon the Treaty, and will be hard to digest by the Province of *Holland*, in point of Interest ; being one of the great Things which has peopled, and thereby raised, this Country : I mean, The Esteem in which it has pass'd, of being a Refuge to Men miserable at Home, or persecuted by their own Governments. But I will charge my self not to stir from hence, without an Answer to his Majesty upon this Matter, and will not yet despair of such a one as he desires.

The great News here, but which is yet in few Hands, is, what the last *Spanish* Courier met (they say) upon the Way, That Don *John*, at the Head of most of the great Nobility of *Spain*, was upon his Way to *Madrid*, to desire both the Queen and the Marquis de *Valanzuela*, to retire from Court, and, consequently, to take Possession of the absolute Ministry there. Some say, the King himself is in it : Others speak as if the Marquis were so too : But, I find, Don *Emanuel de Lyra* believes the Thing, and that it will be decided in Four and twenty Hours, and one way or other give an Establishment to their Affairs.

Mr. *Hyde* came hither Yesterday from *Rotterdam*, not knowing any thing of the Orders given by his Majesty for his stay at *Nimeguen*. I shewed him a Copy You had pleased to send me of Your Letter to the Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, wherein was that Paragraph concerned him. He seemed much surprized with it, and perplexed what to resolve, having not met it till he had over-shot the Place where it was intended he should receive it. He parted this Morning again for *Rotterdam*, to meet all the Letters he expected there, but will return hither to morrow ; though I know not whether with Resolutions of staying here, or returning to *Nimeguen*, till his Commission and farther Orders come : But of this I presume You will have a farther Account from himself.

I humbly thank You for the Duplicate of Your last to *Nimeguen* ; I can pretend to no Share in the Approbation You please to give us ; but I am sure must have a great deal in any Faults we made while I was there ; and can only say, That I am ever very glad to hear of them, and shall be more so to mend them. For the Offer of our Form of Powers in *French*, it was only a first Draught, and offered but for the Parties Approbation or Amendments ; and being done at the Desires of the *French* and *Dutch*, it was done in the Language

guage they both use in their Powers : But when we shewed it the *Swedes*, we told them, If it were approved, we intended to offer it in *Latin*.

For the Offer of his Majesty's contenting himself without mention of the Mediation, we were very far from making any ; and the farthest we went, was to say, when all the Parties desired us to leave it out, We would give them our Answer upon it. For the Insinuation, That his Majesty would not stand upon that Circumstance, if all the Parties desired it ; we were moved to it by the Discourses we heard of among some of the Ministers, That the Difficulties then on foot in the Treaty, were raised by the Mediators more than the Parties : But yet, what was said, was not till after both *Swedes* and *Danes* had told us, They would never desire that Omission from us. If after this, they still were Faults, I humbly beg his Majesty's Pardon for my Share of them, and desire Your Belief of my being always,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To the KING.

Hague, January 19. S. N. 1677.

May it please Your Majesty,

I Was forced to give Your Majesty so large a Trouble by the last Ordinary, that I should not have the Confidence to renew it so soon, but that I think it becomes me to let Your Majesty know, That upon the Closure of my last, the Prince came to me, and shewed me the Letter he had writ to Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, asking me, Whether it would reach what Your Majesty desired. I told his Highness, what, indeed, I thought, That it was as full as could be wished, towards the governing of his private Conversation ; but that Your Majesty expected something that might be open too and above-board ; which, I thought, could not be otherwise done than by a Memorial from the Ambassador to Your Majesty in his Master's Name. The Prince said, That though the Allies would take it ill, yet it should be done ; and Orders should be sent him to that purpose by the next. After this the Prince told me, He had writ to Your Majesty, but not troubled You with the Detail of what had pass'd between us, having referred Your Majesty wholly to me in that Point ; and therefore he desired to see my Letter ; which he read, and said, It was not only what he said and meant, but all he could say, till he knew more of Your Majesty's Mind. In the mean Time, That he looked upon this as the first Pace of Confidence between Your Majesty and him : That he hoped it would go on from this Time, and prove fortunate to You both. He said, He should go to *Soesdyke* the latter end of this Week, and spend most of this Season between that and *Dieren* ; at either of which Places he should be in my Reach to *Nimeguen*, upon any thing that should come to me from Your Majesty, and be necessary for him to know, and to take his Measures upon with me. I believe one Reason more is, That our Commerce there may pass with less Noise than this here has done ; which has given his Allies so great Alarms of my being here, to negotiate a separate Treaty with his Highness, that he would be glad to be out of the way, and avoid their Expostulations upon a Matter wherein, tho' he does them no Wrong, yet he makes them not of his Confidence, as he has hitherto done ; and is so hardned against those Delicacies he used to have in that Point, that upon the Emperor's Minister entring very deep with him Yesterday upon the Occasion of my being here, he contented himself only to tell him, That he had yet heard nothing of a separate Peace ; but such a Conduct as that of the Emperor's had been these Two last Years,

Years, might put this State upon desperate Councils: And if *Flanders* must be lost, it was but what the Emperor seemed to intend; and that if he the Resident pleased, he might write to *Vienna* what Answer he the Prince had made him.

I will add only, That as I doubt not Your Majesty will have what Helps his Highness can give You on this side, towards effecting the Peace; so I cannot imagine You should meet with any Hindrances at Home, after these Instructions sent to Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*; and after those Two Letters I writ since my coming hither, to the Two Secretaries of State, upon the Appearances of a separate Peace; which, I am confident, were enough to convince all Men, That Your Majesty cannot endeavour any thing at this Time of more Safety to Your own Kingdoms, as well as Glory Abroad, than the sudden Conclusion of a General one. I shall end this Trouble with the sincere Professions of that humble and hearty Devotion wherewith I am, and shall ever be,

S I R,

Your Majesty's, &c.

To the KING.

Hague, January 22. S. N. 1677.

May it please Your Majesty,

THE Prince desired me this Morning to beg Your Majesty's Excuse for those Orders I mentioned to Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, being not yet gone; for putting in such a Memorial to Your Majesty, as might reach the End You desired. The Delay has been occasioned by Returns of the Pensioner's Illness, and the extraordinary Sessions of the States of *Holland*; but his Highness assures me, it will not fail of going by next Post. He desired me at the same time, to tell Your Majesty, That he has had Reason given him to believe, *France* will be content to give *Charleroy*, *Aeth*, *Oudenarde*, and *Courtray*, for *Aire* and *St. Omer*; so that he has been an ill Negotiator in what he last proposed; but hopes Your Majesty is so much a Friend to the Preservation of *Flanders*, as to manage it to the best Advantage. I promised his Highness to say what he desired me to Your Majesty, and in this manner to Your own Hand, as he particularly desired it might be. But I must observe one Thing I gathered from the Pensioner upon this Subject, which his Highness did not mention: Among many Overtures he has entertained me with from *France*, both general and particular to this State; he told me in a Visit to Day, That *France* would be willing to give those Four Towns for Two, in case *Sweden* might be restored to all they had lost. I asked him what was to become of *Burgundy*? and he said, To return to *Spain*, since the Proposition was the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, with only that Exchange; and that he had it from a good Hand. I told both him, and afterwards the Prince, That I doubted it upon that Point of *Burgundy*. The Prince is of Opinion, That if *France* be obstinate in not restoring *Burgundy*, some Temper might be found in leaving it Neutral by Agreement. The Prince goes to morrow to *Soesdyke*, and I shall return, God willing, to *Nimeguen* the Day after; his Highness having concerted upon any necessary Communications from Your Majesty, that I shall make a step thither or to *Dieren*, which will be done without much Noise for a Night or two. I have been forced, in my own Justification, to give Mr. Secretary *Williamson* this Night an Account of some Discourses of Monsieur *Colbert*, which I should not otherwise have mentioned. I hope Your Majesty will think fit such Matters be private as they were intended; since, at one Time or other, You may make use of that Disposition in him

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and others to enter a little further into Confidences with me than with other Ministers.

I am and shall be ever, with perfect Devotion and Truth,

S I R,

Your Majesty's, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, January 22. S. N. 1677.

S I R,

THE unusual Length of my Conference with the States Deputies last *Thursday*, left me no Time to give You an Account of it that Post : And a Visit I received to Day from the Pensioner hath left me no Occasion to trouble You with the Particulars of so long and warm Arguments as passed on both sides upon it. I will only say, That the Business of the Three *Scotch* Ministers hath been the hardest Piece of Negotiation that I ever yet entred upon here, both from the particular Interests of the Towns and Province of *Holland*, and the general Esteem they have, of *Mackaird* being a very quiet and pious Man ; but chiefly, from the firm Persuasion they have, of not being obliged to it by any bare Letter of his Majesty, without any Sentence having pass'd against them, by which they are adjudged Rebels or Fugitives : And, on the contrary, after a Sentence of Banishment against *Mackaird* and *Brown*, which, they say, is by all Writers esteemed wholly to extinguish their Subjection, and, consequently, his Majesty's Right of declaring them Rebels after they are banish'd, and become Subjects to another State. And they say, His Majesty would have no Reason to take notice of any Letter from the States declaring any Man a Rebel, without a Copy of the Sentence pronounced against him to that purpose ; the Reciprocal whereof they expected likewise from his Majesty, upon these Occasions. But I found the King's Honour so far engaged in this Matter, by Three several Letters which must have been publick, that I have left no sort of Arguments unessayed with the Prince, the Pensioner, and Deputies both of the Provinces and Towns, to procure his Majesty's Satisfaction, and make it pass for a Thing so necessary to dispatch, that it hath taken up Two long Debates in the States of *Holland* these Two Days past, though their meeting was intended but for Five Days, and for no other Business but the Levies of Monies necessary for the Campaign ; yet this Morning the Pensioner came to give me Hopes, that it might be effected this very Day ; and, at least, the Assurance, that he would use his utmost Endeavours in it ; and that the Dispatch should be made by a Letter from the States to his Majesty, which should be put into my Hands to go by this very Ordinary ; so that I will reckon upon it as a Thing done, unless I see my self forced to close this Pacquet without it. I inclose the States Resolution about the Ship *Thomas* and *John*, recommended by his Majesty's Letter, with the Assurance of the like Dealing on his Majesty's Side, in the like Cases. For the Merchant-Adventurers of *Dort*, not only the Pensioner, but all the Deputies, have renewed the former Assurances given me of its receiving a final Answer, next Ordinary Session of the States of *Holland*, which is to be in *February*. And for the Ships taken upon Pretence of Trading from Enemy's to Enemy's Port, the States have, upon my Instances, written a second Letter to the Admiralty of *Zealand*, to require their speedy Answer ; upon which the Deputies promised their Endeavours to see Justice done in that Matter.

The

The Prince goeth early to Morrow Morning to *Soesdyke*, where he intends to pass as much of this Season as the Affairs here will give him Leave : And in case I receive the Satisfaction and Letter for his Majesty, I expect this Night, upon the Affair of the three *Scotchmen*, I shall begin my Journey towards *Nimeguen*, either to Morrow Morning, or the Day after ; finding nothing more that requires my Presence here, and being much pressed to my Return. In the mean Time, having newly received Yours of the 5th, I find a Paragraph in it, which I think it will be necessary to answer by this Dispatch, though I have not my Letters here, to which I might have some Occasion to refer.

You are pleased to say upon the Subject of a separate Peace, That his Majesty puts much Weight upon what I said in mine of the 5th, of Monsieur *Colbert's* many and particular Discourses to me, as well as the *Mareschal d'Estrades*, of their Desires to enter into this Matter of separate Negotiations and Measures with the Prince and this State ; which are the Words of my Letter : And that You being called upon in the Point, could not find any Thing mentioned till now ; or, at least, not so as that I had found Cause to make that important Judgment I seemed, in mine of the 5th, to have made upon it ; which was, That I suppose there could occur no Difficulty on that Side, whenever it grows full ripe on the Part of *Holland*.

I will confess in the first Place, That if I never had met with the least Motive for this Supposition from any Discourses of the *French* Ambassadors, yet I should have been of the same Opinion ; and never yet met with any Man that doubted it ; since the Consequences of a separate Peace between *France* and *Holland* must be the Loss of *Flanders*, and the Dependance of this State upon *France* ; which are too great Interests ever to be neglected by so wise a Crown. But I shall now tell You what farther Reasons I had to believe it, from the Discourses I mentioned of the *French* Ambassadors, since You are pleased to put me upon it ; and that which might before have passed for Vanity to trouble You with, is now grown necessary for my own Justification in what I writ to You upon this Subject.

You may please to remember what I writ to You upon my first particular Visits with those two Ambassadors, after my Arrival at *Nimeguen* ; the Overtures, and, indeed, Instances they made me apart, of entring into particular Intelligences and Negotiations with me, separately from my Colleagues ; and in Order to close any particular Measures that might be entered into between them and the Prince of *Orange*, by my Intervention. You acknowledged my private Letter to You upon that Subject ; and said, You had shewed it his Majesty, but gave me no Sort of Reflection upon it, either from his Majesty or Your self, by which I might know whether it was fit for me, or no, to entertain or encourage any such Commerce, distinct from my Colleagues : And thereupon I took up the Resolution to avoid it, and to continue the Answers I had first made upon such Overtures, of my having nothing at all, distinct from my Colleagues, either in his Majesty's Instructions, or (as they called it) his *Secret* ; or any Thing that would bear me out in any separate Negotiations with the Prince ; or any other Steps than those of a General Mediator. Notwithstanding all this, Monsieur *Colbert* continued very particular Applications to me of this Kind, but with Instances much more pressing, about the Time of the Prince's Return from the Campaign ; and especially in Two very long and designed Conversations, which he grounded upon Letters he had received to that Purpose from the King his Master. His Discourses began with his most Christian Majesty's Esteem of my being able to contribute more than any Man to the Peace ; since it depended wholly upon the Prince of *Orange*, and I had more Acquaintance, and (as he would have it) Interest with his Highness, than any other Minister. That nothing could be done of so much Service to the Prince, as inducing him to enter into particular Negotiations with the King his Master. That if they Two could agree, the rest of the Parties must fall into the Measures they would take : The Kindness the most Christian King ever had for the Prince's Family, and Esteem

for his Person: The easiness he would shew in all that concerned particularly the Interests of his Highness and this State. And thereupon he pressed me, by all possible Arguments, to undertake the bringing about this Intelligence between his Master and the Prince. When I excused my self, upon our Instructions being common to us all Three, and impowering us only to Offices of a general Mediation: He told me, Nothing else could make a general Peace; and that it had never been made at *Munster*, but for the Duke of *Bavaria's* acting in the whole Matter, by Concert with *France*, under-hand; by which he received all the Advantages he could propose to himself: And the Prince of *Orange* ought to play the same Game in this present Treaty, and would certainly meet with the same Success. Nor was it once, or twice, or thrice only, that I have been entertained with these Discourses; nor from themselves alone, but from some of my Friends too upon their Suggestions; which was enough to give me such a Supposition as You mention, that there could be no Difficulty on that Side, if the Thing should once grow to be ripe on this. However, I suffered them to pass as Matters only of particular Conversation, and not worth troubling You with; since it was like to have no Effect, by my excusing my self always from entering into any such Intelligences, without his Majesty's express Command; and by my finding no Appearances of the Prince of *Orange* giving into any such Measures, though other Ways have been made use of to give him the Impressions, by a continual Correspondence which Monsieur *d' Estrades* holds with Persons here to that Purpose. And I suppose You have Reason to think I was not deceived; both by what I told You the Prince said to me upon the Subject of a separate Peace, the Day after that long Discourse upon it with the Pensioner; and likewise by what his Highness said to me since, That it should never be while he lived; and that it was in his Power to hinder it; which I then gave his Majesty an Account of. And yet I am of Opinion, That if, beyond all Expectation, the last Remises of Money had not come from *Spain*; and that the *Mediterranean* as well as *Baltick* Fleets had come to be paid off, before any Money had been paid by *Spain*, to the Admiralties here, the Prince would have found Difficulties to carry on the War, without endangering a Mutiny at *Amsterdam*. On the other Side, I am very well persuaded to have given You, in mine of the 5th, the true Scheme of what will be the Procedure of this State in the Treaty at *Nimeguen*: Which is, To enter into Matter as soon as they can, to adjust the Points that are particular between *France* and them; and after the Proposal of Satisfaction to their Allies, to leave the Management of that Head to the Allies themselves; and so appear, as to their own Part, to be *hors d' Affairs*, and thereby lie ready to take such Measures as Time and Conjunctions shall suggest to them. But, as the Prince's Firmness seems to secure this Point while he lives; at least, if he be right in the Calculation of his own Power: So, I am of his Highness's Opinion, That nothing can prevent it, if any Thing should happen to his Person. And that, on the other Side, by all the Dispositions I discover here, both in the Prince and States, his Majesty hath never yet found a more favourable Conjunction towards the effecting what he hath so long desired, and employ'd so much of his Care in, as the happy Mediation of a general Peace; wherein I shall endeavour, at my Return to *Nimeguen*, to pursue his Majesty's Intentions, both upon our first Instructions, and those we continually receive from Your Hands, by his Majesty's Command.

I am ever,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To

To my Lord Treasurer.

Arnheim, January 25. S. N. 1677.

My Lord,

I Had only Leisure, in my last, to acknowledge the Honour of Two I had then received from Your Lordship, but shall now answer the Particulars of them ; and give You as much Light, and as little Trouble by it, as I can. The Offer his Majesty made the Prince, concerning an Alliance after the Peace, was received by his Highness with all the Satisfaction that could be ; and he said, immediately, upon it, That he would send it to the Pensioner, to be communicated to some of the States, who, he was sure, would be as glad of it as he ; and would take it as a Sign of his Majesty's concerning himself not only in his Highness, but in the Safety of this Country : And that, for the Condition his Majesty requir'd, of no Alliances in prejudice of it ; he supposed his Majesty did not mean those they were already engaged in, and, he was sure, they would enter into no new ones, but in Concert with his Majesty ; in case he would bring them out of this War : Upon which he desired me to acquaint him with his Majesty's Thoughts. Thus far I had Reason to believe, the Advance made by his Majesty would not fail of having all the Effects, Your Lordship tells me, You then proposed to Your selves : But when I acquainted his Highness with the Substance of Mr. Secretary *Williamson's* Letter, after casting up, distinctly, what it amounted to, he said, He would die rather than make such a Peace : And afterwards, That he would rather charge a Thousand Men with a Hundred, though he were sure to die in the Action ; and several such desperate Things as these. Afterwards he talked a great deal in colder Blood ; how lost he should be in Honour, to his Allies, and to all the World, by such a Peace as this ; and that the pressing them to it, would have the same Effect as if he absolutely broke from them by a separate Peace. I told him, That whilst he consider'd his own Honour on one Side, his Majesty must consider his on the other, if he should now make such Propositions to *France* as his Highness desired ; after having been their Ally in the War, and being now a Mediator. The Prince answered me, That when I spoke of his Majesty's Honour, I could mean it only in the Esteem of *France* ; for he believed every Body else would think it more Honour in the King to make a reasonable Peace, than to suffer *Flanders* to be lost : And thereupon he fell into a great deal of Discourse, what the Effects of that would be ; and whenever it was, that this State must of Necessity fall into an absolute Dependance upon *France*, and could never think of defending it self by any Alliance with *England*. That this Country was not made to be the Stage of a long War, by being wholly a Place of Trade, which would all die when the Country came into that Condition. And that, besides, being of small Extent, the taking of one or two Towns by *France*, would bring them into the Heart of all their Provinces. I told his Highness, All that was true ; but yet I knew him so well, as to believe he would venture it, rather than see this State grow a Province to *France*, as must follow that which he call'd falling into a Dependance upon them ; and that I knew he was not made to serve. He said, Perhaps, I was in the right ; and yet, he believed, he should do some desperate Thing or other, rather than come to it ; but that would do us no good ; and either with him, or without him, the Thing must come to that Issue, if *Flanders* were once lost. I told him, I believed the King was as unwilling to see that, as his Highness ; but asked, How his Majesty could propose such a Peace to *France* as he desired, after such a War, as the Allies had made for these two last Campaigns, and with such Appearances as were of the next, even in his own Opinion, and by the Pensioner's Discourses to me upon that Subject ? The Prince said, very plainly, That I had Reason ; and that they could not hope for such from *France*, as

Things

Things now stood, unless either his Majesty's Kindness to him, or the Interest of his own Kingdom, would put him upon letting *France* know, that he desired it; and he was sure, if that were done, they would come to easier Terms than he (the Prince) had already proposed. If the King would not make the Peace, he knew no Remedy, but must try how the Emperor would make the War; and if he would do it as the State had proposed to him, and as they had it in their Hands at *Vienna*, to do if they pleased; he might yet hope for a Peace that Way, since he could not do it this: That, for his own Part, he must go on, since he was in; *Et quand on est à la grande messe on y est*; meaning, I suppose, one must stay till it was done, for there was no getting out.

I asked him, What I should say about his Majesty's Offer of Alliance? He said, He could make no Answer, till he had spoken with the Pensioner and the Commissioners of Secret Affairs; but he would say something of it in his Letter to the King: But that was not the Business now; it would be very well if the War were ended; and should leave this State in a Condition to be defended: But they had now a Disease upon them that they were dying of, and we told them what they should do when they were recovered. Thus he ended the Discourse; and, to say Truth, the most unsatisfied that ever I saw him in my Life. And I have given Your Lordship all the Particulars of this Conversation, which I had omitted in the Account I gave Mr. Secretary *Williamson*; contenting my self to give him the Gross of it; being by his Example induced to write a good deal in Cypher, when I had none with me that I thought fit to use in a Business of this moment: And my own Eyes will not go through with it: And therefore I am apt to trust to a Conveyance, which, in near Six Years Ambassy in this Country, never yet failed me once.

Your Lordship does me too great Honour in desiring my Opinion concerning the Terms of a Peace, as they now have passed between his Majesty and the Prince, wherein I cannot presume to mix any Sense of my own. The Prince told me absolutely, He had gone as low as he could, in his first Scheme I sent from the *Hague*: And by what his Majesty was pleased to discourse to me, with great Freedom, when I was last in *England*, I am not apt to believe he will go much farther, than what he has already signified by Mr. Secretary *Williamson's* Letter: So that I do not see any Appearance of their falling into a Concert upon this Matter; which I am sorry for, upon particular Reasons between his Majesty and the Prince, and upon general ones of the War, and Consequences of it. For I am apt to believe *Flanders* in danger of being lost this Summer, or in such a Way to it, as not afterwards to be saved: And I doubt the Prince and Pensioner tell us the Truth of this State falling into an absolute Dependance upon *France* whenever that happens. Because I remember Monsieur *de Witt* told me the same thing very often, after our Alliances with this State for the Defence of it in 1668. And I know about Three Months before those were made, when the *Dutch* despaired of our entering into the Defence of *Flanders* after the Peace of *Breda*, they had so perfectly agreed the Terms between them of dividing *Flanders*, that it was hindred only by the single Dissent of the Province of *Utrecht*. And the Pensioner, in his Discourses at the *Hague*, put me in mind of it, by saying, amongst other Things they could have by a separate Peace, That I could not tell whether they might not have *Antwerp* and *Ostende*, which, I remember, were part of the Conditions in Monsieur *de Witt's* Scheme. Upon the whole, considering how both his Majesty and the Prince stand tied in different Points of Honour upon this Matter, I know nothing like to save all, unless upon this Resolution in *Spain*, that Court should be content to break their Marriage with the Emperor's Daughter, and endeavour it with Mademoiselle the Duke of *Orleans's* Daughter; and *France*, in Consideration of that Marriage, should be content to part with some Towns in *Flanders*, more than they would do upon a Peace without a Match; since this Way it would be done, at least, with Honour. I know not whether, in such an Affair, his Majesty might not use both his last Offices in *France*, and a personal Interest that he has (as I take it) in Don *John*.

This,

This, for ought I see, can be the only Expedient between the Two great Difficulties in the Peace; which are, That the Affairs of *Spain* are so ill in *Flanders*, that the Allies cannot think fit to make a Peace upon the present Foot, or anything near it: And, on the other side, those of *France* are in so good, that it cannot be expected they should easily be prevailed with to restore much by a Peace, when they are in so fair Appearances of gaining still more by a War, at least, in *Flanders* and *Sicily*.

If ever a Peace should be made, and leave *Flanders* in a Condition of being defended, and the Prince alive, I do not think there can be any Difficulty in taking those Measures with this State, which his Majesty has offered, and in the manner he shall desire. As for that Circumstance Your Lordship mentions for me to endeavour the obtaining, especially having been offered before on this side, I take it to be a Thing that must be established upon private and particular Confidence between the King and the Prince, and not by any publick or private Treaties, considering the Constitutions of this Government. And this, I remember, to have said to his Majesty upon it, and he was pleased to be of the same Mind.

Your Lordship will find in both our common Letters of last Post and this, of an Embarrass fallen out between us and the Count *Kinski*, about the Communication of his Powers to the *French*, before that of the *French* to him. We have made the best Excuses we could; but to the Thing it self, the Truth is, it will not bear it; though he may, on t'other side, be too rigid in the Offence he takes, and Satisfaction he expects. But there was a Fault made, and it neither was the first, nor will be the last; and it was Forty to One a greater had not been made next Day; and such, as I believe, would have broken all Commerce between Us and some of the Ambassadors here.

I am,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Arnheim, January 28. S. N. 1677.

S I R,

MY last was of the 22d from the *Hague*; the next Day, being *Saturday*, I visited the Pensioner, upon my Resolution of going out of Town so soon as my Letters then due should arrive, the Prince being gone to *Soesdyke* that Morning. I told the Pensioner the Orders his Majesty had given us at *Nimeguen*, to take off, upon Occasion, the Impression made there among the Allies of his Majesty's favouring a separate Peace; and asked him, Whether he thought it of Service to the Prince, for me to say something of the same kind at the *Hague*, before I left it; the Jealousie having been as great among the Ministers there, as at *Nimeguen*? He told me, It was not worth my while, and that he was content they should believe it, since it was in their Allies to help it, or not, as they pleased: That he had the Day before told the Emperor's Minister, in plain Terms, That if the Conduct at *Vienna* continues what it had hitherto been; nay, if it did not fall absolutely into the Measures the State insisted on, by the 13th of next Month; this State would be forced to make a separate Peace, and he was content the Emperor should know it. I told him, It might be a fit Language to hold to the Emperor's Minister; but that I knew the Prince too well to believe it: That he had told me, It should be never while he lived; and that he had it in his Power to hinder it. The Pensioner

Penfioner reply'd, That he ſhould come to it with as much Regret as the Prince himſelf ; but that his Highneſs might be forced to it by the ill Conduſt of his Allies ; and if not by that, by Mutinies of the People here upon ill Succeſſes of this next Campaign : That this late Revolution in *Spain* had ſhewed what could be brought about by the violent Humour of a People ; and that his Highneſs knew this Country too well, to go too far againſt it : That, in ſhort, it would depend upon the Emperor and *Spain* ; for if they took right and vigorous Meaſures, they might yet hope for a good Campaign ; if they followed ſuch as they had hitherto uſed, this State would be forced to a ſeparate Peace, unleſs a general one could be made before the Action of this Year began. This is all I remember material in his Diſcourſes ; beſides valuing what he had carry'd for his Majeſty's Satisfaction both in the States of *Holland*, and States General, ſo much againſt the Humour of both, in the Buſineſs of the *Scotch* Miniſters, for whoſe Departures, within the limited Time, he ſaid, Orders had been already given.

On *Sunday* Morning I received Yours of *January* 9th, with the incloſed Pacquet from his Majeſty ; upon which I immediately began my Journey towards *Soeſdyke*, where I arrived on *Monday* Afternoon ; but met there only a Letter from the Prince, inviting me to come down to *Dieren* ; his Highneſs having gone out that Morning a Hunting, with Intention to lie there that Night. On *Tueſday* Night I came to *Arnheim*, and Yeſterday Morning went to *Dieren*, where I found the Prince, and delivered both his Majeſty's Letters. Upon reading the firſt, he ſeemed extremely pleaſed, and ſaid, It was all the Affurance that could be given, and that he would ſend it that Afternoon to the Penſioner, to be communicated to the Committee of Secret Affairs, to whom, he was confident, it would be the welcomeſt Thing that could be ; and yet he would give them notice of the Secrecy required in it. I told his Highneſs, I hoped he obſerved the Condition ſpecified, of making no Alliances in prejudice of this : He answered, That his Majeſty could not mean thoſe they had already ; and for any new ones, he would undertake it, while his Majeſty continued in this Mind. After this he read the ſecond Letter, and ſaid, It was only of Credence to me in what I ſhould ſay of his Majeſty's Mind about the Conditions of the Peace. I diſcourſed the whole over in the ſame Manner and Order, and, as near as I could, in the ſame Terms wherein I was inſtruded ; valuing the whole as ſuch a Scheme his Majeſty thought poſſible to be obtained of *France*, rather than ſuch as he thought to be wiſhed, if the Matter were whole, and the Affairs of the Allies in a better Poſture. I obſerved the Prince of *Orange* change Countenance when I named *Cambray*, yet he heard me go through the whole Scheme : And when he had done, he ſaid, That Dinner ſtaid, and that he would talk of it after he had dined : So we went up, but as he was near the Door, he turned and ſaid, Though we ſhould talk more of it after Dinner, yet he could ſay, in few Words, all that was to be ſaid to it ; which was, That he muſt rather die than make ſuch a Peace.

After Dinner we fell again into the Diſcourſe. He asked me diſtinctly the Particulars, and caſt them up ſeveral Ways what they would amount to, both as to the preſent State of Things, and that upon which the War begun : As, That *Spain* muſt by it part with *Burgundy*, *Cambray*, *Aire*, and *St. Omer*, inſtead of the Five Towns mentioned by his Majeſty. He ſaid, I had ſpoiled his Dinner ; that he had been thinking it over while he ſhould have eat ; but, upon the whole, was of the ſame Opinion he told me at firſt upon it ; and that all muſt be ventured ſince he was in, and there was no other Way out. I told him, I ſuppoſed he would give his Majeſty his own Thoughts upon it ; but hoped, he would think it over a little more, and in all its Circumſtances, before he did it : He replied, That he would write that very Night to the King, and ſend me his Letter next Morning, ſo as it might go by this Poſt : But that to ſave his Majeſty Trouble, he would refer him to me for Particulars, and only touch ſome Points in general. He then deſired me to let his Majeſty know, That he had been very plain in what he had told me, upon this Matter of his own Thoughts, when he writ laſt to the King : That he had
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gone as low as he thought he could, with any regard to his Allies, or the Safety of this Country: That he doubted whether *Spain* would ever have been brought to it; but if his Majesty would have fallen in, he would have used his utmost Endeavours: But for this, he was certain they would not, though they were sure to lose all *Flanders* by the War; and that he would never propose it to them: That if *Holland* should make the Peace upon these Conditions, it would be the same Thing as to make it separate, and would have the same Effects, by losing wholly their Allies, and thereby casting their Dependance absolutely upon *France*: For if *Spain* were left in this State, *Flanders* could be defended neither by *Holland*, nor by *England* it self, whenever *France* should think fit to invade it: That if *Flanders* were once lost, *Holland* could not possibly be defended by *England* against *France*; and they would be forced to take their Measures with them, rather than be made the Stage of the War: That hereby, what his Majesty was pleased to offer in his first Letter, would come to have no Effect: And that it depended upon the Issue of the War, whether *Holland* would be left capable of being defended, or deserving the Honour of such an Alliance with his Majesty. He concluded, That what he said at first, was all that could be said from hence; That if his Majesty proceeded farther in this Matter, it must be with *France*: And thereupon repeated what he had said several times before, That if his Majesty, either upon Kindness to Him (the Prince) or Consideration of what his own Crowns might be concerned in this Affair, would help him out of this War by a general Peace, upon any reasonable Terms, there were no Measures his Majesty should desire, which he would not fall into with all the Readiness and Satisfaction that could be: If his Majesty would not concern himself so far in it, he must leave it to God Almighty to decide it as he pleased. I desired the Prince to think again, before he writ to his Majesty; but he said, He would certainly write to Night; and that all he could think of any Business, was thought in an Hour's Time; and therefore he desired me to write this as his Answer: Which, that I might not mistake, I repeated over as I apprehended it; and his Highness said, It was right; and I have kept close to it in what I have written: Which is all I shall, or, indeed, can trouble You with upon this Subject. And, I think, his Majesty has before him, from my several Dispatches since I left *Nimeguen*, the perfect and clear State of all Matters and Dispositions as they play here, which yet may alter by the Accidents that the Spring or Summer shall bring forth; but, I believe, not till then. Upon the Closure of this, I intend for *Nimeguen*, and there fall into the Footsteps I left; and hope to recover my Health, which has suffered a good deal by this Journey, and which I shall always reserve for the Occasions of his Majesty's Service.

I am ever,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To the Prince of ORANGE.

Nimeguen, February 6. S. N. 1677.

May it please Your Highness,

I Received a Letter from Mr. Secretary *Williamson* by his Majesty's Command, in Answer to the Account I gave him of Your Highness's Discourses to me at *Dieren*, upon the Subject of his Majesty's last Letter to Your Highness.

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I find the King apprehends by the Way and Manner of Your Highness's Answer (in return to what I discoursed to You there, as his Majesty's Thoughts in Confidence between You, about the Conditions of a Peace) that what his Majesty had offered upon that Subject, had not been rightly understood by Your Highness, or by me: Because, First, The Thing is not meant to be any Proposition that the King would make (which his Majesty thinks is not in his Part, nor has he any Authority to do it) but merely a Confidence between Him and Your Highness, in return of what You were pleased to ask of his Majesty, by Your Letter of the 15th past; upon which the King gave his Thoughts, framed and applied particularly to what Your Highness had represented of Yours, as to the main Conditions of a Peace.

Next, His Majesty observes, That the Change of *Cambray* was not a direct Part of the principal Scheme there offered; but is added, in the second place, as, what his Majesty proposes, were to be wished, in his Opinion, for the making, as it were, a double Frontier to *Brussels*, if it could be obtained from *France*. And farther, his Majesty observes, There were Six Towns proposed to be restored to *Spain* upon that Exchange; so as his Majesty is of Opinion, that what he has proposed, if it could be got, would be better for *Flanders* (which is the great Thing the King thinks he ought to have in his Care) than what even Your Highness proposes. And therefore his Majesty desires You would think a little farther of the Thing, and not let it fall so very flat as You seemed to do by Your last Answer, without trying what it can be beaten out to: For Things of this kind cannot be expected to have their Perfection upon the first Essay; but must be wrought upon with Patience and Temper. And so his Majesty desires Your Highness will do in this, and let him know Your farther Mind upon it; which his Majesty desires in the Point, for the great Care he is in, to have this Matter of *Flanders* secured before it be too late.

But if, after all, Your Highness still continues of Your own Mind, and that You so desire it, his Majesty will very readily hand forward, in the best manner he can, this or any other Scheme Your Highness shall think fit to have him hand towards *France*, and give Your Highness the best Account he can of the Success it hath. But his Majesty cannot but think strange, the Thing having been taken up in Confidence between Him and Your Highness, and so resolved to be handled between You, should thus be wholly let fall by Your Highness.

This being what I have Order to write to Your Highness upon this Subject, from his Majesty, I shall not presume to encrease Your Trouble any farther, than by the Professions of that Passion and Truth, wherewith I am ever,

Your Highness's most

Faithful and most

Obedient Servant.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Soesdyke, February 26. S. N. 1677.

S I R,

ON Friday last I received a Letter by an Express from the Prince, by which he desired me to meet him at this Place on Sunday, as I accordingly did; and had last Night a long Conversation with his Highness upon the Subject of my Letter to him; which, as You will have observed by the Copy I sent You, was a perfect Extract of what You were pleased to write to me by his Majesty's Command of the 30th past. I repeated to him again his Majesty's Ap-
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prehension of his Highness having mistaken the Thing as it was offered by his Majesty ; in regard that of *Cambray* was not made a direct Part of the principal Scheme ; but added only as the King's Opinion, for making a sort of a double Frontier to *Brussels*, if it could be obtained from *France* : And also, That by this Scheme there would be Six Towns restored to *Spain* ; whereas his Highness had reckoned there would be but Five.

The Prince replied, He understood there would be but Five of those that were given to *France* by the Peace of *Aix* ; and that You had given *un autre tour à cette affaire, mais que cela ne change pas la chose*. But, that the Difference was plain between his Majesty's Thoughts and His : For his Majesty intended they should treat *sur le pied de ce que la France possédoit à présent, & que les échanges se feroient la dessus* : Whereas, His (the Prince's) Meaning was, That they should treat upon the Foot of *Aix la Chapelle*, and that the Exchanges should be made upon That.

I told him, His Majesty desired, however, That he would think a little farther of it, and not let it fall so suddenly ; since his Majesty's Design was the securing of *Flanders* before it were too late : And that, however, if his Highness should continue of the same mind, the King would be willing to hand over to *France* any Scheme the Prince should think fit, and give him the best Account he could of it.

The Prince replied, That he had considered enough of it ; but did not well know what he could say more upon it at this Time : That when he had first spoke to me of it at the *Hague*, he was not only very desirous of a Peace, but of Opinion, that it might have been compassed this Winter, and thought it was fitter for him to address himself to his Majesty upon it, than go any other Way ; both because he believed his Majesty desired the Peace, and was also concerned that *Flanders* should not be lost : That he had made *ce pas d'avance*, in telling the King his Thoughts upon the Terms ; and had some Reason to hope, that *France* might have been contented with them, if his Majesty had fallen into the same mind : That he was very sorry the King's Thoughts had been so different from his, and such as he is sure he cannot agree to, if he be a Man of Honour ; considering how he stands engaged to his Allies : That he is not at all confident, he could have brought them to what he had proposed ; but should, however, have endeavoured it, and whenever his Majesty's Thoughts come nearer his, that he shall be still glad to know them : But he now looked upon the Campaign as begun, and believed, at the very Time we talked, the Guns were playing before *Valenciennes*, and that the Success of the Campaign would every Day change the Pretensions of the Parties in point of the Peace : That, for his own Part, he now saw no Hopes of it ; but expected a very long War, unless *Flanders* should be wholly lost ; and, in that Case, the States must make the best Terms they could : But, he confessed, he was of the *Spaniards* mind, That it was better to lose *Flanders* by a War, than by a Peace : That, he believed, *Valenciennes* would be taken, and, perhaps, *St. Omer* too ; and the more Towns were taken, the more difficult the Peace would be, since there could be found no Equivalent for them upon a Treaty : That he expected a very ill Beginning of the Campaign, and to make an ill Figure in it himself ; at least, till the *Germans* took the Field : But he was in, and must go through with it ; and the best was, that few Campaigns end as they begin : That he gave his Majesty Thanks for his Offer of handing any Proposition from Him to *France* ; but that was never his Meaning ; for, if it had, he could easily have found a directer Way : But his Intention was to enter into a Confidence with his Majesty alone upon that Subject ; and to owe a Peace to him, if they had agreed upon the Terms. But if any thing be proposed to *France* otherwise than as his Majesty's own Thoughts, it must be from the Alliance, and not particularly from him.

I asked his Highness, Whether he would not write to the King upon this Subject ; but he excused it upon his having so many other Dispatches last Night upon his Hands, and his going so early this Morning to the *Hague* : Upon which he desired me to let his Majesty know all we had been able to

say upon it : I repeated it to him, as near as I could, to what he had said ; and upon his approving of it, immediately set it down in Writing, according to what I have now transmitted to You.

His Highness went this Morning by Five a Clock towards the *Hague*, and talks of going from thence in Eight or Ten Days. I have stay'd here till this Afternoon upon the Dispatch of my Letters, that I might not lose this Post ; but am now returning towards *Nimeguen* ; and shall not lengthen this Trouble beyond the Assurances of my being ever,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Treasurer.

Nimeguen, March 26. S. N. 1677.

My Lord,

I Were not excusable to offer Your Lordship many Troubles of this kind, at a Time I know You have so many of another ; yet having lately received an Intimation from my Son, of Your Lordship's Desire, to know if I had lately heard of any Project offered by the *French* to the Prince of *Orange* towards a Peace ; I thought it became me to tell Your Lordship my self, That since the Account I gave Mr. Secretary *Williamson* of what passed at my last Interview with his Highness at *Soesdyke*, I have not heard of any thing of that kind, farther than the Jealousies of Don *Pedro de Ronquillo*, about some private Negotiations between them upon the Articles of the Marine Treaty, which he the more apprehends by the Delays of the *Dutch* Ambassadors to enter into that Matter here ; as they pretended to do within few Days after the Exchange of the Pretensions between the Parties. If there be any thing of that kind on foot, I believe it is between the Marechal d' *Estrades* and the Pensioner, by the Intervention of one *Pesser* (as I remember his Name is) who was Pensioner of the Town of *Mastricht* when the *French* took it ; and who has kept up a Correspondence of Letters with the Marechal ever since his Return into *Holland*.

The Pensioner had formerly shewed me several of those Letters in general Terms, about the Advantages the State might find in a Peace with *France*. And when I was last at the *Hague*, he told me, He newly received Two with very particular Overtures. I would fain have seen them, but he excused it, upon knowing that I was bound to give an Account of them to Court ; and suspecting, that no other Use would be made of them there, but communicating all to *France*, which would lose the Pensioner's Credit upon such Occasions.

On the other side, Monsieur *Colbert* and d' *Avaux* have told me, That the Reason of their Master's sending Monsieur d' *Estrades* hither instead of the Duke de *Vitry* (who was in the first Commission) was, the Possession he had given the Ministers in *France*, of the great Correspondences he had in *Holland*. Upon which Point, though I know he is very pretending, yet I do not think it goes farther than what I have mentioned, and had not reached any thing particular with the Prince when I saw him last.

Besides, I left his Highness fully resolved upon the Prosecution of the War this Campaign, without more Thoughts of the Peace, after that Transaction with his Majesty had failed : And, I hear, Don *John* has not only performed with him in what Payments were due to the Admiralty at *Amsterdam*, but in an Advance of 50000 Crowns, and a Fund for the rest of his Highness's Personal Debts from *Spain*, and likewise had established a Course that will not fail, for the transmitting Two hundred thousand Crowns a Month for the Affairs

Affairs of *Flanders*, and Payment of the Allies. So that I do not well see what can prevent the Course of this Campaign, unless the Emperor should fail in what he assured the Prince of *Orange*, concerning the Motions and Conduct of the *German* Armies, either by the Uncertainty of the Councils at *Vienna*, between the differing Factions of the Duke of *Lorraine* and *Montecuculi* in that Court; or by the Faultering of some of the Princes of *Germany* in the Alliance, which has been of late suspected of the Dukes of *Lunenburgh*. In these Cases, or any other, that shall hinder the *German* Armies from drawing off the *French* Forces from *Flanders* into *Germany*, it will not be in the Power of the Prince of *Orange* and the *Spaniards* to save the rest of *Flanders* this Summer: And what Measures that will draw on, of force, between his Highness and *France*, I cannot tell. But otherwise, if the *Germans* perform what they have promised their Allies, it may be a warm Summer on that Side; and the poor Remainder of *Flanders*, after the Loss of *St. Omer* and *Cambray* (which the *French* Ambassadors here assure themselves of) may be saved by Diversion; for otherwise it never can.

Thus I believe that Affair plays at present. In the mean Time, I must confess to Your Lordship, I was troubled to find the Prince go into the Field so ill satisfied with that Scheme of Peace, which his Majesty, by Mr. Secretary *Williamson's* Letter, ordered me to communicate to him: And the more, because some Words he let fall in the Heat of Discourse, made me doubt, if he should have a mind hereafter to make any Overtures to *France*, he might do it by some other Way than by his Majesty. For, as to the Thing it self, he thought what the King proposed, was the utmost that *France* would have asked. Nay, he said, He had Reason to believe, when he spoke to me first, that *France* would have accepted even what his Highness mentioned, if his Majesty would but have proposed it as his own Opinion: And he wondred his Majesty would not make that Pace, and, at least, send his Highness the Answer of *France* upon it. Then, for the Manner, he was as much unsatisfied, as with the Matter of it. He said, Mr. Secretary *Williamson* thought he could make him mistake the Thing, by giving it *un autre tour*; and that he could satisfy him with *la crème foitée*: And asked, Why such Dealing with so plain a Man as He (the Prince) was? And said, That if he had thought *qu' on auroit pris l' affaire de cet air là*, he would never have troubled them with it in *England*, and could have found a nearer Way to *France*.

I said what I could to satisfy him: But he has a Way of falling downright into the Bottom of a Business, and is to be dealt with no other Way that ever I could find; and, upon this Occasion, said a great deal very sharply of some of the King's Ministers dealing artificially with him, and believing they could talk him into any thing: Which, he said, was not a Way to do Business, and only shewed the mean Opinion they had of Him, that they thought was to be dealt with by such Methods as those.

I am ever,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To

To Mr. Hyde.

Nimeguen, May 21. S. N. 1677.

S I R,

I Am to acknowledge the Favour of one from You of the 8th, and the Testimonies it gave me of the Continuance of Your Kindness to me, and Remembrance of our Conversation here, which, I question not, will begin again where it ended, at what Time, or in what Place soever it happens to be renewed. Since You tell me, You know no more of Your Return hither, than I find by Your Letter, I will enter no farther upon a Discourse You seem resolved to let fall, but attend the Effect of those good Words You give me, about employing me in Your Service here, when You begin to look this Way. I suppose this Day will for the present have turned Your Thoughts upon another Scene, and by the Motions whereof they here either hope or fear that the Measures of this will be influenced.

For my part, I am so much a Stranger to the Councils in *England*, that I cannot pretend to give my self the least Account of them upon this Occasion, and much less to other Men that are very inquisitive after them: And am very well content to be so; for, You know, all my Politicks are at an End with that of my late Negotiation at the *Hague*: And I pretend no more than to do a plain Duty while I am in these Employments, and pass a private easie Life after this is ended; and, instead of Care to mend the World, busie my Thoughts no farther than with that of mending my self. All we wish is, That we might at one Time or other lose the Reproach I told You, of *Fluctuation perpetuelle*, and resolve for good and all what Ends and Points are fittest for us to pursue, and then bend our Endeavours in steady Courses to bring them about; and when one Way fails, try another, as we have good Examples. And I think in Politicks, as well as Morals, it is a good Question of one of Your Friends and mine, though our Colleague's Enemy;

*Est aliquid quo tendis, & in quod dirigis arcum,
An passim sequeris corvos?*

And there I leave all these kind of Thoughts, and wish You happy Success in this Session of Parliament You are entering, and the good Fortunes and Entertainments You propose to Your self at Court, or any where, and to my self many Occasions of expressing, how much I am

Your most Faithful and

most Humble Servant.

To my Lord Bishop of Rochester.

Nimeguen, May 21. S. N. 1677.

My Lord,

I Am unacquainted with Thanks or Praises, having so little deserved any, that I must judge of them rather by the Report of others, than by any Experience of my own. But if by either, I understand any thing of them, all the Charm or Value they have, arises from the Esteem a Man has of the Person that gives them, or the Belief, in some measure, of his own deserving them. The first of these Circumstances gave so great an Advantage to those I had lately the Honour of receiving from Your Lordship in a Letter delivered
me

me by Mr. *Dolben*, that the Want of the other was but necessary to allay the Vanity they might otherwise have given me. But where a Man can find no Ground to flatter himself upon the Thanks he receives, he begins to consider whether they are Praise or Reproach: And so, I am sure, I have Reason to do in the Acknowledgments Your Lordship is pleased to make me of any Favours to Your Son, who has never yet been so kind to me, as to give me the least Occasion of obliging him. I confess, I should have been glad to meet with any, though I do not remember so much as ever to have told him so; but if he has guess'd it from my Countenance or Conversation, it is a Testimony of his observing much, and judging well; which are Qualities I have thought him guilty of, among those others that allow me to do him no Favour but Justice only in esteeming him. 'Tis his Fortune to have been before-hand with me, by giving Your Lordship an Occasion to take notice of me, and thereby furnishing me with a Pretence of entring into Your Service; which gives Him a new Title to any I can do him, and Your Lordship a very just one to employ me upon all Occasions.

Notwithstanding Your Lordship's favourable Opinion, I will assure You, 'tis well for me, that our Work here requires little Skill, and that we have no more but Forms to deal with in this Congress, while the Treaty is truly in the Field, where the Conditions of it are yet to be determined. *Eata viam invenient*: Which is all I can say of it; nor shall I increase Your Lordship's present Trouble, beyond the Professions of my being,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most Obedient

Humble Servant.

To my Lord Treasurer.

Nimeguen, June 25. S. N. 1677.

My Lord,

IF I pretended to make Your Lordship the Acknowledgments I owe for the Honour and Kindness of Your last Letter, this, I am sure, would be made up of nothing else: And therefore, when I have assured Your Lordship, That no Man could be more obliged than I was by it, nor more sensible than I was upon it, I shall tell You, without more Circumstance, what my Thoughts have amounted to, upon the Consideration of that Proposal You are pleased to make me from the King. His Majesty has always been so gracious to me, but so much more particularly in the Opinion of my being capable of serving him in that Station Your Lordship mentions; that if I were worth that Sum, or a greater than what, it seems, Mr. Secretary *Coventry* expects, I would the readiest in the World lay it down, either upon this Occasion, or any other, or upon none at all besides the least Signification of his Majesty's Pleasure. But in the Condition of my Fortune, I will assure Your Lordship, it were as easie for me to coin it, as to find it any other ways; my Father living still, and keeping the whole Estate of the Family: And the best Husbandry in such Employments as mine have been, reaching no farther than to bring the Year about, unless, upon the Change of them, some Presents attend it. But, if either it should arrive that I should out-live my Father, who is very infirm; or that this Employment should end with the Presents usual to Mediators; I shall leave it wholly to his Majesty to command me how to dispose of any thing I shall thereby possess. And I am of Opinion, upon the general Prospect I have into the Affairs of *Christendom*, from my Station here, that I shall easily see

see to an End of this Employment, as soon as this Campaign is done : And that within Three Months after, we shall either fall into the War, or shall see a Peace of one sort or other.

In either of these Cases, my Figure here determines, and shall do so in *Holland* too, if his Majesty gives me Leave ; and the Presents of this last will bring something into my Purse, though the other should fail, and go a little way towards what Your Lordship proposes. And 'tis possible, that in the mean while I may be a little necessary to his Majesty's Honour in this very Post, where it happens unfortunately, that though the wise Paces a Minister makes, may never be worth taking notice of, yet he lies every Day in the Way of making ill ones ; and upon them lies as open both to his Majesty's Dishonour and his own, as, perhaps, in any Employment of the World be-fides.

Upon Mr. Secretary *Coventry's* Part in such a Delay, I can say little, but hope, his Majesty will be content, at the least for so long, to keep a good Servant, instead of hazarding an ill one : And, I think, the Bargain between my Lord *Arlington* and Mr. Secretary *Williamson*, depended a great deal longer than this can do ; though, as I remember, it was but Six thousand Pounds that was given between them, and my Lord *Arlington* gave my Lord *St. Albans* Ten. And if his Majesty should have a mind, in the mean Time, to excuse himself from admitting any other, by saying, He is engaged ; he may very well do it, upon what he was pleased to say to me in the Year 1674, after the Peace was made, when I made my Acknowledgments, as well as Excuses, upon the Offer of going Ambassador into *Spain* : That he intended me a better Thing ; and that though he was then engag'd, yet, when it fell again, I should have it. I do not say this to lay the least hold in the World upon any such Promise, but to furnish his Majesty with the Excuse of being engag'd, if he should think fit. Otherwise, it is a Thing I absolutely forget, whenever his Majesty does so : And if he finds any other Person he thinks fit to bring into the Place, I shall, however, upon my Return from hence, either in any other Station, or in none, endeavour, the rest of my Life, to deserve his Majesty's Opinion, of being either as good a Servant, or, at least, as good a Subject, as any he has.

I had a Letter this last Week from the Prince, wherein he was pleased to give me some Account of Monsieur *Bentinck's* Journey and Return, extremely to his Highness's Satisfaction, as to all that passed from his Majesty upon that Occasion. As to Your Lordship's Part, he says these Words : *Je l'avois particulièrement adressé à Monsieur le Grand Tresorier ; qui en a usé d'une maniere si obligeante, & luy a parlé avec tant de franchise, que je ne puis m'en assez louer.* If he can succeed in the Desires I know he has, of making a Journey into *England* when the Campaign ends, I believe so much of his Inclinations towards a Peace (that may, in any kind, save his Honour and the rest of *Flanders*) that I am confident, the King and his Highness, if they meet, will take their Measures together upon that Matter, and upon the future Conduct of both their Allies.

I ask Your Lordship's Pardon for so long a Trouble ; which yet must not end without the Repetition of all the most sensible Acknowledgments that can be made You for so much Favour as has obliged me to be for ever, and with as much Reason as Passion,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To Sir John Temple.

Sheen, August —, 1677.

S I R,

SINCE the Account I gave You lately from *Nimeguen*, of my Son's coming to me, the Errant he was sent on, and the Answer I had returned there-upon to his Majesty, I thought that Affair would have slept, at least, for some Time: But within a Fortnight after, I received, by Express, a Command to repair immediately into *England*, without so much as any notice of the Occasion. I accordingly left *Nimeguen* the 5th of July, and had a very good Passage over in a Yacht that was sent for me to the *Briel*. The first time I saw the King, he was pleased to call me into his Closet, and to tell me, I knew the Occasion of my coming over, from what my Lord Treasurer had lately writ to me by his Command: That he had seen my Answer, and was, however, resolved I should come into that Post: That he knew no Man was so fit to serve him in it as I; and since he found I was not able to bear the Charge of coming into it, he was content to do it himself: That upon my coming over, Secretary *Coventry* had taken a great Alarm; and though he had before been willing to part with his Place, upon the Terms my Lord Treasurer had proposed to him, yet he had, upon this Occasion, come to Him (the King) and told him the Reports he met with from all Hands, of my being sent for over to come into his Office: That he hoped he had, at least, deserved, by so long Services, not to be turned off without giving him so much Time, that his Friends and the World might see it was a Choice of his own, rather than the King's. His Majesty said, He had told him, That he need not trouble himself any farther about it, and that when he took such a Resolution, he would tell him of it himself; and that this was all he had said till he spoke with me.

I gave his Majesty my humble Thanks, as became me upon such an Occasion; but said, I thought Secretary *Coventry* had great Reason in what he desired: That he was a very worthy Gentleman, and had served him long: And therefore I made it my humble Suit to his Majesty, That he would not part with him, to make Room for me, till he himself should be content. The King bid me speak with my Lord Treasurer about it; and so this Matter rests; and I am sure shall do so for me: For my Friends must pardon me if I cannot overcome the Coldness I have at Heart upon this Occasion; to say no more.

Some Days after, the King seeming to be in great Apprehensions for the Prince of *Orange's* Person, upon the Hazards he is continually exposed to, and likewise for the Success of the present Campaign; considering the *French* Forces now in the Field, and how ill the Prince is seconded by his Allies, told me, He had a mind I should go over to him, and try, whether he would fall into such Terms of a Peace, as his Majesty might hope to get accepted by *France*: That, in case any such could be agreed on before the Campaign ended, he should be glad to see the Prince here, having consented to it when Monsieur *Bentinck* was in *England*. I told his Majesty, That, I was confident, he knew the Prince's Mind upon the Terms of a Peace, without sending to him, by all that passed in that Negotiation between the Prince and me last Winter; and that I believed nothing could alter him, unless it were some great Change of Affairs, by the good or ill Success of this Campaign, which was not yet near an End: And when it was done, since his Majesty was content the Prince should come over, they would much easier agree, when they were together, than by any Minister between them, in how much Confidence soever.

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I was extremely pressed for some Days upon this Journey, and had no mind to it, knowing how unwelcome it would be to the Prince while he was in the Field, for many Reasons; and how ill it would answer the End for which his Majesty intended it; and therefore, at last, told the King and Duke together, That if they were resolved to make the Trial, I desired they would do it by another Hand: That I had spent all my Shot last Winter, and left the Prince fix'd upon a Stand, which, I was sure, he would make good as long as he could: That Mr. *Hyde* was now idle here; who having upon his Return from *Poland*, received a Commission to appear as one of the King's Mediators, during the short Stay he should make at *Nimeguen*; and there being now but one Ambassador of the King's there, I thought there was nothing so proper, as for Mr. *Hyde* to return to *Nimeguen* in that Figure, how little soever there was to do; since, by our Original Commission, there ought to be Two to act in that Mediation: That, upon his Journey, he might see the Prince of *Orange*, and pursue such Instructions as his Majesty should give him upon that Occasion.

This was approved and resolved on; and Mr. *Hyde* is well enough pleased with the Employment; which renews his Character at *Nimeguen*, that was before but a Compliment to him as he passed by that Place: though I have, as a Friend, told him before-hand what Success he is like to meet in his Journey to the Prince; and he reckons upon it.

This is all the present Account I can give You of my self, whatever You will meet with in the News-Papers that run Abroad, and have made me Secretary of State already; so that I receive Twenty impertinent Compliments upon it, and Applications for Places in the Office. But I am, I thank God, in an easie Place here at *Sheen*, where I spend all the Time I can possibly, and never saw any thing pleasanter than my Garden, and the Country and River about it, which I was grown almost a Stranger to. I think here often of *Sancho*, that said, He had got nothing by his Government, but the Knowledge that he was not fit to govern any thing besides his Sheep. And that I have got by knowing a Court, and the Course of Publick Affairs, that I am not fit to serve in one, nor to manage the other; which is all I shall say in Excuse of my Conduct: And You, and my Friends, will be content I shall, at least, take a little Breath, and see the Issue of the present Campaign Abroad, and of the Prince's Journey hither at the End of it, before I take any new Measures, or fall into any new Engagements.

My Wife and Family continue still at *Nimeguen*; only my Sister and *Jack* are with me here, and both seem as kind to *Sheen* as I am. We are confident, You would be so too, if You could resolve of seeing it once since the Alterations made here; that You might have a Share in the Pleasure of them, as well as You had in the Charge.

We long to hear of Your good Health, having, I doubt, lost some Letters by our sudden Removals,

I am ever,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To Sir John Temple.

London, November —, 1677.

S I R,

THO' I do not trouble You often with publick News or Business, yet I am sensible of having too much neglected it of late, considering what has passed; which, I know, You will be more pleased with than any You have been entertained with a great while. For, I remember how often and how much You have desired to see the Prince of *Orange* married here; not only from Your good Wishes to Him, but from Your Apprehensions of some greater Matches that might befall us, and with Consequences ill enough to Posterity, as well as to the present Age. I am in a good deal of Haste at this present Time, and therefore shall sum up a great deal in a little Room. The Prince of *Orange* came to the King at *Newmarket*, where he was mighty well received both of King and Duke. I made the Acquaintance there between the Prince and my Lord Treasurer; and in such a manner, as, though they were not at all known before to one another, yet, they fell very soon into Confidence.

The Prince said not a Word to any of them of any Thoughts of a Wife while they staid at *Newmarket*; and told me, No Considerations should move him in that Affair, till he had seen the Lady. The Day after he saw her here, he moved it to the King and Duke; and tho' he did it with so good a Grace, that it was very well received, yet, in Four or Five Days Treaty, it proved to be intangled in such Difficulties, that the Prince sent for me one Night, and uttering his whole Heart, told me, He was resolved to give it over, repenting him from the Heart of his Journey, and would be gone within Two Days, and trust God Almighty with what would follow; and so went to Bed the most melancholy that ever I saw him in my Life. Yet before Eleven a Clock the next Morning, the King sent me to him, to let him know, He was resolved on the Match, and that it should be done immediately, and in the Prince's own Way.

Thus far what had pass'd went no farther than the King, the Duke, the Prince, my Lord Treasurer, and me: But that Afternoon it was declared at the Foreign Committee, and next Day at Council; You will easily imagine with what general Joy. I cannot but tell You, That no Man seems to lay it to Heart so much as my Lord *Arlington*; having had no part in it; which he could not but take notice of to the Prince, who told me, His Compliment to him upon it was, That some Things, though they were good in themselves, yet were spoiled by the Manner of doing them; but this was in it self so good, that the Manner of doing it could not spoil it. I am told, he lays it upon me, and will never forgive me; which I must bear as well as I can: But yet, because You know how we have formerly lived, I will tell You, That it was not only impossible my Lord Treasurer and he should concur in one Thing, but he had likewise lost all the Prince's Confidence and Opinion, since his last Journey into *Holland*. Besides, for my own Part, I found these Two Years past, he could not bear my being so well neither with the Prince, nor with the Treasurer; but endeavoured by Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* to break the first, by Steps which the Prince acquainted me with; nor could he hold reproaching me with the last whenever I went to him; though he himself had first advised me to apply my self to my Lord Treasurer all I could, upon my last Ambassy into *Holland*: And though I had ever since told them both, I would live well with them both, let them live as ill as they would one with another; and my Lord Treasurer had been so reasonable as to be contented with it.

Since the Marriage, the King and the Prince have fallen into the Business Abroad, and agreed upon the Terms of a Peace, which the King will offer to *France*, and such as they both conclude will secure *Flanders*. They both agree,

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that

that I must of necessity go to *Paris* immediately upon this Errand, and bring a positive Answer from that Court within a Time prefix'd. I never undertook any Journey more unwillingly, knowing in what Opinion I stand already at that Court; how deeply they resent the Prince's Match without their Communication, or the least Word to their Ambassador here; and with how little Reason I can hope to be the welcomer for this Errand. But the King will absolutely have it; and so I have made all my small Preparations, and think to be gone within Two Days; which is all at present, but to ask Your Blessing, and assure You of my being,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To the Prince of ORANGE.

London, December 8. 1677.

May it please Your Highness,

I Should by last Post have rejoiced with Your Highness upon the News of Your happy Arrival, and upon the Resolutions that have been taken here since You went, in those Affairs wherein Your Highness is so deeply concerned; but that my Lord Treasurer's Letter to You upon this Subject, was so long and so particular, that nothing could be added to it for Your Highness's Information or Satisfaction: And therefore I resolved not to trouble You with the same Thing by that Post, and from so much a worse Hand. I suppose my Lord Ambassador *Hyde* will have shewed Your Highness his Instructions, and Mr. Secretary's Letter upon that Occasion; which agreeing so fully with what my Lord Treasurer writ, must have left You in no doubt of those Resolutions being taken here. And yet I thought Your Highness would not be displeased to know from me, that I am of Opinion they are so; and, which is more, that the Duke will go up to as great a Height in them as any Man, in case *France* gives them the Occasion, by their Answer to what Mr. *Mountague* goes away with to Day; and that his Highness will absolutely conclude from thence, what their good Intentions are or have been to the King: Tho' I have this second time excused my self from attending upon Your Highness, and thereby devolved his Majesty's Commands upon Mr. *Hyde* once more, yet, I hope, Your Highness will pardon me, since I have only reserved my self for the next Occasion, which, I expect, will be of more moment, and within a very little Time. For the present, I only desire Your Highness will please to give Your Answer to what Mr. *Hyde* carries You, in such manner as may be fully to his Majesty's Satisfaction; and if You should scruple the doing it to any other Hand, that You would, at least, do it in a private Letter to his Majesty's own, which may not go farther than to those Hands by which all Your Highness's Concerns have hitherto been transacted.

I hope Your Highness will think to write particularly to the Duke, as well as the King, in Acknowledgment and Applause of these late Resolutions; and my Lord Treasurer will deserve it too, by the great Part he has had in them.

I ask Your Highness's Pardon for the Length and Confidence of this Letter, and Your Justice in believing me ever, what I shall ever be, with a perfect Devotion,

S I R,

Your Highness's, &c.

The

*The KING's Speech, intended to the Parliament, drawn
up at my Lord Treasurer's Desire, April 27. 1678.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Intended to have met You sooner, but found it necessary to defer it for some few Days, that I might discourse more freely and clearly to You upon the present Conjunctures; and that we might perfectly understand one another, which, I am confident, we now shall do, and this Day end all Distrusts and Jealousies between us; because I know we mean the same Things, which are, the Honour and Safety of these Kingdoms, the Preservation of *Flanders*, and preventing the Growth of the *French* Power.

I was some Time in hopes to have attained these Ends by the Exercise of my Mediation, in Pursuit of a Peace; which I thought the more necessary by observing the Bent of some of the Confederates towards it, and the ill Conduct of the War by others: While I received, at the same Time, frequent Assurances from *France*, That they never intended the Conquest of *Flanders*, but desired a reasonable Peace; and should very far consider my Offices and Thoughts upon the Conditions of it.

But seeing the State of the War so much changed, and *Flanders* so much endangered, by the Events of last Campaign, I thought it necessary for the Safety of these Kingdoms (and, indeed, that of *Christendom*) so far to enforce my Mediation, as to propose last Winter to *France*, such Terms of a Peace as I had Reason to believe the Confederates would accept; and, as I was sure, would leave *Flanders* defensible; which, at that Time, I doubted would hardly be so by continuing the War: And I had not much Reason to doubt of *France*, because their Refusal would plainly discover their Design of conquering *Flanders* (contrary to all their Professions) since both they and I knew, it could not be secured without a Frontier, as I proposed for it. Upon the Difficulties made by *France* to accept these Conditions, and finding *Holland* would not continue the War, otherwise than in Pursuit, and with the Prospect of a Peace, I immediately made Two Alliances with them; One of mutual Defence, and the other Offensive against *France*, in Case they would not accept the Terms I had proposed: Which were these,

That they should restore to *Spain* the Towns of *Charleroy*, *Aeth*, *Oudenard*, *Courtray*, *Tournay*, *Valenciennes*, *Condé*, with their Dependencies; and all others which should be taken after that Time (as *St. Gislain*, *Ghent*, and *Ypres* have unfortunately been.) That they should restore all they had taken in *Sicily* (which is a Care now happily prevented): That they should restore *Mastricht* to the *Dutch*, and *Lorrain* to the Duke of that Name. That the Peace of the Emperor should be made upon the Foot of Affairs at that Time, by which *Philipsburgh* would have remain'd to the Empire, and the Loss of *Friburgh* would have been prevented. That, because the Peace of the North could not be adjusted in so short a Time, a Truce should be concluded there, till by the Pursuit of our Mediation, a Peace could be agreed on.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I am not ashamed to own publicly this Scheme of a Peace, both to You here, and to all the World abroad; as what I thought most agreeable with the Duty of a Mediator, and with what I owed to the Safety of my own Kingdoms, and the Regard I had to Your Satisfaction, in the just Concernment You had so often express'd for the Preservation of *Flanders*; which I knew might be much easier defended after the restoring those Towns, than before it. But I will confess I am ashamed to find my self so much deceived, as I have been by *France* upon this Occasion; who, contrary to all they have so often professed, and promised me, have cut off all Hopes of any reasonable Peace, by which *Flanders* might be safe: But, on the other Side, making Difficulties, first upon one Town, then upon another (as the Necessity of the
Spaniards,

Spaniards, or Dispositions of the *Dutch* gave them Occasion) they have all along too plainly discovered their Designs of carrying on the War, to the full Conquest of *Flanders*; whilst they endeavour to amuse the World, and us in particular, with the Discourses or Overtures of a Peace.

Yet in the last they have made, they include the present Restitution of *Sweden*, and the Duke of *Holstein*; though they confine the Peace they offer to the 10th of *May*. They will, indeed, keep *Lorrain*, whilst they pretend to restore it: For they will keep *Nancy*, *Marsal*, and the Highways through that Country: And they will have *Tournay*, *Valenciennes*, *Conde*, and *Ypres*, which are the very Keys of *Flanders* on that Side; besides *Dinant* or *Charlemont*, on the other.

I would not confess to You how much I have been deceived by them in these Practices, and in those they have since begun with the *Dutch* upon this Occasion, if I were not resolved to be so no more: And I will tell You plainly, That I should immediately have declared the War upon the Discovery of them, but that I found it necessary first to make my Alliances with the rest of the Confederates, and therein to pursue the good Advice You hinted to me Your selves, in one of Your Addresses, to provide that none of the Parties engaged in the Confederacy, should lay down their Arms, or depart from their Alliances: As likewise, That none of them should hold any Commerce, or Trade, with the *French* King, or his Subjects, during the War.

Both these Points I have been endeavouring to secure now for some Time; but have been delayed in them, contrary to my Expectation, by the *Dutch* Ambassadors wanting Powers, or Instructions, to conclude upon those Two Particulars. And, I doubt, in the last, Your too great Haste in forbidding *French* Commodities, was the Occasion of the *Dutch* declining what before they had offered, in so material a Point. I say not this at all to reproach You, because I know Your Meaning was good; and because, in a Time when the Safety of *Christendom*, as well as our own, seems to lye at Stake, we ought all to look forward, upon what is best to be done; and not backward, upon what Occasions are lost, or what Errors have passed; or what, in short, is now past Remedy.

God be thanked, I have, at length, retrieved this Point, in a great Measure; and find the Ministers of the Confederates now ready to conclude our Treaties, for carrying on the War by common Consent; and pursuing it according to such Successes as God Almighty shall please to give to so just and necessary an Undertaking. I have, in the mean Time, made my Levies of Land Forces, and my Preparations for Sea, according to the Scheme and Proportions You Your selves designed. I have already sent ———— Thousand Men over into *Flanders*, and have ———— Thousand more ready to send after them; and am ready to declare the War, immediately upon the signing of our Treaties: But first resolved to have Your Advice upon it, now I have laid the whole Affair before You. For Your Assurances I doubt them not at all, considering the many Assurances You have given me upon this Occasion, and the Zeal You have ever expressed to the Safety, Honour, and true Interests of the Nation; in which I doubt not but we shall always agree.

To my Lord Treasurer.

Sheen, May 18th, 1678.

My Lord,

Finding my self something recovered of my Illness, which hindered me from waiting upon Your Lordship before I left the Town; I could not but let You know how very sensible I was of what You last told me, with so much Kindness, about his Majesty and Royal Highness having been so much displeased

displeased with some of my late Discourses to his Majesty ; though Your Lordship could not tell me more of them, than that they were some popular Notions : As likewise the great Dissatisfaction his Majesty would receive at the Difficulties I made to enter into an Affair which belonged not at all to my Post ; and wherein his Majesty had not done me the Honour to acquaint me with the Deliberation or Digestion of it. I must confess, the Sense of his Majesty's Displeasure (which I never deserved), has been so great a Mortification to me, that, to shew how much I have ever been concerned in his Majesty's Service and Satisfaction, and how little in any Advantages of my own, I have resolved most humbly to lay at his Majesty's Feet, not only my Two present Ambassies, but also the Promise of the Secretary's Place, which his Majesty was pleased long since to make me so graciously, and of his Motion. Therefore, whenever his Majesty pleases to order me a Letter of Revocation to the States General (which I shall send over to my Secretary at the *Hague*) and give me Leave to send for both my Families away from the *Hague* and *Nimeguen*, I shall upon it come and beg the Honour of kissing his Majesty's Hand, and make him my humble Acknowledgments for the undeserved Honours he hath done me, by so many and so great Employments Abroad, as well as by designing me so much a greater at Home. I shall at the same Time assure his Majesty of my Resolutions, to pass the rest of my Life in the constant and hearty Wishes, and Prayers, for the Honour and Safety of his Majesty and his Kingdoms ; and that, how mean a Servant soever I have been, he shall find me as good a Subject as any Man alive.

For what I ought to say to Your Lordship upon this Occasion, I shall leave it till I wait upon You ; being resolved, by all means possible, to preserve the Honour of so long an Acquaintance, and of so much Favour as Your Lordship's to me. And as, during all my Employments, I never yet asked any thing of his Majesty, besides the bare Pay of them, nor ever used to trouble Your Lordship about any Business of my own, so I shall continue the same Course at the End of them, and leave to my Wife the Pursuit of what his Majesty owes me upon them ; that so Your Lordship may ever reckon upon all the Services, and never upon any Trouble from,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's, &c.

To the Duke of Ormond.

London, July 2. 1678.

My Lord,

THE Account I gave Your Grace by my Brother of my not writing, was so true, that though I was very sorry I had it for so long together, yet, I know, Your Grace was so just, as to receive it. I will not presume to say, 'tis now at an End, because That God Almighty can only tell ; but yet thus much is certain, That I am just now going aboard for *Holland*, and upon such Measures, as his Majesty seems more resolved to pursue, than ever I thought to see him, in case the States will be prevailed with to fall into them. He will be sure to have all the Help the Prince can give him, who seems to have recovered a new Soul upon this Incident from *France* ; which has given, at least, the Appearance and Overture of new Measures in the World. The Truth is, This Refusal to restore the *Spanish* and *Dutch* Towns, till the Restitution of *Sweden*, has been so plain Language, that it has, at present, opened many Eyes both Here and in *Holland*, which have long been shut to all our Cost ; but, whether they are Proof against all Charms, I will not venture to determine. I can only assure Your Grace, That the Duke has been the most
constant

constant that can be imagined, in this Opinion of the *French* Designs and Intentions to his Majesty, ever since my Lord *Feverſham's* Return; and declared himself the plainest that ever I heard, Yesterday, at the Foreign Committee, That nothing could be more evident, than that *France* intended a Universal Monarchy, and nothing but *England* could hinder it; and that, without it, the

* *The Secret of the King and Duke's being so eager and hearty in their Resolutions to break with France, at this Juncture, was as follows:*

France, in order to break the Force of the Confederacy, and elude all just Conditions of a General Peace, resolved, by any means, to enter into Separate Measures with Holland; to which end, it was absolutely necessary to engage the good Offices of the King of England, who was look'd upon to be Master of the Peace whenever he pleas'd. The Bargain was struck for either 3 or 400 Thousand Pounds. But when all was agreed, Monsieur Barillon, the French Ambassador, told the King, That he had Orders from his Master, before Payment, to add a private Article, by which his Majesty should be engaged, never to keep above Eight Thousand Men of standing Troops in his Three Kingdoms. This unexpected Proposal put the King in a Rage, and made him say, —d's fish! Does my Brother of France think to serve me thus? Are all his Promises to make me absolute Master of my —, come to this? Or, Does he think That a Thing to be done with Eight Thousand Men?

'Tis possible, I may be a little mistaken as to the Sums of Money, and Number of Men; but the main of the Story is exactly as I had it from the Author.

or another, though this may be a worse than any past, yet it is a better than any like to come.

This is all I can say worth Your Grace's Trouble; at least, if this it self be so. For, I am sure, nothing can be so unnecessary, as to repeat any of those Professions I have so long made, and justly, of my being ever, and with as much Passion, as, I am sure, it is with Reason and Truth,

My Lord,

Your Grace's most

Faithful and most

Humble Servant.

To Mr. Secretary Williamſon.

Hague, July 14. S. N. 1678.

S I R,

I Set sail on board the *Catharine* Yacht at Two a Clock after Noon on *Tuesday*, and landed at *Rotterdam* about the same Hour next Day. I came immediately to the *Hague*, and went strait to the Prince at *Houſlardyke*, where I arrived about Eight a Clock, and staid till Eleven; and thought it my Duty to give his Majesty an Account of our first Discourses.

When I had entertained his Highness at large with the Subject of my Journey; The Dispositions raised in his Majesty by this last unexpected Accident from *France*, upon the Point of concluding the Peace; The Necessity of know-
ing

ing fully the Mind of the States, in order to join with them ; and the firm Resolutions his Majesty had taken upon it, in case *France* persisted in the Refusal of the Towns ; and this State in not admitting the Peace without it. His Highness told me, The last Point was the chiefest of all ; which was, the Firmness of his Majesty's Resolution in this Matter, upon which all would depend ; since nothing else could dispose either *France* to make the Peace, or this State to any firm Resolutions of continuing the War. When I had endeavoured, and, I think, succeeded, in satisfying his Highness in this Point, by telling him many Circumstances in the Game in *England*, as it has played for some Months past ; and many Reasons his Majesty had given me to believe how unsatisfied he had been of late with the Dealing from *France*. The Prince told me, How glad he was to receive this Notice from me : That for this last Incident in the Peace from *France*, he could not but look upon it as a Thing come down from Heaven, and the Happiest that ever could have fallen out, both for his Majesty and Himself ; considering the great Change it was like to make in this State. For, he would tell me in Confidence, That those Dispositions which had been here raised in the State, and carried them so far in so mischievous a Peace, had been grounded upon the Weakness and Uncertainty of our Conduct in *England*, and upon the Opinion of the contrary in *France* ; as well as upon that of their good Intentions to live always fairly with this State, and to content themselves without *poussant* their Conquests any farther in *Flanders* : That in case the Peace had been made upon those Terms accepted here, the same Persons and Dispositions that brought it about, would certainly have ended all Measures between *England* and Them, and throw the whole Dependence of this State upon *France* ; and that He (the Prince) should not have been able to hinder it : Whereas the last Incident had made so great a Change in the Minds of the Magistrates here, and the People too, that the chief Leaders in those Councils, were come to be ashamed of themselves, and to confess their Mistakes : And if they should grow to be assured of his Majesty's going into the War, and sticking to them firmly, he did not doubt, but, even after a Peace, this State would come to have their Dependence wholly upon *England*. He said, He believed, nevertheless, that if *France* should restore the Towns before the War broke out into new Action, that this State would not be hindred from accepting the Peace : But of this he saw no Appearance, since the *French* Ambassadors had declared so positively to those of this State at *Nimeguen*, That their Master was fixed in the Point of not restoring them till the Satisfaction of *Sweden* ; and that Monsieur de *Luxembourg* had given his direct Refusal of suffering any more Provisions to go into *Mons*, till the Peace was signed : Upon which He (the Prince) was resolved to go away to the Army within two Days ; but would leave the Pensioner so instructed, that I might go on with my Negotiations here in his Absence.

I then told his Highness the Three Points upon which his Majesty expected to receive Satisfaction, before he could take a final Measure with this State ; which were, The not making Peace without mutual Consent, or, at least, the fixing of certain Terms to which the War should extend, and a Peace not be concluded without them : The Prohibition of Commerce with *France* here as well as in *England* : And, The mutual Concert of Forces. I added a Fourth, which was in the Foot of my Instructions ; That in case of any Places lost, on either Part, neither should make Peace, without being restored to the State they were in, at the Time of the Treaty's being concluded between us.

The Prince told me, To the last, there would be no Difficulty. As to the first, This State would never be brought to an Article of not making Peace without mutual Consent, nor seeing some Bounds to the War : And therefore, thought the Terms of the Treaty of *January* last, would be a good Ground to treat upon ; or such other Terms as should be farther agreed to by Consent of Parties.

For the second, The same that Monsieur *Van Lewen* had told his Majesty in *England*, that it would be very hard to gain it by a direct Convention before the War; but that it was a Thing must necessarily follow: For in a War, the Bottom of *England* failing, in which they now traded, all others would be used as Enemies by us; and so there could no Trade remain between *France* and this State, while the War lasted.

I told his Highness, I did not leave his Majesty disposed to enter into the War, without this Point being fixed. And though the Thing seemed like to play as his Highness had discoursed, yet it was of that Consequence to the main Event of the War, that I thought it would be best to tell the States what his Majesty absolutely reckoned upon, and what they were like to trust to in this Matter: And to shew them, That, since it was a necessary Consequence of the War, it might as well be a precedent Article between us. His Highness consented, and said, Follow this Method.

As to the Third, He was of Opinion, no Concert of Forces could be made particular between us, but for our own mutual Defence; which is done by our Defensive Leagues: But for that which is the Defence of *Flanders*, it must be made among all the Confederates, in such manner, as would be most conducing to those Ends: That, he supposed, this State would bring an Army into the Field of Twenty five thousand Men, besides their Garrisons: That his Majesty must not go so near the Wind in such a War, as to proportion himself to the weak and exhausted Condition of this State (which would go as far, however, as possibly they could), but to the Necessity of the War, and to what the Parliament would be brought to furnish upon so great an Occasion, and which they had always had so much at Heart: That it would be fit to engage some of the Princes of *Germany*; but not as this State has done, leaving the Forces under the Command of their own Princes; but to have them under his Majesty's Command, to act where he pleased; which would make his Majesty Master of the War and Peace, and set him at the Head of Affairs (which was the Figure *England* ought to make), and draw this State, and the Neighbouring Princes of *Germany*, into a Dependance upon him.

After this, his Highness asked me, Whether the King would not declare the War, till the Three Points were concluded with the States here? I answered, That I could not say any thing certain; but that I was not impowered otherwise, than upon their agreeing with his Majesty in them, to conclude finally with the States; since his Majesty would follow their Dispositions, having consented to the Peace upon their Instances; and so would hope to reckon upon their Firmness in it, and not breaking from him, as they had done in their last Measures. The Prince seemed something troubled, that his Majesty would not go into the War before the granting of the Three Points; but he concluded, I should lose no Time in entering upon the Business with the States; seemed much pleased that Monsieur *Van Lewen* was come over with me, and in Sentiments so agreeable to those of his Majesty; said, He would endeavour to have him immediately brought into the Committee of Foreign Affairs, though out of Method; but upon pretence of his being come from *England*: That he would be extreme glad he could bring Monsieur *Hoeft* into it too; but that could not be, because he was not of the States General: But that this Incident from *France* had brought him and his Town of *Amsterdam* to be for the War.

Upon this, the Prince said farther, Though several Persons here had appeared to be his Enemies upon the last Transactions; yet he had been so far from treating them so, that he had continued his Commerce all along, and had his Conversation ever more with them, than his Friends; and by that means they were now grown to understand one another.

I have desired a Conference with the States Commissioners at Four this Afternoon.

I am ever, &c.

P. S.

P. S. Just upon the Cloſure of this Letter, the Prince came to me ; and deſired me, That I would write to his Maſteſty, to beg the diſpatching away of thoſe Troops, which Monſieur *Van Lewen* told the States, were ordered into *Flanders* : And that thoſe Ships which now are ready, may be ſent out in a Squadron to Sea, to give the *French* ſome Jealouſie upon their Coaſts ; which might poſſibly make ſome Diverſion now while the Prince marches : And if his Maſteſty thinks fit, that ſome of the Troops in *Flanders* may have Command to obey the Prince's Orders, in caſe he ſhould have need of them, upon ſome great and preſſing Occaſion.

To Mr. Secretary Williamſon.

Hague, July 15. 1678.

S I R,

SINCE my laſt, which was Yeſterday, I have had Two Conferences with the States Commiſſioners. In the Firſt, I expoſed to them my Journey's Subject at this Time : I expreſſed to them his Maſteſty's Sentiments and Reſolutions, in the very Terms of my Inſtructions ; and concluded, That his Maſteſty, as he would have entered into Meaſures with them for the Guaranty of the Peace, ſo he would for the continuing of the War.

They returned all Acknowledgments that could be, of his Maſteſty's generous Dealing. They excuſed themſelves upon their own Neceſſities, and the Weakneſs of their Allies, particularly in *Flanders* : That they had been extremely ſurprized to meet with this new Accident from *France* ; particularly ſince the Reſtitution of the Towns was tied up to the Satisfaction of *Sweden*, without ſo much as mentioning what Satisfaction *Sweden* would accept, and in what Time : And, indeed, without conſenting that *Sweden* ſhould accept of ſuch Satisfaction, as, perhaps, the *Swedes* themſelves would have been contented with. That it would now depend upon his Maſteſty, Whether they ſhould ſubmit to the Terms of any Peace that *France* would think fit to impoſe upon them.

That, indeed, upon the Evacuation of the Towns by *France*, the Peace would then be concluded ; but there was no Hopes of that, ſince their Expreſs brought Word, That the *French* Ambaſſadors had declared at *Nimeguen*, That they neither had Order to give any other Answer, than they have done already, nor expected to receive any from the King their Maſter : And, that in a private Conference between Monſieur *Colbert* and *Beverning*, the firſt had told him, upon the States reſuſing to accept the Peace on thoſe Terms, That his Maſter would make them accept it, *bon gré mal gré qu'ils en ayent*. That, upon all this, they deſired me, if I had any farther Lights to give them of his Maſteſty's Intentions, in caſe the War went on, I would do it.

Hereupon I propoſed to them the Four Points contained in my Inſtructions.

Upon the firſt I found it true, what the Prince had told me, That they would not hear of a general, and boundleſs, Conſent : So then I deſcended to the Terms of the laſt Treaty, but with ſuch further Conditions, more advantageous to the Safety of *Flanders*, as ſhould be agreed on by the Conſent of both Parties.

Upon the Second they made great Difficulties ; but I put, once for all, my whole Strength upon this Point, and ſo told them. That the Prohibition of Commerce was a Thing which had been long preſſed upon his Maſteſty, by their Ambaſſador in *England*, that he could not believe they were not equally ſatiſfied with it here. But beſides, I told them, The Thing muſt be, and, therefore, a Convention would do nothing but declare it to the World ; and

that this would be the greatest Step towards a Peace, it being the only Way to persuade *France* that we were all resolved to go on with the War ; since it was evident, that *France* had made this last Incident, only because they thought this State would accept of any Peace, rather than lose their Trade any longer.

The Commissioners told me, for themselves, They were so far convinced of my Reasons, that if I had none but them to deal with, I might assure myself the Thing would be done. But what their Masters would say to a Thing in which they had always apprehended an invincible Difficulty (at least, till *England* should have declared the War) they could not tell : But, however, they promised me to give it all the Advantage they could, by their Office and Representations.

As to the Third, about the Proportion of Forces, they seemed infinitely unsatisfied, That *England* should go no more than almost an even Pace with a State, so out of all Proportion to us in Strength, at the best, and so exhausted as this Country now is, by the Sixth Year of so great a War.

They pretended to fear, That this Offer would shock their Principals so far, as to make them think, That since *England* would only protract the War, without Forces enough to make a good Peace, they had as good receive an ill one now as hereafter.

They said so much upon this Point, that I was fain to put them in mind of the Constitution of *England*, as well as their Riches and Forces ; and how much it would depend upon Parliaments, whether his Majesty would be enabled to prosecute the War, with such Vigour as he himself, perhaps, would think necessary.

The Fourth Point, of mutual Guaranty to each Party, upon the State wherein they should enter into the Treaty, met with no Difficulty, and so this Conference ended.

At Two this Afternoon I saw the Prince, after having appointed another Conference with the States at Four. He told me the News he had just received from *Mons*, of a Skirmish much to the Advantage of the Garrison.

At the Conference at Four this Afternoon the Commissioners said, They had acquainted the States with our last Conference ; who were extremely sensible of his Majesty's Favour to them : But that there were Two Points they found of hard Digestion, The Prohibition of Commerce, and the Proportion of Forces. However, that upon the first, and the Reasons I had urged, the States had resolved, the Deputies should go to consult their several Towns : But for the Proportion of Forces, they thought it would be of ill Consequence to propose it to them in those Terms ; and, therefore, had commanded them, the Commissioners, once more to press me upon this Point, to enlarge the Proportion on his Majesty's Side. I will not trouble You with the Arguments that passed on both Sides ; but only tell You, That it ended in this Article, to be propounded by the Deputies to their Towns, *Qu'en attendant un concert plus particulier touchant les Forces que Sa Majesté, & les Alliés, engagés en cette guerre contribueront ; Sa Majesté fournira par Provision un tiers moins de Troupes en Flandres, & un tiers plus de Forces de Mer que celles qui seront fourni par cet Etat.* And so this Conference ended, and the Success of it must be expected on *Monday*.

Monfieur *Olivecrans* return'd this Day from *England*.

I am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To

To my Lord Treasurer.

Hague, July 20. S. N. 1678.

My Lord,

HAVING drawn up Matters here to a Head ; at least, as far as can be till the 5th of next Month ; and besides, the Draught of our Treaty, which I yet know not whether I can sign, or no ; because I cannot tell whether they will come up to a formal Article, for the Prohibition of Commerce ; and the Matter will not be of so pressing Haste, while they here attend the final Answer from *France* : I have dispatch'd away Mr. *Meredith* his Majesty's Secretary of the Ambassy here, by the *Catherine* Yacht, and encharged with my main Pacquet to the Secretary ; though I send a Duplicate both of it, and my last Dispatch by the Master of the Pacquet-Boat's Hands, that parts the same Day. I have charged him with my Compliments in particular to Your Lordship when he makes his own ; and shall add as little as I can to Your Trouble, besides the Share of what You will have by my main Dispatch : Only I cannot but mark to Your Lordship upon what the *French* Ambassador said to the *Dutch*, of their being sure of *England* upon Treaties being concluded with his Majesty ; that the Prince tells me, Monsieur *d' Avaux* asked Monsieur *Odyke* at *Nimeguen*, when such Treaties were made, Whether the Prince were not included, and had not his Share in them ? And when Monsieur *Odyke* said, Not, and that he believed he knew nothing of it, Monsieur *d' Avaux* seemed much to wonder at it. I presume, by this sort of Dealing among them, You may reckon upon the Thing's growing publick, whatever may have been private between his Majesty and them, when the Affair breaks out between us, as it is like to do, unless *France* make a Peace contrary to those Heights wherewith they have hitherto treated us and all the World. If it does, his Majesty may well put it upon the same Score with many others of that kind, which have been plaid by *France* ; and the publick Notice whereof, will be the only Way to possess all Men, both at Home and Abroad, with the Belief of his Cure beyond Relapse. To hear the Tricks and Insinuations that have been used here, especially to make Men apprehend the joint Designs of his Majesty and the Prince upon the Liberty of this People, and the Resolutions of *France* to defend them ; would make any Man alive lose all Patience : Because it looks as if they deal with Men just like so many Children, and make them believe any Stories of Cocks and Bulls, whenever it served their Turn ; than which nothing can look like so great a Scorn ; and nothing, methinks, can be less born than that. The Mask is falling off here apace, and the Affairs of *Christendom* will, I doubt not, be put once more into his Majesty's Hands, almost by Miracle : But if he lets this Knot slip again by any new Fluctuation, or Change of Measures, 'tis gone for ever, and the Game of *Christendom*, as well as his own, never to be retrieved.

The Pensioner and Monsieur *Van Lewen* tell me this Evening, That they have certain Intelligence of the Intention of *France*, to flight both *Charleroy* and *Oudenarde*, in case they come to an Evacuation of the Places in *Flanders* ; which is directly (as they Two say) contrary to the express Terms of the Agreement. I ought to be instructed what I am to do here in case of such an Incident, even upon the Execution of the Peace. I hear from all Hands, the *French* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, are horribly unquiet upon the Transactions here : And Monsieur *Fagel* told me, He could not but observe, that the *French* Ambassadors could now come to theirs with this Memorial, and all the fair Words ; whereas before, they treated them, *de haut en bas, & comme des coquins*. I am so tired out with this cruel Pinch of Business since my coming over, that though I remember nothing else worth Your Lordship's Trouble, yet if I should, for the present, have forgot any material Point, I

can-

cannot doubt Your Pardon, to one that is with so great Passion, and so perfect a Truth,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To Sir Lyonell Jenkins.

Hague, July 20. S. N. 1678.

My Lord,

I Am extremely asham'd, as well as sorry, to find Two Letters before me of the 16th and 28th from Your Lordship, without having the Satisfaction of giving You any Accounts from hence by the last Post; the Fault whereof I must needs lay upon Mr. *Meredith*, and leave him to excuse himself as well as he can; yet, I will say, not to lessen that Fault, but only that Misfortune, that I could not have found very much to have informed Your Lordship from hence on *Sunday* last, besides only the Subject of my Instructions, and the Assurance of my having pursued them here. For the first, I presume, Your Lordship had the Knowledge of them given You from the Secretary's Office, about the Time of my Dispatch; and for the other, I will so far reckon upon Your Lordship's Justice, as to have believ'd it of me, whether I gave You part of it or no; however, finding my self this Morning in possession of one Hour of Leisure, after the sharpest Pinch of Business ever since I came over, that ever yet fell upon me in my Life; and not being assured, that the Secretary's Office acquitted themselves to Your Lordship as they ought to have done upon this Occasion, and as, I am sure, was the King's Intention; I will tell Your Lordship, That the King having laid his absolute Commands upon me, about a Month since, to go away for *Nimeguen*, and assist there at the Conclusion of the Peace (which seem'd then so near) and to use my best Offices, that no Difficulty should arise between the *French* and *Spaniards*, and thereby the *French* should have no Occasion left of making any farther Progress of their Arms in *Flanders*; I submitted to his Majesty's Pleasure, though I had often resolv'd, since I went last over, never to turn my Face Northward any more; but I saw then no other Way left of saving that little which remaineth in *Flanders*, considering the Circumstances that plaid here in *Holland*, as well as at Home; and Your Lordship knows how long and how often I have told You and my other Friends, That with the Loss of that Country, all my Politicks are ended.

When I was ready, and within Twenty four Hours of embarking upon this Errand, Your Lordship's Letter came to his Majesty's Hands, giving him an Account of that new Incident from *France*, which alone, in Appearance, could have obstructed that Peace, by their refusing to evacuate the Places in *Flanders*, till the Restitution in *Sweden*: I never saw the King more surprized than at this News, who sent to me immediately to acquaint me with it; and, I must needs say, that I found both the King and the Duke growing so angry upon it, that I thought it my Part to temper them as far as I could, desiring them, Not to reason, or, at least, not to conclude upon a Thing which was yet uncertain; but, in the first place, to be assured, either from the *French* Ambassador, or else from *France*, whether that Thing was true or no; because all Steps or Resolutions taken upon it, would be forced to change, in case *France* should disown their Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, in what they advanced there upon this Occasion. His Majesty was pleas'd to follow this Method, and that very Night spoke to Monsieur *Barillon* about it; but finding him to own no Knowledge of it, and, much less, Instructions upon it, and, indeed, not seeming to believe the Thing, Two Expresses were dispatch'd
away

away into *France* the two following Days, one by Monsieur *Barillon*, for his own Instruction, and the other by his Majesty to Mr. *Mountague*, for his clear Information upon the Point, with Orders to draw a sudden and positive Answer upon it from that Court.

The Day after, upon Application of the *Dutch* Ambassadors, representing the Thing to his Majesty in the same Colours, and with the Circumstances Your Lordship had done before, together with the Resolution taken upon it by the States their Masters, not to submit to such a new and unreasonable Imposition, by which they were like to lose all the Good they pretended from the Peace ; and desiring his Majesty's Protection in it ; the King thought it a Matter of that Weight and Consequence, that he resolved immediately to dispatch away my Lord *Sunderland*, to know fully the Mind of *France* in this Matter, and with Orders not to stay above Five Days in *Paris* for his Answer. His Lordship was ready to be gone, and within Six Hours of parting from the Town, when not only Monsieur *Barillon*'s Express, as well as his Majesty's, having returned with an absolute Answer from *France*, That they were resolved not to evacuate the Towns ; a second Express arrived from Mr. *Mountague*, not only to confirm the former Answer, but to let his Majesty know, That the King of *France* had desired Mr. *Mountague*, that no Person might be sent over upon that Occasion ; since it was a Thing in which he was resolved, and which, therefore, would bear no Reasoning.

Upon this Dispatch, his Majesty immediately stopp'd that of my Lord *Sunderland*, and resolv'd to hasten mine, with new Instructions, to assure this State, How much his Majesty was surpriz'd at this new Incident from *France* ; how intirely he approv'd their Resolution already taken upon it, and how firmly he was resolved to stand by them in it. I was charged likewise with Powers and Orders, to conclude immediately upon Measures between his Majesty and this State, in case of the War's going on ; provided I could first agree with them in these Three Points : The First, Of not making the Peace without mutual Consent ; or, at least, without the Conditions of *January* last. The Second, A joining with his Majesty in the Prohibition of *French* Commerce : And, Lastly, A Concert of Forces. I could not disobey his Majesty in this Second Commission, though I was infinitely discourag'd by many Circumstances, and, most of all, by Mr. *Hyde* and *Godolphin*, who told me plainly, That Matters were gone on too far here to be retrieved ; at least, that they were sure it could never be done, without his Majesty's first declaring the War ; which he could not resolve upon, till he was first sure of the Mind of *Holland* in that Case : However, I came over, and what hath passed here will be better told Your Lordship by the *Dutch* Ambassadors, than by me, with whom, I know, You live in Confidence, and will do so the more upon this Occasion : Besides, I had rather leave it to them, because I both want Time, and should be forc'd often to speak of my self in it, which I ever love to avoid. The Upshot of all hitherto is, That the States seem to resolve an immediate Answer shall be given to the *French* Ambassadors last Memorial at *Nimeguen*, and that a positive Answer from *France* shall be desired by the 5th of next Month, upon the Point of evacuating the Places ; that, in the mean Time, the Measures shall be concluded between his Majesty and this State, in case of *France*'s persisting to refuse it ; and the very Towns of *Amsterdam*, *Leyden*, and *Rotterdam*, as well as all the rest of this Province, seem absolutely and unanimously resolved, in case of such a Refusal, to go on with the War, in Conjunction with his Majesty, as well as the rest of the Allies, and upon the strictest Measures between them. This Resolution I thought would have pass'd this Day ; but the final Resolution is referr'd till to morrow Morning : However, I would not let this Post go away without telling Your Lordship thus much, and adding, for Your better Light, That I find the Prince infinitely satisfied with the States Dispositions and Carriage in this whole Transaction, since I came over ; and that I left the Duke so violently bent upon a War with *France*, that he told the King publickly at the Foreign Committee, in my Hearing, the Day before I came away, after repeating several Circum-

Circumstances of the *French* ill Usage and Intention towards him, That nothing could be more evident, than the *French* Design of an Universal Monarchy ; that nothing but *England* could hinder it ; and that his Majesty, without engaging in it, would hazard his own Crown and Safety, as well as that of *Christendom*.

I am ever,

Your Lordship's most Faithful

Humble Servant,

W. Temple.

To my Lord Treasurer.

Hague, July 25. 1678.

My Lord,

THO' the other Letter be of a staler Date, yet, upon Perusal again, I found some Things in it that might be proper enough for Your Lordship to know, and so I am content to let it go. I shall only here give Your Lordship Joy of this Negotiation atchieved under Your Ministry ; which is by all on this Side esteemed a much greater than another, whereon I have known some former Ministers in *England* value themselves very much, tho' not very long. That which may possibly make this the more acceptable to his Majesty, is the Evidence of so much Art and Industry, with which the *French* have of late used all the Practices imaginable to gain this State ; upon the Belief whereof, I doubt, they have not considered us the more, or used us the better. For, I do not find, that the *French* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, took any Notice of Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* in the Delivery of their late Memorial there ; or that he came to be possessed of it otherwise than from the *Dutch* Ambassadors. And since I came over, Monsieur d' *Estrades* has written several Letters to the Towns of *Amsterdam*, *Rotterdam*, *Dort*, and *Leyden*, to persuade them, that the Prince of *Orange* and his Friends will have no Peace : And the Pensioner has surprized an Original Letter from Monsieur *Louvois* to Monsieur d' *Estrades* ; by which he bids him tell those of his Correspondents in *Holland*, from whom the last Advice came, That in case they gave him no better, he would certainly stop their Pensions. The best on't is, the Sore seems to be broken, and to have run out so, as to leave the Body more healthful than before : And if God bless the Prince in this one Enterprize of *Mons*, he will be greater here than ever any of his Ancestors were : I suppose, one good Fruit more may arise from this Affair ; which is, That I do not believe any Man who sees the Course of my Dispatches, can think there are any more Tricks in the Business ; nor do I see why Men should be sick any longer of that imaginary Disease in *England*, after they are cured Here. And if the Cure should be wrought at a Time in both Places, the World is safe, let the War go on ; if not, it may be lost still : And I know not whether I shall have Charity enough to pray God forgive them that prove the Occasion of it. How all this is received in Court or Country, I should be glad to know from Your Lordship : For, after all the Compliments made me here upon it, I am from thence to judge what I may have deserved by the infinite, perpetual Trouble and Application it has forced me upon since I came over.

I send Your Lordship a Copy inclosed of my Dispatch this Day to Mr. Secretary ; which Mr. *Meredith* resolves first to put into Your Lordship's Hands : And whatever other Observances You can receive from him, I am sure will be rendred to Your Lordship there and here, upon this and all other Occasions :

sions ; since he can have learned nothing else, in the House of a Person that is, and ever shall be, with a constant and equal Passion and Truth,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To the KING.

Hague, July 25. S. N. 1678.

May it please Your Majesty,

HAVING since my coming last over, not only drawn all Things here to a Head, but this Day reduc'd them into Form, and signed a Treaty with the States, according to my Instructions, upon their Consent to all the Four Points given me in Charge ; I presume Your Majesty will find it as much to Your Satisfaction, as all Persons here believe it to the Honour and Greatness of Your Crown : Which is all I shall say upon a Subject, wherein I have had so much Part my self. However, You will not, I hope, be displeased to know, That this Affair so ended, has left the Prince of *Orange*, in his own Opinion, a Happy Man ; and in all others here, a great Prince once more : this State being more fallen in than ever with his Highness, and both of them more than ever into a Dependance upon Your Majesty. I pray God, You may use so great a Conjunction, so as may be most for Your own Glory and Felicity, as well as those of Your Crowns ; and then I have my End and my Reward.

Having charged Mr. *Meredith*, Your Majesty's Secretary of the Ambassy here, with the Delivery of the Treaty, and my Dispatch to Mr. Secretary *Williamson* ; I could not but give him this Occasion of laying himself at Your Majesty's Feet, and ask Your Pardon for the long Troubles I have been forced to give Your Majesty, since my Arrival here ; as well as assure You at the same Time, That no Man alive can be with a sincerer Truth, or greater Devotion, than I am, and shall be ever,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most Loyal,

and most Obedient

Subject and Servant.

To Mr. Hyde.

Hague, July 29. S. N. 1678.

My Lord,

I Heard by Your Servants here, That You were grown to be so ill at Court, as to be gone down into the Country to a scurvy Piece of Land You had bought there : And I, like a true Courtier, upon this News, would not take the Pains to write to a Man whose Affairs went so ill : But for fear my Intelligence should prove as false as what Monsieur d' *Estrades* had received of late from *Amsterdam* ; and that You should not only be well at Court still, but the Land You went to see, should prove to be one of the best Mannors of *England* ;

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I could

I could no longer omit assuring Your Excellency of my humble Services, and of the Joy wherewith I shall either obey Your Commands here, or receive Your Protection at *Nimeguen*, as his Majesty's Orders shall either keep me in this Place, or call us both thither ; of which I have yet no certain Prospect.

Now I have made You my scurvy Compliments, if You please, we will leave them all off ; and in the common Stile of Friends, I will first tell You, That I have had the good Luck to end the Business with which his Majesty charged me here, extremely to the Prince of *Orange's* Satisfaction, and as much to that of the States ; excepting some few, who, by shewing their Discontent at it, have discovered themselves to be too plainly and too deep in the *French* Interest, to be looked upon any longer as Dealers here. Now, I would be glad to know from You, as a Friend, and not as a Minister, what is said or thought of it at Court, and whether they continue in the Mind I left them ; or what Points the Wind may have tacked about since ; and what my Lord *Sunderland's* Business at present is into *France* ; which is the great Subject of Talk and Reflections here. I would be glad likewise to know Your Conjectures there, whether *France* will come to the Peace or no, without refusing any longer to evacuate the Towns, which is the present Wager current at *Amsterdam* ; and my Lord Ambassador *Jenkins*, according to the Lights of *Nimeguen*, was absolutely of Opinion Yesterday they would.

There never was so desolate a Place as the *Hague* at this Time : And yet I was content the Prince should go, because I never saw any Body go in so good Humour, as both He and all about him, upon the Conclusion made here the Night before ; by which his Friends take him to make a greater Figure than ever he did since he came to the Government : But this will depend in some measure too, upon the Figure he will make in *Flanders* ; where I have no very good Opinion of the Relief of *Mons*, upon the joining of Mareschal *Humieres* and *Schomberg* with the Duke of *Luxemburg* : Of all which, You will sooner receive an Account by *Flanders* than from hence, where we have had since *Monday* last, a perfect Vacation of all Affairs ; so that You shall have no farther Trouble beyond the Assurances of my being ever, and truly,

Your, &c.

I gave Mr. *Meredith* Order to wait upon You from me, and to give You any Accounts You desired of all that had passed here.

To Mr. Godolphin.

Hague, July 29. S. N. 1678.

S I R,

I Had not Time to write to You by Mr. *Meredith*, which was due not only to You, but to the Inclosure of a Letter the Prince had given me for You, upon the Assurance, that I intended to write to You by that Dispatch. All I could do then, was to order Mr. *Meredith* to wait upon You particularly from me ; and both assure You of my Service, and give You any Account You cared for being troubled with, of my late Negotiation here. I knew You were so much a Friend of the Prince, as to be glad of what he was so much pleased, and all about him so exalted with here ; because they never took him to be in so great Credit or Authority, as upon the Conclusion of this Business ; and thereby the Dependance of this State being wholly cast upon *England*, which was just upon the Point of being thrown into *France* : and thereby leaving the Prince in such a Figure, as I believe would have broke his Heart, if it had proved without Remedy. What You say or think of it on that side, I am yet to know, and whether You continue in the Mind I left You, or how the Weather has changed. And though You promised to have my Statue set up, if I could

could bring this State to take their Measures with us before we had declared, the War, especially upon the Point of prohibiting Commerce ; yet after that and all other Points attained perfectly to his Majesty's Mind, I will only expect that You keep me from being hanged up in Effigie ; if all should be changed, and my Lord *Sunderland* should have more to do in *France*, than I have here. This is the present Subject of wise Talk in this Place : And, as both Mr. *Hyde* and You concluded with me at my coming away, that one great Ground of the ill and hasty Paces made here of late to a Peace, was, the Belief they were in of ours in *England* ; so, I believe, You will conclude with me, That if we let this Knot slip but once more, it is never to be retrieved again ; and they will run into *France* without any Stop, upon a Disdain of all our Conduct in *England*, and the Despair of our proving constant to their Interest, or our own. In short, The King is once more at the Head of all the Affairs in *Christendom* : What Use he will make of it is in his own Hands, and those of his Ministers and Servants that are about him. Among whom, as I know no Man that wishes better at Heart to his Majesty and his Kingdoms, than You do ; so, I am sure, no Man can wish better to You, in all Points, than I do ; nor more desire the Occasions of expressing the sincere Truth and Passion, as well as Esteem, wherewith I am and shall be always,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To the Duke of Ormond.

Hague, August 1. S. N. 1678.

My Lord,

SINCE my Arrival here, I have had the hardest Pinch of Business that ever befell me in my Life. I have concluded and signed a Treaty between his Majesty and the States ; by which he is obliged to enter into the War, and they to continue it, and not make Peace without much greater Conditions, if *France* does not agree to those the States accepted (about a Month since) by the 11th of this Month. The Prince would not stir till this Treaty was signed, believing all his own Interests, and the greatest of the Crown of *England*, to depend upon it. After it was done, he went away immediately to the Army ; a Great Prince in all others Opinions, and a Happy one in his own ; which he had been far from in both for some Months past. The *French* have used all the Artifices imaginable to hinder these Measures between us, and to take them separately with this State, in our Exclusion, and even that of the Prince of *Orange*. Their last was Two Days since, by a Memorial of their Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, offering, That the King of *France* would advance himself as far as *St. Quintin*, to meet any Deputies the States would send thither, and treat with them in Person. The States having Yesterday considered with me upon it, have refused the Offer ; desired a positive Answer upon evacuating the Places in *Flanders*, and let the *French* Ambassadors know, they should not be many Days *en leur entier* to receive it. This is a strange Change of Stile in the World, and the King is once more at the Head of Affairs in *Christendom*. What Use we shall make of this Conjunction, is in the Stars : Your Grace and I will not venture to guess, considering how well we know our Court : But I am sure, we shall join in our Wishes ; and mine shall ever be, for the good Health and good Fortunes that Your Grace can propose to Your self ; since no Man can be with greater Passion nor Truth, than I am, and shall be ever,

My Lord,

Your Grace's, &c.

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To

To Mr. Secretary Williamson.

Hague, August 1. S. N. 1678.

SIR,

Yesterday, about Noon, came an Express from Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, bringing me the inclosed Memorial, inviting the States to send their Deputies to *St. Quintin*, in *Picardy*, where his most Christian Majesty will in Person meet with them. I looked upon it as a Resolution in *France* grounded upon Advices from hence ; as believing that so great a Condescension as this of his most Christian Majesty, could not but give new Life to Monsieur *Pats*, and his Party. That the Effect of it would be, to draw this State into a Negotiation, not only separate from all their Allies, but even from all Offices, or Intervention, of his Majesty, as Mediator ; and make Way for some of the considerable Persons of this State to take particular Measures with the Court of *France*.

This Morning Monsieur *Van Lewen* was with me, and we discoursed of this new Memorial. He said, The Thing seemed of the same Piece with all that had come of late from *France* ; and to be all but an Amusement, while he pursued the taking of *Mons*, and the Hopes that this State would still fall into some Expedient, in the Point of evacuating the Places. That he was of Opinion, the States would make some Reflection upon this new Offer ; particularly the *French* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen* having said to the State's, That by this Way of Treating, Affairs might be more advanced in Twenty four Hours, than in as many Days by other Hands. He told me, That the States General had resolved, that their Commissioners for secret Affairs should come to me, and ask my Opinion upon this new Proposition ; which he (Monsieur *Van Lewen*) desired to know before-hand.

I told him, I was sure sending to *St. Quintin* could do no good ; since, if they were resolved, as he said they were, to insist upon the Evacuation of the Towns, without farther Expedient, that might be better done at *Nimeguen*. That besides, it would be less Respect to a great King, to draw him so far in Person, only to receive a peremptory Message from them, without Instructions to treat, or fall into Temperaments upon it. That thirdly, since before the Treaty signed with his Majesty, they had resolved not to send to *Paris*, nor *Ghent*, I thought, since the Treaty concluded they could not send to *St. Quintin*, and thereby exclude his Majesty from any Part in the Negotiation, either as Mediator, or otherwise, without his Majesty's Consent ; which could not be had but by sending into *England*, since I had no Instructions upon this new Incident. That this could not be performed within the Time prefixed in the Treaty, of the 11th of this Month : And, therefore, my Opinion was, That they should answer this Memorial by another short one from their Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, expressing, That they could come to no new Negotiations, without the Communication and Consent of his Majesty, with whom they had entered into Measures upon the late Incident in the Negotiation of the Peace. I told Monsieur *Van Lewen*, That this was *le grand & le beau chemin* ; and that I did not see how they could take any other, considering their Ties to his Majesty and *Spain*, who had joined them in accepting the Peace.

Monsieur *Van Lewen* fell in with my Opinion, but could not pretend to guess what the Advice of the several Towns would be upon it : After this he left me. I then began to reflect what Issue this Affair would have had, in case the Treaty had not been signed before it came ; which it must not have been if I had first received Your Orders of the 16th current ; by which I found his Majesty insisted upon the Prohibition of Commerce to be made a Part of the Treaty, by particular Article, or Convention ; which the Prince, Pensioner, and Commissioners told me, could not be any Ways hoped for from

from the Province of *Holland*, so as upon it the Treaty must, of Necessity, have demurred ; which imported as much as the whole Issue of this Negotiation, in case it had not been concluded before the Prince left this Place.

While I was in these last Thoughts, and had pursued my Letter as far as this last Period, I received Yours of the 11th, upon the late Treaty's having been produced before his Majesty, at a Foreign Committee, with so many Faults laid to my Charge in this Transaction, that I have Reason to be as much mortified as You can wish me ; though You are pleased to say, Some of the Faults You find are without present Order.

The Three chief Points You have Orders to except to, and to desire a Change, or Elucidation, upon them, I will answer as well as I can.

As to that of Commerce ; I was left by the large Period upon it in my Instructions, to more Liberty than I have taken ; and the Prince, Pensioner, and Commissioners all assured me, it was not to be gained, by Convention, before-hand ; but would certainly follow upon this Resolution of the States, and last as long as the War : And the Prince took upon him to hinder the failing of it from the Emperor, or *Spain* ; though that Clause was put in to keep them up to the Rigour of the said Prohibition.

For that of the Concert of the Forces, I told You the Commissioners said, It would be agreed to in very few Days here : And I charged my Secretary to let You know, That they had agreed upon it, by Provision, in that very Number of Land Forces I had before mentioned : And I resolved, upon the Return of the Pensioner here to Town, to come to a Specification between us of them, both at Land and Sea ; so that I could never have imagined this as an Omission ; since I was tied to nothing in my Instructions, farther than the Proportions of Three to Two.

For that of the Restriction to *Europe* ; I must confess it a Fault, since You say it is found so : But I told You then, it was a Point I had no Light given me in at all, from You or any Body else in *England* : That all the Practices I had ever had there, confirmed me in it, as well as the Pensioner, who told me, This State had never made any Treaty that extended beyond *Europe*.

Thus, I confess, I thought I had followed my Instructions, upon all these Points, and did not act with so much punctilious Caution as I ought, it may be, to have done ; for the Conjunction was so critical, and to be concluded before the Prince's going, or else to be lost, which was to decide whether this State should fall into a Dependence upon *England* or *France*.

This is a Point the *French* value, and pursue at another Rate, of which there needs no other Testimony than this *Demarche* of *St. Quintin*.

But, since the greatest Service I could ever hope to do his Majesty, or the Crown of *England*, proves to be a Fault, I humbly ask his Majesty's Pardon ; and shall learn hereafter to tie my self as strictly to my Orders, as a Clerk of the Office ought to do, since I find so severe a Lash hang over me : Though I am, I confess, of Opinion, That no Prince, or State, can ever tie up so strictly, either a General, or an Ambassador ; or give them Reason to act in perpetual Fear, without losing the greatest Occasions in the World, either in Treaties or in War. And so I end this unpleasant Subject, and am, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, August 2. S. N. 1678.

S I R,

LAST Night I acquainted the Pensioner with what had passed between me and the Commissioners, and the Resolution we were come to ;
which

which was, That it was not fit to send to *St. Quintin*, and they could not do it without the Participation of *England*.

He said, It was very well; and that this Artifice of *France*, as it was the last, so it was the greatest; and that we had but this Blow to ward: That if our Treaty had not been concluded, he should have been in pain, but did not fear now; and said, The States of *Holland* were to assemble upon it this Morning.

This Morning at Five I received a Letter from the Prince, expressing the greatest Pain in the World upon this last Memorial at *Nimeguen*; desiring me to do all that was possible to hinder any Deputation to *St. Quintin* or *Ghent*; and to speak my self to all Persons here, that I thought would be inclined to it. At Five the Pensioner came to me, and gave me an Account of the Resolution being taken both in the States of *Holland*, and after in the States General, upon the *French* Memorial: That they could not send to *St. Quintin*, or *Ghent*, having nothing at all to propose: That they desired the *French* Answer, positive, upon the Point of evacuating the Places, and signing the Peace: That they should not be many Days *en leur entier* to receive it: And this to be sent to the *French* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, with a private Letter to the *Dutch* Ambassadors, to let them know, That the 11th of this Month was the last Day they should be able to attend their Answer.

He told me, All this was agreed unanimously at last; though some insisted long upon writing a Letter to the most Christian King; but not That it self without first asking my Consent to it; deferring as much as was possible to the Measures they had taken with *England*.

He was in so good Humour upon this Occasion, that I thought I could never have a better, to put him upon giving his Majesty the Satisfaction You desire in those Points of the Treaty: And so I press'd him upon it in the Way You order me.

Upon the first of Commerce, his Answer was, *Qu'il étoit impossible de le faire par convention, mais qu'il étoit aussi impossible que cela pût manquer pendant la guerre, & qu'il m'en assureroit, cette resolution des Etats ne pouvant être changée sans une nouvelle; & il pouvoit toujours empêcher cette nouvelle resolution.*

For the Concert of Forces, he said, That by the 11th of this Month, when we should see whether it were War or Peace, the States would enter with me into a Specification of Forces for Sea and Land; and that he thought Forty Ships would be the utmost that they should furnish at present: That according as Occasion should happen, there would be other Concerts hereafter.

For the Third, for the *Guarentée mutuelle* beyond *Europe*, he said, That he would not say positively, that in the Treaty, according as You alledged, there was not such a Clause, because of the Extremity they were in when *Spain* engaged with them; but confessed he had told me, this State never engaged beyond *Europe*: That if it were so, he would use all the Endeavours he could to have it done: But considering the Strength and Populousness of our Plantations, and the Weakness of the *French*, he could not believe but that we should beat them wholly out of the *West Indies*.

He then desired me, with the greatest Earnestness in the World, that I would represent to his Majesty the stopping, and thereby spoiling so great an Affair, by any Difficulties in such Points as these. That he would write to Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* to that Purpose, if it were not that I told him, how his Majesty kept the whole as a Secret to all but him and the Prince. That, for their Part, their Ratifications would be ready on *Thursday* next.

His Majesty has the whole Matter before him; and I desire my Instructions may be clear and positive; which I shall not fail of obeying.

I am, &c.

To

To my Lord Treasurer.

Hague, August 2. S. N. 1678.

My Lord,

I Will not trouble Your Lordship with any thing that goes in my Dispatch this Post to Mr. Secretary *Williamson*, because I know You have Your Share in it. I will only tell You, That after all the Applauses have been given me here upon the Perfection of the last Treaty, and among all the Accounts given this last Post from *England*, of his Majesty's and the general Satisfaction upon it there; I received a Letter from Secretary *Williamson*, that found Twenty Faults with it, and allows nothing in it that was good. I was the more surprized, because Your Lordship had let me know, the Post before, that every thing stood upon the same Foot it did when I left *England*; and I had observed, that our Forces were since come over into *Flanders*; by which, and by the *French* Demarches here and at *Nimeguen*, where they take no notice of his Majesty's Mediation in all that passes between them and the *Dutch*, I concluded all Confidence irreparably broke between Us and *France*; especially the Usage of our Troops there, succeeding their Instances about disbanding them at Home. All this considered, I could not imagine there could have been no Good in a Treaty that drew the Dependence of this State wholly from *France*, and cast it upon *England*, in such a Conjunction, and about which his Majesty was so solicitous when I left him. I concluded, this must be personal in Secretary *Williamson*; and I have written to him accordingly, and justified my self; as, I am sure, if there was a Fault, it must have been in the Lameness of his Instructions, which no Ambassador can act by, and upon which I call Mr. *Hyde*, Mr. *Godolphin*, and Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* to witness; and Your Lordship too, upon this single Period in his last Instructions the Post before last, upon the Time of our declaring the War, which I was much prest about here, and was fain to fence off as I could. His Words are these, of July 16th. "As to the Time of his Majesty's declaring the War, That, you know, is to be taken upon the Time of the Signing the Treaty; and not at all to depend on the Time set for the French's Refusal of this farther Offer, otherwise than as that shall relate to the concluding of the proposed Treaty between his Majesty and Holland." My Secretary and I were both very long busie, not to find out the Sense, but his own Meaning of it, and were fain to give it absolutely over, which happened to me so often, that 'tis nothing new from that Hand. These Lashes and Mortifications are as little so too, having very often befallen me from him; but never once from my Lord *Arlington*, Secretary *Trevor*, or Secretary *Coventry*, in Ten Years Service under their Correspondence. I should be very glad to know from Your Lordship, whether I am mistaken or no, in believing this Usage personal from him: For, if it be from his Majesty, I shall take it for another Sign, and make another Use of it. In the mean Time, I beg Your Lordship to take Care, that my Instructions may be clear hereafter, or, at least, intelligible; for I am resolved to do nothing without them, let what will happen. One Thing more I beg Your Lordship to get altered by his Majesty's Command; which is, That I may have constant Advice from one of the Secretary's Office, of all that passes in *England*; at least, what can relate to Affairs here. I believe, no Ambassador before ever failed of at least a Paper of Occurrences every Post; and in all the Time I have been here, I have not received one Line; so that I knew neither of my Lord *Sunderland's* going, my Lord *Feverham's*, nor the Marquis *Burgomaine's*, otherwise than by the Deputies or other Ministers here; much less of *du Cros's* Overture in *England*, that the Towns should be restored by *France*, in case this State would give their Guaranty, that none of the Allies should assist the Enemies of *Sweden*. I mention this, because, though it be as impracticable as other Things of that kind, that have come from *France*, yet it has made a great

great Buz among half-witted People here, when it came to be confidered upon this laſt Memorial of the *French*, whether any Expedient could be offered by *France* in the Point of evacuating the Towns.

The Wiſe conclude all to be Artifice, and never a greater, than this Offer of the moſt Chriſtian King, to come in Perſon to *St. Quintin*, to meet and treat with the Deputies of this State. They conſider the Conſequence of ſuch a King's cajoling, or his Miniſters corrupting any that ſhould go; but chiefly of amuſing theſe People ſo far as to break the Times, and thereby the Meaſures concluded with us. They believe the Bottom of all to be the amuſing either Us, or *Holland*, till upon the Approach of Winter, and the *German* Armies going into Quarters, they may draw all their Forces out of *Germany*, and make one Puſh for the Conqueſt of *Flanders*. In the mean Time, that which is ſown by them here with ſuch Induſtry, is, Firſt, That nothing can defend this State and Country from all its Neighbours, but *France*; nor, conſequentially, give them perpetual Peace and Trade: Then, That *France* can never have any Deſign upon their Liberty, becauſe they can make more uſe of their Men and Ships, while they are Great and Flouriſhing, than they can do by their growing Weak and Poor; which muſt follow the conquering and ſuppreſſing their Liberties. Then, That they are no Rival to them in Trade, which *England* is, and muſt ever be; and that all the Danger to their Liberties, is, from his Majeſty and the Prince of *Orange*, upon Concert between them, in relation to *England* and this Country: And now, laſtly, upon this Incident at *Nimeguen*, they ſay, It all aroſe only upon a Viſit made by Count *Oxenſtern* to the *French* Ambaſſadors, when they were ready to ſign the Peace; deſiring them, it might not be done without a Proviſion for *Sweden*: And that no Surprise could be greater, than that of the King of *France*, when he heard the Peace was delayed by that Incident. In ſhort, They are extreme ſenſible of having made a horrible ill Pace, and would fain recover it, but find it very difficult, and, I believe, will not be able, unleſs we help them, which, whether we ſhall or no, Your Lordſhip beſt knows.

I ſend You the laſt *French* Memorial in Print; for the ſame Day they communicated it to the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, they diſperſed numerous printed Copies among all theſe Provinces. I ſend Your Lordſhip likewise a peculiar printed ſort of *Gazette*, which comes out every Poſt, but only into few and particular Hands; but is the ſhrewdeſt Pen, and the beſt informed that ever I met with.

I am ever, with the ſame Paſſion and Truth,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

I am very well content his Majeſty may ſee this Letter, and judge upon it, how I am like to ſerve him in the Circumſtances I ſtand with the Secretary's Office.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, Auguſt 5. S. N. 1678.

S I R,

THE Penſioner having been with me, I have diſcourſed him upon the Points which You ſaid his Majeſty would have inſiſted upon; and he promiſes all his beſt Offices to bring them about; but ſaid, That his Majeſty would not be much concerned for the Amendments in theſe Points, if it were a Peace;

a Peace ; which, for his Part, he did not at all doubt of ; and therefore desired me to endeavour, that nothing might be stirred before the Ratification, upon which he took the Peace to depend. I asked him, What made him think so ? He replied, He would tell me in Confidence, that Monsieur *Sylvercroon* had been with him the Day before, to let him know, That the *Swedish* Ambassadors had written to the *French* King, to desire him not to hinder the Peace of *Christendom* any longer, by insisting upon the Restitution of *Sweden* before the Evacuation of the Towns ; and that they expected an Answer from *France* upon it within two or three Days. That hereupon, He, the Pensioner concluded, *France* was resolved to make the Peace, and evacuate the Towns ; for, he was very sure, *France* and *Sweden* understood one another ; that the last made no Peace without the Direction and Consent of the other. He said, Monsieur *Sylvercroon* had spoken to him of it, as a Thing done ; and said upon it, That he hoped now the Peace was made, and that this State would not *acroche* it upon the Neutrality of *Cleves* and *Juliers*. That He, the Pensioner had told him, That was a Point the State had come to no Resolution in, but only to order their Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, to use all the most pressing Offices they could with the *French* Ambassadors upon it ; but that there were Four of the Provinces resolved not to have the Peace without it ; and, for his Part, he would cry against it all he could. He desired to know his Majesty's Thoughts upon it, and that I would write and represent to his Majesty the Importance of this Matter ; and that, in the mean Time, the Peace must take its Course without it.

About Nine a Clock this Morning arrived Mr. *Meredith* with new Instructions from his Majesty, grounded upon an Intimation of Monsieur *du Cros*, as is there express'd. Soon after Monsieur *du Cros* himself came to me, and told me the whole Story of his Proposition. He enlarged upon his Majesty's great Bounty to the Crown of *Sweden*, by yielding to every one of the Points which he had proposed to his Majesty in his Memorial ; and concluded with the Joy he should have in seeing me so soon at *Nimeguen*, to second the Assurances he was to give the *Swedish* Ambassadors upon this Occasion.

I told him, That the Intentions of his Journey and mine, had already been prevented by the *Swedish* Ambassadors having of themselves made that Pace towards the Peace, which he pretended to bring them to by his Majesty's Concessions. Upon this, Monsieur *du Cros* looked extremely surprized ; but recovering himself, said, He did believe the Letters he writ to the *French* Ambassadors the Post before he came away, might have had that Effect, as to make them do the Thing before he came : But it was *dans la veüe dequêque chose qu'ils esperoient d' Angleterre* : But, by comparing Times, I found that could not be.

He seemed very unresolved upon all these Discourses, whether he should go to *Nimeguen*, or not ; and asked me, What I intended to do ? I answered, I should not resolve to stir, without first giving an Account to Court of the Matter as it stood. So we parted, and he went about Five this Afternoon towards *Nimeguen*.

I cannot but take notice, That some of his Majesty's Concessions in *du Cros's* Memorial, are of as great Importance as can be to the Crown of *England* : As the Third and Fourth, concerning the Liberty not only of levying our Mariners and Soldiers, but of buying our Ships and Men of War.

What Effect Monsieur *du Cros's* Discourses may have here, I cannot tell, as to the Peace ; but as to his Majesty's Measures and Intentions in it, they have, I am sure, had a very ill one. For my part, I neither understand the Councils upon which they were grounded, nor will pretend to judge of the Event.

About Seven in the Afternoon, I spoke with the Pensioner again, and communicated to him my new Instructions. He said, There would be no Difficulty as to the Neutrality of the Enemies of *Sweden*, nor as to those of the Allies, who accepted not the Peace with *France*. Then he said, The State had sent to *Nimeguen* their Answer, by which they could not send to *St. Quintin* ;

tin; and upon the Communication of it to the *French*, Monsieur Colbert had fallen into the greatest *Emportement* in the World, and particularly against Monsieur *Beverning*.

Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* writes me Word, That the *French* take so little notice of his Majesty's Mediation there, that he has not heard one Syllable from them since they gave him their Conditions of the 14th of *April*. I send Mr. *Aglionby* away with this Dispatch, considering the Importance of it: Besides, that this Gentleman having attended the whole Motion of this Affair ever since my coming over, will be able to give his Majesty a very particular Account of all the Steps that have been made in it, and of all that can be known from this Scene.

I am ever, &c.

From Pensioner Fagell.

De par le Pensionnaire Fagell.

Hague, August 6. 1678.

A la Haye, le 6 Aoust, 1678.

S I R,

HAVING well considered the Orders which Your Excellence communicated to me by Direction of the King Your Master, and knowing, That this State will never put the Issue of the Peace upon the Foot of the Neutrality of *Cleves*; and, That You have no Orders in this Point from the King Your Master: That this State will not carry on the War with Vigour, without the exceeding Unreasonableness of *France* in refusing to evacuate the Places, be made appear, as it will when *Sweden* has consented to it: That the King Your Master also will not concur in carrying it on but on this Condition, as appears plainly by this Step, and by the Difficulties which Your Court have made to ratify the Treaty, without such Alterations as can never be consented to here: That *du Cros* is well acquainted with Your Instructions: and, That *Sylvercroon* has already published what they are here, as the other is going to do at *Nimeguen*, and that, perhaps, with some Circumstances worse than they really contain: That *Sweden* seeming willing already to bate something of their Pretensions, and *France* therefore appearing desirous to make the Peace: It is for the Service of this State to owe the doing of it rather to *England*, which will serve to continue and strengthen our mutual Obligations after the Peace; which is a Matter of the last Consequence to the Interests

of

Monsieur,

Tant considéré les ordres que V^{otre} Excellence m'a communiquée de la part du Roy V^{otre} Maître & voyant que cet Etat n'acrochera pas la paix sur la neutralité de *Cleves*, & que Vous n'avez pas aucun ordre là dessus de la part du Roy V^{otre} Maître; que cet Etat ne soutiendra pas la guerre avec vigueur, sans que la France soit mise dans son dernier tort par les refus d'évacuer les places, ce qu'arrivera quand la Suede y aura consenti: Que le Roy V^{otre} Maître ne le fera pas aussi sans cela, comme il paroît par cette demarche, & par les difficultez que V^{otre} Cour a fait de ratifier le traité, sans des changemens qu'on ne peut pas faire icy: Que *du Cros* a scû V^{otre} dépêche, & que *Sylvercroon* l'a déjà débité icy comme l'autre va faire à *Nimegue*, & avec de circonstances pût être plus mauvaises qu'il ne contient: Que la Suede semblant déjà se deporter de leurs pretensions, & par là, la France paroissant de vouloir faire la paix, il sera bon que cet Etat aye encore cette obligation à l'Angleterre, ce qui servira à continuer les liaisons entre nous apres la paix, qui est une chose de la dernière importance pour les interêts de sa Majesté, cet Etat, & le Prince. Je croy pour toutes ces raisons, qu'il est absolument

necessaire,

of his Majesty, of this State, and of the Prince. For all these Reasons, I think it is absolutely necessary for the general Good of *Christendom*, and for the common Interest of each Nation, that Your Excellence should without Delay repair to *Nimeguen*, according to the Orders You have received.

necessaire, tant pour le bien commun de la Chrétienté, que pour leurs interests, que V^{otre} Excellence parte au plûtôt pour Nimegue, ensuite des ordres qu' elle a receu.

I am

Je suis,

Your Excellence's most

De V. E. le tres

Humble and most

Humble & tres

Obedient Servant,

Obeissant Serviteur,

Gasp. Fagell.

Gasp. Fagell.

To Sir Joseph Williamfon.

Nimeguen, August 9. S. N. 1678.

S I R,

IN humble Obedience to his Majesty's express Commands, I Sir *William Temple* came hither at Seven a Clock last Night : Immediately upon my Arrival Monsieur *de Balba* sent to know, whether he might make me a Visit, which I consented to, and he came accordingly.

His Discourse consisted of his Hopes, that I brought a good Peace along with me ; his Desires to hear, whether the Treaty at the *Hague* were ratified or no ; and his Complaints, that the *French*, notwithstanding the *Swedes* having desisted, yet still refused to sign the Peace. That, for his Part, he could not be sorry for it ; for tho' he should have signed it, if they had consented, yet, after having signed a Peace so destructive to *Christendom*, he should have retired himself from all publick Business for the rest of his Life.

Upon the enquiring the Occasion of my coming, I told him, as I have done every Body else, That having been assured at the *Hague*, that the *Swedes* here having desisted from their Pretensions of being restored before the Evacuation of the Places ; and the *French* having always professed that Difficulty to have been raised wholly upon their Occasion ; I made no question but the Peace would be immediately signed ; and thereupon came hither upon his Majesty's Orders, that I should be present at the Conclusion of it.

Upon the Marquis's going out, my Colleague Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* came in to me ; and being surprized at the Unexpectedness of my Arrival, and I asking him, Whether he knew nothing of it ? he said, Nothing, but from the Talk of a confident Man lately arrived here ; who had given out, He had brought the Peace in his Pocket, and Orders for Sir *William Temple* to come with him to *Nimeguen*.

Hereupon, I shewed my Colleague my Instructions, which You last sent me, grounded upon Monsieur *du Cros*'s Proposition : He told me, The Thing was done before I came : That the *Swedes* had not only desisted from their Pretensions ; but that the *French* had owned it in their Memorial on *Sunday* last, and declared, That upon it, their Master desisted from detaining the Towns : But, however, that he, my Colleague, did not find the Peace was much the nearer, since the *French* Ambassadors did still refuse to sign it ; and persisted, that the *Dutch* should send to treat and conclude it, either with the King their Master

in Person, or with the Deputies at *Ghent* : Whereupon, consulting with my Colleague, we concluded together, That we should not say any Thing to the *Swedish* Ambassadors of what Your last Instructions imported, unless they spoke to me of it, and seemed to expect it from me ; in regard that whatever his Majesty intended should be done by the *Swedes*, towards the Evacuation of the Towns, had been already fully done by them : And that no Declaration of his Majesty's Instructions to me was meant, or could tend to this new Difficulty raised by *France*, about the *Dutch* deputing to the most Christian King, or to his Deputies at *Ghent*.

The next Visit I received was at Nine this Morning, from the *Danish* Ambassador, whose Discourse was chiefly upon the Occasion of my Journey hither ; upon the Ground it may give to the *Dutch*, of receiving otherwise this Proposal from *France*, than they might possibly have done if I had been at the *Hague* ; upon the Liberty Monsieur *du Cros* had taken here, of proning the Instructions he brought from his Majesty, and the Credit he had at our Court ; which he, the Ambassador, thought very strange, considering what he passed for at theirs, where he was sufficiently known. And thereupon he gave me a Character of the Man, which I will not trouble You with.

After the *Dane's* leaving me, the *Swedish* Ambassadors came in : Their Discourse consisted in valuing the generous Pace they had made, of desisting from their Pretensions, since those alone seemed so much to retard the Peace.

They said, That though they reckoned upon the good Offices of *Holland*, after the Peace, as well as upon the Assurances of *France* towards their Restitution ; yet their chief Confidence was in the good Intentions of his Majesty towards their Crown ; of which they had received so good Testimonies upon all Occasions.

Hereupon they began to discourse of the last *French* Memorial ; and made their particular Reflections upon Two Passages in it. The first, That *France* seemed to intend that they, the *Swedes*, should owe their Restitution to the Measures that *France* should take with *Holland* upon that Occasion ; whereas their chief Hopes were from his Majesty ; and they had very little from *Holland*, beside their common Offices, after the Peace was made. The next was from the last Words of the Memorial ; by which it appears, That *France* intended to treat and conclude the Peace with the Deputies of the States, in a Place where there was like to be no Minister from *Sweden* ; which, they say, they did not very well understand ; nor thought they had Reason to be satisfied with what the *French* Ambassadors told them upon it, That the King their Master's Intention was, the Peace should be signed at *Nimeguen*, though it were concluded at *St. Quintin*.

All that I answered to these Discourses, was my Compliments upon the Declaration they had made, of desisting from their Pretensions, rather than hindring the Peace of *Christendom* ; and the Assurances that I had Orders to give them, of his Majesty's good Intentions towards their Crown. And here our Discourse was like to end ; when I resolved to make some mention of Monsieur *du Cros*, to find out what they would say upon it ; and what the true Ground had been of his Journey and mine hither.

I told them, That I was in Hopes to have found the Peace ready to be signed here when I came. For, besides the Assurances the Pensioner had given me and Monsieur *Sylvercroon*, at the *Hague*, of their Excellencies having desisted from their Pretensions, which had difficulted the Peace ; I heard, that Monsieur *du Cros* had said upon the Way hither, That he carried the Peace in his Pocket, and that he brought express Orders to them, the *Swedes* Ambassadors, which they had not before.

Monsieur *Oxenstern* said, very gravely, to this, *Assurement nous n'avons pas agi par des ordres qui nous ont été portés par Mr. du Cros* : But Monsieur *Olivecrans*, smiling, said, Monsieur, pour ce qui est de la vanité, il faut pardonner à Monsieur *du Cros*, puisque vous sçavez qu'il est garçon. I told them hereupon, That Monsieur *du Cros* had told both me and Monsieur *Sylvercroon*,

That

That the Declaration made by the *Swedish* Ambassadors here, had been grounded upon the Assurances that his Majesty had given particularly to *Monfieur du Cros*, in *England*. *Monfieur Olivecrans* replied, a little warmly, *Monfieur, vous me pardonneres, cela a été fondé sur les assurances que le Roy m'a donné devant que de partir de Londres.*

By these Lights, I suppose, You will be able to unriddle better than I can do here, what hath been the true Bottom of all this Intrigue.

After the *Swedes* left me, the *Dutch* Ambassadors came in; and presently after them, as we had concerted together, came I *Sir Lyonell Jenkins*. They fell presently into Discourse of the last *French* Memorial; in which, they said, They could find little more than in the former, but that it was a Transposition of Words. For, whereas they had said before, They would not evacuate the Towns, without Restitution to *Sweden*: They now say, They will evacuate the Towns; but they will first treat and agree with the *Dutch* about the Satisfaction of *Sweden*.

They said the first Period was clear, and that upon it they offered to sign the Peace: But the *French* refused, saying, That though their Memorial consisted of Three Periods, yet they were to be taken, *pour une chose, toute d'une suite.*

The next Remark they made, was upon the Words *toutes les places*, in the first Period. Which Word *toutes*, they found, upon search, never to have been in any of their Memorials, or Letters, before. And they observed the Meaning of it might be, That though they desisted from the Design of retaining all the Places, yet they did not from that of retaining some of them: And the Words, if You please to observe them, seem to bear it.

Monfieur Beverning said farther, That when he offered to sign the Peace, and said that they should not be many Days longer at Liberty, *a cause de leurs engagements*: The *French* replied, *Vous, vous fies à vos engagements, Messieurs, & le Roy à deux cent mille hommes qu'il a bien payé.* They told them farther, That his Majesty hath such Treaties with *France*, that would keep him from performing *ce que Monsieur Temple a stipulé à la Haye*. Whereto *Monfieur Colbert* added, *Et pourquoi Monsieur Temple ne vient il pas? il a les ordres du Roy son Maître de revenir icy, aussi ne fait il à la Haye que du mal.*

After they concluded that the Design of *France* was to draw this Business into a particular Negotiation, between them and the States; without either the *Swede* of the one Side, or their Allies of the other; and without *England* too; and by that means to hinder them from the Assistance either of their Allies or of Us. That by these Memorials about Deputations to *France*, and by their Artifices in scattering Copies of them as soon as they were delivered, they hoped to prevent the Measures between Us and *Holland*; and to draw out Time while they pursued the Siege of *Mons*, and while *England* should grow weary of keeping up their Forces; which they knew a Parliament would not be willing to pay for a Peace, though they would for a War. *Mr. Haren* added, *il n'y a personne si Aveugle qui ne voit tous ces Artifices.* They both wished very much that I *Sir William Temple* were now at the *Hague*, because they doubted what Effect this Memorial of *France* might have upon them there; when they should see in the first Period of it, a Declaration of the *French* to evacuate the Towns, but not consider that which follows.

The first Visit I *Sir William Temple* received this Afternoon was from Count *Kinski*; whose chief Discourse was in extolling the Force of *England*, which had appeared so much in his Majesty's late arming so powerfully, in so short a Time; saying, That if the King pleased he was Arbiter of the World; and might be so of this Peace here, if he thought fit.

That for their Part (meaning the *Imperial* Ambassadors) in it, all that he would say, was, That they were sent thither *pour traiter, & non pas pour recevoir des loix*; but that the *French* understood it otherwise; and that nothing had passed between them, since the *French* published the Conditions upon which they would make the Peace, in the Beginning of *April* last: Since which Time they had often offered to treat upon them, but the *French* ex-

cused

cused themselves ; and, for their Parts, they were resolved not to receive those Conditions without treating upon them.

Next to Count *Kinski* came to me the *Brandenburgh* Ambassadors, whose Discourses were either Compliment, or Politick upon the Affairs of *Holland* : How near the Prince was being absolutely lost there about Three Months ago ; and how much he was recovered since this last Incident from *France*, about the evacuating of the Towns.

The next Hours of Five, Six, and Seven, this Afternoon, were given to the Three *French* Ambassadors, who had been the last to demand it of me ; having been Yesterday out of Town at my Arrival. All passed with a great Compliment and Kindness ; besides which Monsieur *d'Esfrades* endeavoured to shew, That all the Sincerity in the World had been of his Master's Side, but that all had been Artificial on the Part of the States ; but especially on Monsieur *Beverning's*, who, he said, was *trop habile homme*, and always found some specious Thing or other to hinder the Peace ; by which the *French* found that the States, absolutely, had no Mind to it, how much soever his Master desires it.

Monsieur *Colbert's* whole Discourse was, How the Incident touching the Towns proceeded wholly from Monsieur *Oxenstern* : How the most Christian King could not, in Honour, refuse it to an Ally ; though he (Monsieur *Colbert*) thought it much against his Master's Interest, and more against that of *Sweden* : That his Master had desisted immediately upon the *Swedes* desisting by their Declaration, which was made to them here, July 26th, S. N.

This made me reflect upon what Monsieur *du Cros* would have said so dear to his Majesty, after that the *Swedish* Ambassadors had given the Point here : And, as Monsieur *Olivecrans* said, upon the Assurances his Majesty had given him before he came last from *London* : But, as others interpret it here, from the Fears, that in case the War went on this Summer, the *Dutch* would lend their Fleet to the Allies, to beat the *Swedes* clearly out of *Pomerania*.

I remember nothing in Monsieur *d'Avaux's* Visit, beside the ordinary Things that passed in those of his Colleagues.

About Eight a-Clock, the *Dutch* Ambassadors came to us both a second Time, and said, They had Orders from their Masters to communicate to us the Answer they had newly received from them, to the *French* Memorial of Sunday last : which was, in short, That they were ready to sign the Peace, and should be so till to Morrow was past : After which they should be at Liberty no longer, in Regard of their Engagements with his Majesty : But that if they (the *French* Ambassadors) would sign the Peace, their Masters the States, after it was signed (to shew their Respects to the most Christian King) would send their Ambassadors not only to *St. Quintin*, but to *Paris*.

The Time being thus short, and expiring to Morrow at Twelve at Night, they told us, They would go straight from us to acquaint the *French* Ambassadors, by Word of Mouth, with this Answer of the States ; intending to give it them, to Morrow, more extensively in Writing.

We are always,

S I R,

Your most Faithful

Humble Servants,

W. Temple.
L. Jenkins.

To

To Mr. Secretary Williamson.

Hague, August 16. S. N. 1678.

S I R,

ON Saturday last, in the Evening, I received Yours of the 30th past, at Nimeguen, with his Majesty's Orders to exchange the Ratifications of the late Treaty here; upon which, You are pleased to say, his Majesty put so much Weight. I found, upon Computation, that Yesterday, being Monday, was the last Day allowed for the Exchange of the said Ratifications; and resolved to part by Three a Clock next Morning, that I might not fail of arriving here in Time; which I did about Seven a-Clock Yesterday Morning, after having been all Night upon the Way. I immediately spoke with the Pensioner, and acquainted him with my Orders to exchange the Ratifications, and of what You command me to let him know here, of his Majesty's Intention upon it; which was, That I should still endeavour to procure an Amendment of those Points in the Treaty, against which his Majesty has made Exception; though he had not thought fit to delay the Ratification upon it, both for the infinite Consequence of the Business, and his great Zeal to support the Interests in Question; upon which Grounds he had chosen rather to rely upon the States, for obtaining those Points after the Ratification, than to delay it upon them.

The Pensioner seemed extremely pleased that the Ratifications are come, and that I had Order to exchange them; which he desired might be done in Form, at Ten a-Clock. As to the Points still insisted on, he said, He would not fail of acquainting the States with them at such Times, and in such Manner, as he thought would conduce most to the Success of them, and thereby to his Majesty's Satisfaction; though he conceived, since a Peace was like to follow, his Majesty would find no Necessity of insisting upon them for the present; and his Majesty's Ratification would have much more Force and Credit here, if it came barely to the States without those Circumstances, after the Fears they had been in of his Majesty's not ratifying the Treaty.

After this he fell immediately to speak of the Peace that had been lately signed at Nimeguen; and with great Trouble in his Face, and, I believe, at Heart, when I said, *Il faut avouer qu'elle est belle principalement ayant été signée sans l'Espagne*. He replied, It was true; but that this last would never have been done without Monsieur du Cros's Journey, and his *debiting* both here and at Nimeguen, That his Majesty was resolved not to come to a Rupture with France; but had taken his Measures absolutely with them upon the Peace; and that Orders were sent over to my Lord Sunderland to that Purpose. I told him, I discovered, by my going to Nimeguen, that all the Business of Monsieur du Cros had been only an Intrigue of his own; and, I believe, a Surprise upon his Majesty. That I had, thereupon, never said one Word to the Swedish Ambassadors there, of his Majesty's warranting the Neutrality of Spain; or any Thing else contained in the Dispatches received from England, with Monsieur du Cros; but had made that Advantage of my Journey, as, in great Measure, to take away the ill Impressions which had been given them of his Majesty's Conduct, by du Cros's Discourses, and the French Ambassadors upon them. He seemed to be extreme glad of both these Points, and said, He would immediately give the Prince Notice of them. That Monsieur du Cros's Journey was a Thing done, and so without Remedy; and therefore they must make the best of what was past, and provide, as well as they could, against what was coming upon them; in which they should have infinite Need of his Majesty's Resolution and Constancy, *pour supporter la foiblesse de quelques gens de cet Etat, qui ne tendoient qu'à la ruine du pays aussi bien que du Prince*. That, for his Part, he saw very well the Artifices of France in all that had passed at Nimeguen. That they knew the Dutch Ambassa-

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dors had Orders to sign the Peace, in case the Evacuation of the Places were yielded before the 11th of this Month, according to our late Treaty; but that they could not sign after that Day was expired. That they were resolved to prevent the Force of this Conjunction between his Majesty and this State, by signing the Peace that Night, upon yielding to evacuate the Places; but that they had not discovered this Intention till Ten a-Clock that Morning, in a Conference which lasted till Three in the Afternoon; after which they knew there would neither be Time for the *Spanish* Ambassadors to adjust their Treaty that Night, nor for the *Dutch* to send for Orders to the States, whether to sign without the *Spaniards*, or no: That the *Dutch* Ambassadors had *extremement précipité l'Affaire*; and that he knew very well, the *French* were persuaded by some of their Correspondents here, That the States having once signed, though *Spain* should not agree, would yet be concluded by it: And that the *French* Ambassadors had thereupon raised new Points in their Treaty with *Spain*, which had never been mentioned in the *French* Propositions at *Nimeguen*. That they would, indeed, have a very fine Game to play, if in only giving up *Maestricht* to the *Dutch*, they might retain the other Places in *Flanders*; and have the Liberty thereby of invading *Cleves* and *Juliers*, while this State should have their Hands tied up: But that they would be deceived in all this Measure. That the States would never ratify the Treaty, unless that of *Spain* were first concluded; and the Places in *Flanders*, as well as *Maestricht*, should thereupon be actually evacuated. That, till *Spain* had signed, they would neither send their Deputies to *France* (tho' they might, possibly, name them) nor so much as consent to the ceasing of Hostility. That, God be thanked, there was an Expression in the late Treaty, by which his Majesty and the States were engaged one to another; not only in case *France* should refuse to promise the Evacuation of the Places, but also in case they should delay to do it, either upon the Account of the Satisfaction of *Sweden*, or any other Cause; or in case, after they had agreed to it, they should *détrecarre*. That the Ratifications being once exchanged, he did not doubt, his Majesty would be firm to them in all these Points, as they should be both to him and to themselves.

After this he told me, He should see me again when the Commissioners came to exchange the Ratifications; which they accordingly did between Ten and Eleven, and the Exchange was made, in Form, between us. Monsieur *Van Lewen* took Occasion to say upon it, That, as nothing but our signing the Treaty could have made the *French* yield to the Point of evacuating the Places; so, nothing but our Ratification could keep them up to it. That they had discovered their Artifices more than ever, by the long *Chicane* they had made with the *Dutch* Ambassadors, about retaining *Maestricht*, *Charleroy*, or *Ghent*, even the very Day they signed the Treaty: By which they shewed plainly, That nothing had brought them to it, but the Fear of a firm Conjunction between *England* and *Holland*; and that he still feared what might be the Consequence of the Treaty signed without the *Spaniards*.

I told the Commissioners, His Majesty had ever reckoned upon *Spain's* concluding at the same Time with them; and upon Evacuation of the *Spanish* Places, as the very fundamental Point of the States agreeing to the *French* Conditions. That I found before I came from *Nimeguen*, that the Difficulties were like to be great between *France* and *Spain*; and that the *Dutch* Ambassadors thereupon had a Mind to put that Business upon us, the King's Ambassadors there; but that we had excused our selves from it, and told them, We had always looked upon it as a Part of the States Agreement with *France*, and with which they ought to charge themselves, as the most essential Part of their own Treaty. I asked the Commissioners, Whether they were not of this Mind? The Pensioner said, They were; and that the *Dutch* Ambassadors should be charged with it, as a Point without which the Peace could not be ratified. Monsieur *Van Lewen* seconded them, and said, It was the Foundation of all the rest; and that, he did believe, there was not one Man in the States would consent to the Ratification without it.

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I remember nothing else that passed upon this Occasion: And shall, upon the whole, in short, give You my own Opinion of the present Dispositions here, in this great Conjunction. There is a Party here, that would certainly drive this State into such Measures with *France*, as might bring the Provinces not only into a Dependence, but even under the Subjection of *France*. And this Party consists, chiefly, of rich Men, of the old *Lovestein* Faction, in Five of Six of the great trading Towns of this Province. They are induced to it by the Hatred and Fear of the House of *Orange*; and by the Belief, That if they live under the Protection of *France*, the Liberty and Trade of the Country shall be still preserved; and the Hands of the Government only changed from the Prince of *Orange*'s Friends to those of this Party. The *French* have had all along, but especially for these Seven or Eight Months past, a close Intelligence with the best Heads of this Party, and by them infused it into many well-meaning Men, That nothing but the Protection of *France* can preserve these Countries in constant Peace, and thereby in Trade and Riches. That *France* can never have any Design upon their Liberties; because it would be against their own Interest, in regard they could make better Use of this State by their continuing to be great and rich, than if they should be weak and poor; which would follow the Suppression of their Liberties: With many other plausible Things of this Nature, reflecting upon the great Danger here, to be from the Prince of *Orange*, in Conjunction with *England*.

On the other Side, Five of the Provinces here, and about Eleven or Twelve of Eighteen of the Towns in this Province, are generally in the Opinions and Interests of the Prince of *Orange*; and whenever his Majesty falleth in, heartily, to back them by his Alliances, and any artificial Dealing in the *French* Negotiations come to be discover'd, they grow to be so much Masters of all Resolutions here, that all the well-meaning Men, even in the great Trading Towns, fall in with them; and those which are absolutely in the *French* Interest, dare not so much as speak in their Assemblies. But whenever it happens that any Paces of his Majesty give them a Suspicion of his Uncertainty in the Measures with them, the other Party then immediately gets Ground; and the Generality in the great Towns begin to conclude, That they had better accept any Terms of Peace from *France*, than rely upon a Support from *England*, which they cannot be sure of.

All seem at present absolutely resolved not to ratify the Peace with *France*, unless *Spain* be likewise concluded by it, and the Towns evacuated: But yet, what this it self may come to, I cannot tell, in case his Majesty should give them Occasion of doubting his Resolutions to support them in it. Which is all I shall trouble You with upon this Subject, or any other, at this Time, besides the Assurances of my being always,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Treasurer.

Hague, August 16. S. N. 1678.

My Lord,

ON Saturday last in the Evening, I received at *Nimeguen*, by Express, Your Lordship's, in the new Secretary's Hand, with one from Secretary *Williamson*, giving me Order to exchange the Ratifications with this State, which were sent over last Post; and upon the Exchange whereof, Mr. Secretary tells me, his Majesty put so much Weight. If it were so, sure he must have forgot that I was ordered the Post before, to go away to *Nimeguen*; and

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that it is Twenty fix Leagues between this Place and that ; so that if by contrary Winds, or any other Accident, the Express had been a Day longer coming to me ; or if after receiving it, I had not travelled all Night, as well as Day, I could not have been here Time enough to have ratified it ; the Term fix'd for it by the Treaty expiring Yesterday, and that, perhaps, the State of *Christendom* may, in great Measure, depend upon this Ratification ; for though the Peace between *France* and this State be signed, yet it must be the Force of this Ratification that must prevail with *France* to sign the Treaty with *Spain* too, and thereupon to evacuate really the Towns ; and it must be the same Force that must keep this State from ratifying their Peace with *France*, unless *Spain* be likewise included, and the Towns really evacuated.

For my own Part, I was never so amazed as to receive this Ratification of the Treaty, and Orders to exchange it. For, upon Monsieur *du Cros*'s Journey, and all he said at the *Hague* and *Nimeguen* upon it, as if it were on purpose to spread it both here and there, I did believe the King had taken his absolute Measures with *France* ; that he was resolved not to ratify the Treaty here, and sent me away to *Nimeguen*, only to have me gone from hence, for the Reasons Monsieur *Colbert* gave for my Orders to go, *A cause que je ne faisois que du mal icy*. Besides, Monsieur *du Cros* told them, and others here, That all the Measures concerning the Peace were agreed by his Majesty, Your Lordship, Monsieur *Barillon*, and him. That You were to enter into Alliance presently with *France* and *Sweden* ; that Orders were gone to my Lord *Sunderland* to that Purpose, and that his Lordship would make them publick here the next Post. How all this was to agree with my Treaty here, and Powers to negotiate with the Confederates, made, I confess, my Head turn round, and seemed to hang together like Ropes of Sand. In the mean Time, I had found out by the *Swedish* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, that the whole Business of *du Cros* was a Mystery to them ; that they knew nothing in the World of it till he came to *Nimeguen* ; only the Post before he had writ them Word he was coming : That they had given the *French* Ambassadors their Declaration of desisting from their Pretensions, the 26th of last Month, S. N. and that the very Hour Monsieur *du Cros* arrived, and was with them, the *French* Ambassadors came in, to let them, the *Swedes*, know, they had Orders to desist likewise from their Pretensions of detaining the Towns.

Both the *Swedish* Ambassadors told me, That when they delivered this Message to *du Cros*, who was all the while in the House, he was, *Si étonné qu'il étoit prêt de tomber de son haut* ; and yet, that he had the Impudence to write to his Master, the Duke of *Holstein*, That he had made the Peace. This they told me both together ; and next Day Monsieur *Olivecrans*, alone, told me, *du Cros* had so much Address as to get them both to sign a Letter to his Majesty, of his own drawing up, which seemed to give him (*du Cros*) some Share in the Business ; and that he (Monsieur *Olivecrans*) was extremely ashamed of it, because the contrary would appear by the Date of their Declaration to *France* ; but that this whole Intrigue of *du Cros* was an arrant Comedy. For my own part, I wish it were so ; but the Effects are more than ridiculous, and, I doubt, have shaken his Majesty's Credit more than was to be wished at this Time. And, for my part, I have, upon what the *Swedes* told me, very plainly said to the *Dutch* Ambassadors, and others, That it was a downright *fourberie* of *du Cros* ; and that I had no other Business at *Nimeguen*, but to observe the Motions of the Peace at the Critical Term. In short, 'tis signed ; and I have writ to Mr. Secretary, with what Dispositions on the *French*, and what on this Side ; and what all may come to upon it I know not, but am sure it will extremely depend upon his Majesty. But what the Dispositions will be there, I can never pretend more to tell, since You could not so much as keep Your Countenance Three Weeks together ; and have now ratified a Treaty, which Mr. Secretary found Fault with every Line of ; and since You could suffer such a Man as *du Cros*, of whom the Pensioner said, at my but naming of him, *C'est un fourbe des fourbes*, to give so

so unhappy a *Branle* to the Affairs of the World. But, after all, I must beg Your Lordship to let me know, when You did resolve to send him and those Instructions, why not to Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, that was upon the Place ; but to me that was engaged here in an Affair of another Nature ? Well, I can say no more, but that it has so broke my Head, that, I think, it will not be right again : And I must beg of Your Lordship, that You will please to let his Majesty know, that I grow old and infirm, and am not fit for these sudden Commands : That if he thinks I can be of Use to him till the End of this Conjunction, I am content to stay that Period ; but for returning to *Nimeguen*, I shall not be able to do it ; nor do I think there can be Need of more than one ; if there be, Mr. *Hyde* is in Commission : But let who will be there, instructed as I find Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* is, there had as good be none at all. Whatever becomes of my Health, or Heart, or Honour, Your Lordship will ever be assured of my being,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

P O S T S C R I P T.

My Lord,

SINCE the writing of this I have received Mr. Secretary *Williamson's* of the 2d Instant, and a long one from Mr. *Aglionby*, of the same Date ; with an Account of all his Majesty's, the Duke's, and Your Lordship's Discourses to him, upon the present Conjunction : By which I find You will have Reason to think of the Man, and his late Intrigue, as I have done ever since I spoke with the *Swedish* Ambassadors ; but what You will think after he has been with You, I know not, considering his Address ; one Part whereof has been, to make the *Leyden French Gazette* publish Yesterday, That upon Monsieur *du Cros's* Arrival at *Nimeguen*, the Peace was immediately signed ; so that it must have been done upon something he brought with him from *England*. I cannot but add one Thing the Pensioner told me since my Return, which was, That among many other Things *du Cros* had spread, both here and at *Nimeguen*, of which You have Account enough already, he told the *Swedish* Ambassadors as well as the *French*, That the King was absolutely for a Peace, and would not come into the War ; but that the Duke was wholly for the War, and with Intention, by it to bring the Prince to be Sovereign of this Country ; being wholly in that Interest since the Marriage of his Highness.

Upon the whole, You will be best able to judge there, from what Springs this whole Thing has moved, finding how early *Sweden* has made their Declaration of desisting, which was the 16th of *July*, O. S. How *France* had resolved to sign the Peace with the *Dutch*, upon the Evacuation of the Places, if they could not prevail for the Deputation to *St. Quintin* ; and how all this has pass'd, it seems, without any Communication with his Majesty : For, in the Letters of the 2d Instant, You knew nothing of any such Resolution in *France*, for ought I see ; and the *French* Ambassadors received their Orders to sign upon *Monday* the 29th of *July*, O. S. though they kept them private till *Wednesday*, which was the last Day the *Dutch* were at Liberty ; and thereby put them upon doing it so precipitately, that they might neither be able to take *Spain* along with them ; nor to consult with the States, whether to sign or no.

This is enough upon so unpleasant a Subject. Now, for my going to *Nimeguen*, after I had resolved to stay, when I received my Instructions ; I will tell Your Lordship just upon what Point that Resolution turned. The Day after I dispatch'd my Secretary with my first Resolution, Mr. *Meredith* told me, The King had been extreme earnest upon my going to *Nimeguen*, without any more Circumstance than bare Communication to the States. Monsieur *Silvercroon* came and told me, The *Swedes* had not absolutely desisted from their Pretensions, though they had declared they would ; and the Pensioner writ me this Letter, all in his own Hand, whereof I send You the Copy ; by which

he made my going absolutely necessary for his Majesty's Interest, and that of the Prince, as well as all other Considerations; since *du Cros* had made the Subject of it so publick, that several of the States of *Holland* had told the Pensioner of it, the Day after *du Cros* had passed by this Place. All that I can say farther to Your Lordship is, That if the King be really upon no better Terms with *France*, than he seems to be by all the last Dispatches, and that they play their Game here whenever they can, and with us only when they cannot compass their Ends here: And if his Majesty will, on the other Side, endeavour to hinder that Game, and keep the Dependence of this State upon the Crown of *England*, he must, I doubt, come to these Two Resolutions. First, To assure the Prince of *Orange* that he will take no farther Measures, either upon the Peace or War, till he has first concerted them with him: And next, To come to a Resolution to join, absolutely, with this State, in any Measures they shall think necessary for their Safety, upon the Neutrality of *Cleves* and *Fuliers*; without which, the Prince and Pensioner think the State lost: But they know not whether they will come up to it themselves, till they find whether they shall be back'd by his Majesty; but in that case, they are confident, the States will be positive, either before the Peace or after.

I humbly beg Your Lordship's Pardon for this long and hasty Scribble, which I am ashamed of; and yet, now it is done, it will be necessary to shew it his Majesty, being all the Lights I can give from hence, besides what I have given to Mr. Secretary; and all the Account I can give of my own Conduct.

I am, &c.

Your Lordship will understand by my Dispatch to Mr. Secretary, That I having said not a Word to the *Swedes* at *Nimeguen*, but only general Professions of his Majesty's Kindness to that Crown; the King is at Liberty wholly on that Side, unless Monsieur *du Cros* had Power to bind him.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, August 19. S. N. 1678.

S I R,

BY Sir *Lyonell Jenkins's* Express I gave You Yesterday the Trouble of one of mine, with a Copy of the Treaty signed the 10th, between the *French* and *Dutch* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*. I am apt to believe, That what was signed at first was rather a *brouillon*, than any fair and formal Draught; both the *French* and Monsieur *Van Beverning* having run the Affair out of all Forms, to prevent the fatal Minute, as they thought it, of Twelve a-Clock that Night; after which the *Dutch* had declared they could not sign: And Monsieur *Beverning* suffers, as I find, in every Body's Opinion here; having, as they assure me, never had any Orders to sign, but only to pass an Act upon the *French* consenting to evacuate the Places, that the States would thereupon sign the Peace, so soon as the Treaty with *Spain* should be agreed. Let the Spring have been where it will, the Precipitation of the Affair appears in many Points that reflect much upon Monsieur *Beverning's* Conduct; who confesses they had not Time to read it over. For, besides a Contradiction in Two Articles, which give one Six Months, and another Nine Months time for the same Thing, there were Three essential Faults. The First, Not drawing so much as an Act from the *French* Ambassadors for the Evacuation of the *Spanish* Towns; though the *Spanish* Ambassadors had given them one, before the signing, whereby they consented to the Terms offered them by the *French* Proposition. The next was (which I hear in private) That whereas it was agreed upon between them, that the Differences between the States and

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Sweden should be endeavoured to be adjusted in Three Months Time, and that, in the mean while, there should be a Neutrality : When the Article was drawn up, the Term of Three Months was omitted, so that the Article runs in general. The Third concerns his Majesty more particularly, and his Defensive Alliance with this State : For in the 13th Article of the Treaty of Peace, where the States promise a Neutrality, and not directly, nor indirectly, to assist the Enemies of *France*, it runs generally ; which destroys the Force of any defensive League they have made. But when I spoke to the Pensioner, and Monsieur *Van Lewen* about it, they both told me, That the States had immediately taken Notice of it, as soon as the Transcript of the Articles came to them ; and had then sent to Monsieur *Beverning* to reproach him upon it, with Order to have it immediately redressed : Without which they ordered him to declare to the *French* Ambassadors, That it should not be ratified ; and it is to be mended by the Addition of these Words, after *les ennemis de France, & des Allies, durant le cours de cette guerre, & à l'égard de ceux qui y sont maintenant engagés*. They interpret the dressing of this Article in *French*, to have been industrious on their Part, as well as negligent on the *Dutch* Side.

To Morrow Monsieur *Beverning* will make his Report to the States, how this whole Business has passed ; and particularly, of the State wherein I left the Differences between the *French* and the *Spaniards*. Accordingly, though I have no Letters from You this Post, yet having seen one from Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, which confirms me in the Opinion I was, That his Majesty would desire the *Spaniards* might come to sign too ; without which the Towns in *Flanders* would not be evacuated ; I have spoken at large with Monsieur *de Lyra* upon this Point, who I take to be the Spring of the *Spaniards* Motions in all these Parts.

I find his Resolutions are, To try if he can make the States disown their Ambassadors : But in case he cannot obtain that, and be pressed to dispatch the Treaty now on Foot, he will give into it even with the Point of Neutrality ; laying this for his Maxim, To hold this State up to the best Terms he can for his Master, but, however, not to break with them ; and to pursue the closest Measures he can with them after the Peace, and, by their Means, endeavour the same with his Majesty ; upon the Belief that all Three are equally concerned in Preservation of whatever is left in *Flanders*.

While I was in this Dispatch, the Pensioner and Monsieur *Van Lewen* came to me from the States, to let me know, That having received Letters from Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, by which they found that Monsieur *du Cros* had informed his Majesty, That the States had made Paces in this Treaty, disagreeing with the Measures taken between his Majesty and them, and of private Concert between them and *France* ; particularly, that they desisted from pressing the Neutrality of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, and had granted the *French* a Passage at *Vifet*, for invading those Countries : The States had ordered them both to write to Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, and to desire me to assure his Majesty, That it was all a false Information. And whereas they found Endeavours had been used thereupon, to possess his Majesty, That the Peace being made, there would be no farther Use of his Forces in *Flanders* ; they desired not only the Continuation of those that were there, but likewise that he would be pleased to send over more ; since the Peace was yet upon very ticklish Terms.

They said hereupon, That they every Day discovered some new Artifices in the Dealings of *France* ; for now they proposed Two Months to be the Term of the Ratification between them and the *Spaniards*, though *Spain* desired but a Month ; which was done out of Design to retard the Evacuation of the Places, till his Majesty and the States should retire their Forces out of *Flanders* : But that they were confident the States would not ratify their Treaty, till *Spain* should ratify theirs, and the Evacuation of the Places immediately follow.

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The Pensioner staying some time with me alone, told me, Both the States of *Holland*, and States General had approved the Prince's late Action near *Mons*, and sent him Thanks for it, as well as for his Conduct the next Day, in acquainting Monsieur de *Luxemburgh* with the Peace, and agreeing a Cessation of Arms for Two Days.

I took notice of the 30th Article of the Treaty of Commerce, about the Liberty of building Ships, as one that had been introduced in the Time of their best Intelligence, upon the Treaty of 1662 ; and which I thought too much for a bare Treaty of Peace and Amity. But he said, This Article was in their Treaties of Commerce with *Sweden* and *Denmark*, as well as *France* : That *France* had made one Tryal of it, by building Four or Five Ships here ; but had been so served in it, that they never returned any more, and he did believe, never would, or, if they did, should fare no better.

That they, the States, were ready to come to any new Treaty of the strictest Alliance that his Majesty should think fit after the Peace ; since nothing but a firm Conjunction between them could stop the Career of *France*. He said, That their Ambassadors had strict Orders to insist upon the Neutrality of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, even after the Peace ; but it having been omitted in the first hasty Acceptation of the Peace, some Towns would not be brought to *acroche* it absolutely upon That. What they might do, when it came nearer to them, he could not tell ; but was apt to believe, that the *Spaniards* once agreeing, it might run to a General Peace, and that the Affairs of the *North* it self would not hinder it,

I am,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, August 23. S. N. 1678.

S I R,

ON Saturday last Monsieur *Beverning* made his Report to the States, and in particular, of the Difficulties remaining between the *French* and *Spaniards* ; which consisted chiefly in the *French* Demands of the County of *Beaumont*, of *Bovines*, of Security for the Cession of *Dinant*, and of an Article of Neutrality from the *Spaniards*. The Report was received so coldly, and followed with such Imputations of ill Conduct, upon those Points which I mentioned in my last, especially the Omission in the 13th Article, and not procuring an Act from the *French* Ambassadors for the Evacuation of the Places, that Monsieur *Beverning*, when he came out of the Assembly, swore to his Friends, That he would give up his Commission, and that nothing should engage him to return to *Nimeguen* any more ; laying the Fault of all Omissions upon his Precipitation ; and That, upon the Advices and Orders from hence, which he had followed to the best of his Understanding. He went immediately to his House in the Country, where he continues ever since ; tho' some of the States have engaged several of his best Friends to go down and endeavour to reclaim him.

Yesterday, about Noon, the Prince arrived at *Hounslerrydyke*, after having agreed with the Duke of *Luxemburg* about a Cessation of Hostility, till the Ratification of the Treaty, and about withdrawing the Forces on each side ; and thereby left *Mons* open. I attended his Highness in the Afternoon, and found him much unsatisfied about the Signing of the Peace without *Spain* ; which he said absolutely, The Ambassadors had no farther Orders for, than only to threaten the *Spaniards*, that in case they would not consent to the Article of Neutrality, they would sign without them. But, that it was done,
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and since his Majesty was so well pleased with it, as it seemed by Monsieur *Van Beuninghen's* Letter, they must make their best of it, and drive it on to a Peace, in case *France* would be sincere in it with the *Spaniards*. But that he much doubted it, unless the same Resolutions and Paces of his Majesty, which had engaged him to promise the Evacuation of the Places, should bring it to a Conclusion. He was very melancholy upon what Condition this Peace would leave all the Affairs of the Allies in, and the just Reproaches this State was to expect from them; which he was to bear his Share in, how little soever he had deserved it. He said a great deal of Monsieur *du Cros's* Journey, and what Effects it had here; but that he had not yet spoken with the States, and could not tell what it was they would be at: But that he would see me to Day, after he had been in the Assembly. I found him unsatisfied with Monsieur *Beverning*, but yet of Opinion, that he must return to *Nimeguen*, and end this Business of *Spain*, without which it could not be a Peace.

The same Day I spoke with Monsieur *Van Lewen*, who told me, The *French* Ambassadors had consented to the redressing the Tenth Article, in the manner I writ in my last; and that the States *auroient crevé plutôt que de faire la paix sans cela*. That no State could have greater Obligation than this had to his Majesty; and that every Body in it was sensible, that they owed the Peace wholly to him, in case they had it, which would yet depend upon that between *France* and *Spain*; and this upon his Majesty's Resolutions to support them in standing firmly upon it, as the Point upon which their own Treaty was grounded.

This Afternoon the Prince came to me, and told me, He found a general Disposition in the States, not to ratifie the Peace, till *Spain* should be ready to do it at the same Time. But yet, he desired very much, That his Majesty would give me Orders to press them upon this Point, if there should be Occasion; and that nothing new should be imposed upon the *Spaniards*, beyond the Conditions given in by the *French* at *Nimeguen*. He desired likewise, That his Majesty would give Order to his Ambassador at *Nimeguen*, to propose, as from his Majesty, a General Suspension of Arms for Six Months, in order to the Treating of a General Peace; and desired me, that I would not fail to represent both these Points to his Majesty from his Highness by this Post. He saith, By Advices from *Nimeguen*, he finds the *French* Ambassadors there seem well enough disposed to it, upon the Nuntio's having already proposed it; but, that nothing will give it so much Force, as coming from his Majesty, and therefore is very earnest in it.

Mr. *Meredith* sends You the Treaty printed, as likewise, that for Cessation of Hostilities, so that I shall not increase Your present Trouble beyond the Assurance of my being always,

S I R,

Your, &c.

P. S. The Prince has engaged Monsieur *Beverning* to come to Town to morrow; so as the States of *Holland* will then fall into Consultation upon the Points in Difference between *France* and *Spain*.

To my Lord Treasurer.

Hague, August 26. 1678. S. N.

My Lord,

I Had the Honour of one from Your Lordship of the 12th, by my Secretary, who came over with Mr. *Hyde*. I will not enter into the Reasons of this warm and sudden Motion in *England*, nor can I into the Effects of it Abroad. A little Time will tell us the last: And for the first, it is my part rather to look towards the Events, than enquire into the Causes of it. All I shall say, is, That it has extremely surprized every Body here, and none more than the Prince, unless it be my self. For, Your Lordship knows, when I came away, his Majesty's Resolution was, To have the Peace, if he could, upon the Evacuation of the Places; and in the Course of this whole Matter, to follow and support *Holland* in the Paces they should make, and not to lead them: And You may remember, I told his Majesty at the Foreign Committee, That I knew very well, the Dispositions of *Holland* towards the Peace, were such, that if he should have had a Design to engage them farther in the War, his Endeavours towards it, must be like those of Rowers, that look one way, and go another. I should have been glad his Majesty would have begun upon this Occasion, what, Your Lordship tells me, he has resolved, of concerting first with the Prince any Measures he should take, especially in what relates to these Countries, where he can certainly give his Majesty the best Lights, and such as it is not possible for his Majesty to have, in taking sudden Resolutions upon Affairs that are in motion, and have such sudden Turns. As in this it self, His Majesty could not know, that the Prince had himself concluded a Cessation of Hostility with *France*, till the Ratification of the Treaty: And yet, that very Circumstance made a great Change in the Event like to attend Mr. *Hyde*'s Commission. The Particular of his Instruction; to say, His Majesty would recall his Forces out of *Flanders*, in case the States fell not into his Opinion of the late Treaty's having place; was, I suppose, intended to draw them into his Majesty's present Mind, and thereby to save *Flanders*, as well as *Holland*, from falling into the Hands or Dependance of *France*: But the Prince and Pensioner severally, at the very first mention of it, concluded, it would have a quite contrary Effect, and must certainly occasion the Loss both of this Country and *Flanders*; as You will find by Mr. *Hyde*'s Dispatch; which is so exact, that I can add nothing to it towards his Majesty's Information: Only, I will tell Your Lordship what the Prince said to me last Night upon it; which was, That he was very glad to see his Majesty in this Mind; and that he knew very well what Effects it would have had, if they had been assured of it here Three Weeks ago: But what it would have now, he could not tell; for they were all so surprized, especially after Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*'s Letter, which said so much of his Majesty's being pleased with the Peace, that no body had said a Word upon it. That, for his part, if he had been first consulted in it, he should have been for his Majesty's sending to the States, not to ratifie the Treaty without *Spain*'s ratifying theirs at the same Time, and being thereby assured of the Evacuation to follow immediately: That if his Majesty had only pressed this, and assured the States at the same Time of his Resolution to support them, by a vigorous Execution of their Treaty, in case of any Refusal or Difficulty from *France*, he was confident the Thing would have been done, and thereby, either *Spain* been included, or the States gone on with the War. But that he did not know what Effect This now come from his Majesty would produce in the great Towns of *Holland*, where they were so apt to be jealous of his Highness's Designs to continue the War: That we should see in a few Days, and that he chiefly apprehended the Town of *Amsterdam* upon it.

What

What Your Lordship says, of Your forbearing to say those Things I desired You to tell his Majesty about my self, is too obliging in You, not to be acknowledged : But yet, I must beg Your Lordship to believe, that none can judge so well of a Man, as himself ; who feels what is Within, whilst others only see what is Without ; and finds the Decays of Age or Indisposition in his Body and his Mind, while he may disguise them to other People. Whenever I thought my self able to do his Majesty Service, though I never sought it, yet I never refused it : But whenever I shall find my self incapable of doing it any longer, and let his Majesty know it, I hope he will believe it : And, in the mean Time, I beg Your Lordship, not to think any thing I say of that kind, is Humour, but a true Judgment I make of my self by what I feel, and what I told both His Majesty and Your Lordship, before I came over, would happen to me by any long Stay in these Countries, which have ever been so contrary to my Health.

I cannot tell Your Lordship how sensible a Part I bear in the Indisposition of the Family, as well as Your own, but comfort my self with the Hopes Mr. *Aglionby* gives me, of their being well over ; and will not engage Your Lordship at present, in any farther Trouble, than the Assurance of my being ever, with equal Passion and Truth,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To the Duke of Ormond.

Hague, August 30. S. N. 1678.

My Lord,

I Could not receive a greater Honour or Satisfaction, than by Your Grace's Letter of the 12th past ; which I should sooner have acknowledged, but that since my last, I have been engaged in such sudden and unexpected Motions, as well as the Business here in such Turns, as have left me neither Time nor Patience, nor Concernment enough sometimes, to think of many Things I ought to have done : Among which, I reckoned all Duties I owed to Your Grace, and this in that Number.

I shall, as succinctly as I can, pursue the Thread of those Two Accounts I gave Your Grace at my leaving *England*, and since my Arrival here to this Time : After which, I do not expect to meet with any thing worth Your Grace's Trouble or my own ; having my Head turned wholly another Way, and cured of those impertinent Solitudes, which have so often busied it about publick Affairs, and to so little purpose.

After my last to Your Grace, and till the 4th of this Month and this Stile, I took my self to have mastered the Business his Majesty had sent me upon here. The Treaty was signed, and by it the Day fix'd, being the 11th Instant, for *France* to yield the Evacuation of the Places, or his Majesty to come into the War with the States. *France* had failed of all their Endeavours to break these Measures : The States had resolved not to send their Deputies to treat with the *French* King in Person at *St. Quintin*, and not to sign their Treaty, even upon the Evacuation being yielded ; unless in Conjunction with *Spain*. The Time of Decision drew near, and the most Christian King seemed so far engaged by his peremptory Answers to his Majesty, as well as by his Ambassadors Declarations at *Nimeguen*, not to evacuate the Places, till the Satisfaction of *Sweden*, that every Body was at a Gaze, which would prove of most Weight, This Point of Honour, or That of Interest, not to see *England* engaged in such a Confederacy against *France* : And, in the mean Time, whe-

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ther it should prove a Peace or a War. The Measures were so closed between Us and *Holland*, that nothing, in Appearance, was like to shake them. For though, upon my signing the Treaty, Mr. Secretary *Williamson* had found great Faults with many Particulars of it, and sent me Orders to get them amended, or else the King could not ratify; yet they being such Points as had been impossible to be obtained here, and wherein I was left at Liberty by my Instructions; this Difficulty had only been communicated to the Prince and the Pensioner here, who had Confidence of satisfying his Majesty in those Particulars, without making them publick; which they thought would have ill Effects upon the States at so critical a Time in the Measures between us.

Upon the 4th Current, Mr. *Meredith*, the King's Secretary of the Ambassy, who had gone over with the Treaty, arrived here, and in his Company one Monsieur *du Cros*, stiled at *London*, Envoy of the Duke of *Holstein*. Mr. *Meredith* brought me an Instruction to let the States know, That the King had resolved to give a Guaranty upon the Peace, to the Neutrality which *Spain* should enter upon towards the Enemies of *Sweden*; and that I had Command to go immediately to *Nimeguen*, to acquaint the *Swedish* Ambassadors there with this Resolution of his Majesty, and endeavour thereby to induce them to quit their Pretension of being restored before the Evacuation of the Towns, that so *France* might be at Liberty to make that Pace towards the Peace. My Instructions told me likewise, That this was done upon Insinuations made his Majesty by *du Cros*, who was sent at the same Time to the *Swedish* Ambassadors upon this Occasion.

Du Cros came to me, and told me, The King had taken this Measure with Monsieur *Barillon*, and sent an Express over with it into *France*: That he was resolved upon the Peace, and, to that purpose, had hasten'd me away to *Nimeguen*; whither he (*du Cros*) hoped to attend me. I told him, He knew his own Times and Motions; and that I should govern my self in mine, by my Orders and his Majesty's Intentions, as far as I understood them. And so we parted.

I was in the greatest Trouble in the World, whether to obey my Instructions, or first acquaint the King with the Consequence of them here. I stay'd Three Days after *du Cros*, before I went to *Nimeguen*; but at last was resolved in the Point, by finding that *du Cros* had made all publick here; was gone to do the same at *Nimeguen*, and had persuaded the *Swedish* Commissary to come and tell me, That their Ambassadors had not absolutely desisted, but only declared, that they would do so, and expected my coming to determine them. Upon all which, the Pensioner as well as I, were both of Opinion, That it was necessary for me to acquaint the States with what his Majesty had ordered me, and to go away to *Nimeguen*; and not give the States of *Holland* Occasion to believe, that I endeavoured to hinder his Majesty's Paces towards the Peace, in favour of what they here suspect, of the Prince's Inclination to carry on the War.

On the 6th Instant, I acquainted the States with his Majesty's Resolution, and my Journey; and on the 7th, I set out to *Nimeguen*, where I arrived the 8th; and immediately found, that, on the 6th, the *French* Ambassadors had declared by Memorial to the *Dutch*, That they desisted from their Pretension to detain the Towns till the Satisfaction of *Sweden*, in pursuit of a Declaration the *Swedish* Ambassadors had made to them about Ten Days before. But the *French* still insisted upon the *Dutch* sending to *St. Quintin*, to adjust other Points of the Peace. On the 9th, the *Dutch* Ambassadors gave their Answer to the *French*: That the State could not send to *St. Quintin*, till the Peace was signed; but that they were ready to sign upon the Evacuation of the Places, and should be so all the next Day; but after that ended, they could make no farther Pace without his Majesty, whose Measures taken with them by Treaty, would take place on the 11th of this Month.

On the 11th in the Morning, the *French* Ambassadors came to the *Dutch*; and in a Conference of Five Hours, wherein they press'd very much to keep some of the Towns, but found the *Dutch* obstinate in all; they yielded at last,
and

and agreed to sign the Treaty, and both came to Us, the Mediators, to desire us to sign with them. We asked, Whether *Spain* signed at the same Time, and were included? and finding they did not, we refused to sign with them, or at all to intervene in the Treaty without new Orders; since ours directed us to all Paces necessary for a general Peace, but not to any for a particular one. We expostulated with the *Dutch* for going about to sign without *Spain*, contrary to what had always been his Majesty's and the States Intention; but Monsieur *Beverning* said, He must sign that Night, though he lost his Head; and so they did, between Eleven and Twelve a Clock; the Instrument having been hardly finished by that Hour; when our last Treaty with *Holland*, for carrying on the War, would have begun to take place.

Next Day they fell into the Business between *France* and *Spain*, wherein they met with so many Difficulties, by new Demands of the *French*, that they confessed, they found plainly the *French* Designs in this Precipitation; which was, That the *Spaniards* might not have Leisure to adjust their Treaty, so as to sign at the same time, nor the *Dutch* Ambassadors have Leisure to send a Courier to the States for particular Orders, whether to sign or no without *Spain*, and thereby to divide the States from *Spain*, and concluding their Peace separately with the first, be obliged only to restore *Maastricht*, but keep the Places in *Flanders* still in their Hands.

Upon this Monsieur *Beverning* told us, That they had made a Pace that had ruined both the States and all their Neighbours; and when he said the same to his Allies, laid the Fault upon his Majesty, who had (as he said from *Van Beuninghen's* Letter out of *England*) first refused to ratify the late Treaty without Conditions that were not possible for this State to admit; and by *du Cros's* Journey, had satisfied the States what Measures the King had taken with *France* for the Peace, and how little was expected from *England* as to any Rupture with that Crown. Of all which we gave Account to Court.

On the 13th at Night I received by Express the Notice of the Ratification of his Majesty's Treaty with this State being arrived at the *Hague*, and Commands to exchange them without those Difficulties that had before been made by Secretary *Williamson*. The last Day allowed for this Exchange was the 5th, so that if the Express had, by Winds or other Accident, been kept Four and twenty Hours longer upon the Way, or I had not gone all Night as well as all Day, I could not have come Time enough from *Nimeguen* to the *Hague*, to make the Exchange; and the whole Treaty, upon which his Majesty began to put so much Weight, had been out of Doors.

The Ratifications being exchanged in Time and Form, the Pensioner, with the greatest Chagrin in the World, complained of *du Cros's* Journey, as that which had ruined the whole Affair, by giving such Impressions here and at *Nimeguen*, as had precipitated the Signing of the Peace without *Spain*; and told me, The Prince had never been so troubled at any thing in his Life; and that he doubted it would engage him in some desperate Action. The same Night, being the 15th, I received Letters from *England*, telling me, they had discovered the Artifice of *du Cros* in that whole Business, and how mischievous it might prove; and that they hoped I had not pursued my Instructions, as I had certainly not done, if they had been sent privately to me, and the whole Business not been communicated to him: But the Thing was done, and all I could say of it, was, That having found at my Arrival at *Nimeguen*, the *Swedes* had actually made the Pace towards which his Majesty seemed wholly to aim by my Instruction; I had never said any thing of it to the *Swedish* Ambassadors, and thereby left *du Cros* wholly discredited with Them and the *French*, and all others there: And told them, That I found plainly, his whole Business was a *Fourberie*; which sent him home railing at me, that I would not obey my Orders, and that I was resolved to engage the King in a War, when his Majesty was resolved not to enter into any with *France*.

On the 16th at Night, we received News of the Prince's bold Action near *Mons*: For the Honour whereof, I will only tell Your Grace, That the *French* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen* had assured me, That their Army was so posted,

that if they had but Ten thousand Men, and the Prince Fifty thousand, he would find it impossible to attack them.

The Success of it You will have heard from many Hands ; and found, that after the Prince, no Man had a greater Share in the Danger and Honour of it than my Lord *Offory*, who charged upon the most desperate Pass, and left a great many Men and Officers behind him. For the Prince, all agree there was not a common Soldier in the Army so much exposed, leading up every Squadron himself in the Wing he charged ; and being the whole Time of the Engagement, in the very hottest of the Fire.

The Day after the Battle the Prince received the States Letters, giving him an Account of the Peace being signed ; upon which he sent to the Duke of *Luxemburg*, to know if he would upon it raise the Siege of *Mons* ; for which he took Two Days time to send for Orders, and then consented to do it ; and so the Affair ended, and the Armies retired to their Quarters. If some Miscarriages had not happened in this Action from some of the Confederates, the *French* Army had certainly been broken that Day. And if the News of the Peace being made publick, with some other Circumstances, had not prevented it the next, the Business would have come to a great Decision between the Armies ; and with much Appearance of Advantage to the *Dutch*, upon the Conjunction with a Body of fresh *English* Foot, which would have had great Influence upon all Sides. But it was otherwise decreed.

On the 19th Letters came from *England*, but none to me from Court ; upon the Belief I might be at *Nimeguen*, as Mr. Secretary pretended. But the Letters from Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* to the States said, Though the King and Court had, at first Report of the Peace being signed, seemed a great deal surprized ; yet he had next Day talked with them, and found them very well pleased with it, and with the Conduct of the States : And a private Letter to the Foreign Ministers here said, It went so far, that they were upon the Point of disowning me and Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, for refusing to sign the Peace as Mediators.

On the 22d the Prince arrived here, and having been in the States the 23d, where he was received with great Applause, he came to me that Evening ; and after Complaints of their Ambassadors having signed the Peace without *Spain*, and the ill Consequences it was like to have upon the Affairs of *Christendom*, he said, However since his Majesty was pleased with it, there was nothing to be done but to endeavour to include *Spain* in it, and afterwards to drive it on to a general Peace ; without which *France* having all their Forces at Liberty on this Side, would in very little Time be Masters of the *Rhine*, and all the great Cities upon it, from *Strasburg* to *Cologne*, if not to *Wesel* ; and after that would soon be Masters of these Countries and *Flanders*. And, therefore, he desired, his Majesty would propose a general Suspension of Arms, by his Ambassadors at *Nimeguen* : Which I writ the same Night to Court, upon the Prince's Desire, and with the Reasons of it.

The next Day, being the 24th, Mr. *Hyde* arrived here, having made his Passage in Twenty four Hours from *London* ; and brought positive Instructions with him to let the States know, how much the King had been surprized with their Ambassadors signing the Treaty without *Spain* ; and with the Difficulties that still remained upon the *Spanish* Treaty, and the Evacuation of the Places. That his Majesty was thereupon of Opinion, That the States could not ratify that Treaty, by what they were engaged to by the last Treaty I had made here, to go on with the War : And that if they were of the same Mind, and would signify it to him, he would, within Three Days after such Signification, declare War against *France* ; and in all Points pursue the last Treaty he had made with the States.

We acquainted the Prince that Night, with this Commission ; and the first Word he said upon it was, That he knew very well what Effect this would have had, if it had come Three Weeks before, and instead of Monsieur *du Cros* : But what Effect it would have now, he could not tell, farther than that it would surprize every Body. What he said to me in private was,
That

That we were too cold, and too hot ; and that he wondred we had not observed what they were always calling out to the *Steersmen* at Sea, *Steddy, Steddy*. That all we could hope to make out of this, was but to keep up the States in the Resolution they were in already, of not ratifying the Treaty without *Spain*. But it had another Effect, at the first Noise, upon the Towns here, and so far encreased the Jealousy of some Concert between the King and Prince of *Orange*, for carying on the War, though *France* should perform the Conditions this State had accepted, that the very next Day after Mr. *Hyde's* Proposition, those of *Holland* passed a Resolution to send an Ambassador immediately into *France* ; though under Pretence of knowing that King's Mind, upon the Differences remaining with *Spain* : And the next Day those of *Amsterdam* proposed to ratify the Treaty with *France*, even without the Inclusion of *Spain*. But the Prince's great Temper and Conduct hindered both one and t'other : The first, by the Voices of Five other Provinces against that of *Holland* ; and the other, by the rest of the Towns in *Holland* against that of *Amsterdam* ; and brought it to a Resolution, both in the States of *Holland* and States General, not to ratify the Peace without *Spain* ; and to order their Ambassadors at *Nimeguen* to go as far as possibly they can, in accommodating the Points still in Difference, which are small and few ; and upon which I see no Likelihood that either *Spain* or this State will continue the War. So that if *France* will have a Peace, and not raise new Difficulties, beyond their own Propositions, I look upon it as unavoidable : And there has not been one Time these Four Years past, when we might not have entered into the War with Advantage, besides this alone, when we have made an Offer at it ; and thereby, I suppose, broke our Measures with *France*, though we have not taken them with the Confederates.

By last Post the King sent Orders to Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, at *Nimeguen*, to propose a general Suspension of Arms for Six Months ; in Concurrence, as Mr. Secretary *Williamson* writes, with the Prince's Desire. But the Prince asks, How this agrees now with Mr. *Hyde's* Proposition ? And observes, That when he desired it, 'twas before he knew any Thing of this last Resolution of his Majesty's ; and, on the contrary, thought him pleased with the Peace. In short, whoever should take the Pains to lay together the Paces we have made for these Three Months past, in this great Affair, would conclude, our Secretaries of State never remembred one Day, what had been done the Day before ; or never cared what would be done the next. I am so far from speaking this with Design, that I am, for my own part, resolved to lay at his Majesty's Feet the Promise he made me a Year ago of that Employment, as well as the Ambassy I am charged with : And should certainly have done it already, but the Prince has engaged me to defer it till this present Crisis be over ; and till he shall have talked with me to the End of this Resolution.

I have nothing more worth increasing Your Grace's Trouble, and ought to ask Pardon for the Length of this. But I was resolved to give You once this Light, by which the farther Paces of this Affair may be better discerned, even at the Distance Your Grace is at.

I shall only add, that in whatever Condition,

I am,

My Lord,

Your Grace's, &c.

To

To my Lord Treasurer.

Hague, August 30. S. N. 1678.

My Lord,

I Have this Morning received the Honour of Your Lordship's, in my Son's Hands; the Contents whereof chiefly concerning the Prince, I thought fit to send it him immediately, though it found his Highness in the States of *Holland*, where the great Consultation, or rather Debate, was to begin, upon the Commission Mr. *Hyde* brought over. Because Your Lordship pleases to say, You are impatient to know what my Opinion is upon the whole, after my Discourse with the Prince and Pensioner; I will add what I can think of, that may give You any farther Light than I did in my last, upon this Occasion; and, in such a Conjunction, may possibly be done by small Circumstances, sometimes better than by great.

The first Word the Prince said upon it, to Mr. *Hyde* and me together, after he acquainted his Highness with his whole Instruction, was, That he knew very well what Effect this would have had, if it had come over Three Weeks ago, instead of Monsieur *du Cros*; but that he could not tell what Effect it would have now, more than that it would surprize every Body: But that, for his own part, he was very glad to find the King in that Mind; and thought it might do Good, and could do no Harm. And then said all that passed farther, of which Mr. *Hyde* gave You so exact an Account last Post.

The next Day, the Prince speaking to me, in private, upon it, at first lift up his Hands and Eyes Two or Three Times, and said, Is it possible that this and *du Cros*'s Business could come from the same Hands? That he found, by Mr. *Hyde*'s Instructions, the King was troubled about what he had done in that Business; but it was a Pace that could not be discovered; and that his resolving to warrant the Neutrality of *Spain* had undone us all; for without that, this State would never have done it; nor never have signed without *Spain*, if *du Cros* had not persuaded them here, that the King had absolutely taken his Measures with *France* about the Peace. That the Design of *du Cros*'s Journey was laid after Monsieur *Barillon* knew his Master had resolved to sign the Peace, upon yielding to evacuate the Towns. That the End of it was to shake his Majesty's Measures here, by making them believe he had taken them absolutely with *France* about the Peace; and to lose his Majesty's Credit wholly with all the Allies, by letting them know, he was resolved to bring about the Restitution of *Sweden*, as soon as *Holland* was out of the War: And to have me sent to *Nimeguen*, just at the same Time that I might have hindered the Signing a Peace without *Spain* by my being here. That the French Ambassadors had told Monsieur *Odyke*, immediately upon *du Cros*'s Arrival, That I had Orders to come away presently, because I was making the War here, while his Majesty had taken his Measures with *France* for the Peace; and that it was a bold Thing of me to stay at the *Hague*, contrary to my positive Orders. The Prince added, That he knew, from a good Hand, by whom this whole Business had been brought about; and made very melancholy Reflections upon it. That for Mr. *Hyde*'s Commission, it would surprize the more here, because after this very Business, and the signing of the Peace being known in *England*, Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* had writ to the States, That the King approved of what they had done, and was glad of it: That it was too cold and too hot; and that, for his part, he always thought of the Boatswain in the Yachts which brought him over, who was all Night crying out still to the Steersman, *Steddy, Steddy*; which he thought was as necessary in all Council, as at Sea. After this, he told me what Use he hoped might be made of it (which I writ Your Lordship last Post) but that it could not bring the State again into War, unless *France* should refuse to sign

sign with *Spain* upon such Conditions as the State should think *Spain* had Reason in ; or else refuse actually to evacuate the Towns, or to change the Thirteenth Article of the Treaty.

These were the Prince's true Thoughts upon it. Monsieur *de Lyra* the *Spanish* Minister, said upon it, at first, That this Resolution of his Majesty was a Miracle wrought for *Spain* and this State, if they could be so wise as to make Use of it ; but that he foresaw the States would not : That the Thing was gone too far since the Signing of the Peace by the States Ambassadors, and of the Cessation of Hostility by the Prince ; and that *Spain* could not hope to better their Terms by it ; because this State would not fall in with his Majesty, unless *France* should refuse to evacuate the Towns, which he was sure they would not do. So that what they could hope was, That the States seeing his Majesty so firm in it, would, at least, secure the Evacuation of the Towns to *Spain*, as well as that of *Maestricht* to themselves : But that he was afraid of this generous Pace in his Majesty having an Effect upon the Jealousy *Amsterdam*, and some of the other great Towns, had of the Prince, and his Design to continue the War, in Concert with *England*.

The Marquis *de Grana* (who is the Emperor's chief Minister in all these Parts ; and one of the best, in all Kinds, that I have met with) told me Yesterday, in private Conference, *Que la dose est trop forte* ; and that it had already encreased the Jealousy of *Amsterdam* so much, that they had given their Opinion (the very next Day after Mr. *Hyde's* Proposition) to ratify the Treaty with *France*. That the King had Reason, in his Opinion, to say, the Case of our Treaty was fallen ; and that if the States were as desirous to continue the War, as his Majesty seemed now to go into it, they might make the *French* Proceedings in this Matter a very just Occasion, as not having performed the Intentions of our Treaty. But that there was no Thought of bringing them into the War upon a Chicane about Words, whether the *French* Declaration were in Form, or their Promise in Writing. That besides, there were many who wished well to the Thing, but did not know what to make of this *Boutade* in *England*, and had no Confidence in it, since what *Van Beuninghen* and others had written the Post before, about his Majesty's being pleased with the Treaty ; and so far, that he, the Marquis, saw a Letter out of *England*, by that very Post, which said, The King was so much satisfied with it, that he was upon the Point of disowning Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* and me, for having refused to sign the Treaty. That, for his part, he looked upon all as desperate : That *France* would *faire quelque grand coup en Allemagne* these Two Months ; and after the *Germans* should retire into Winter Quarters, would come back with all their Forces in *Flanders*, and master it, in case the Towns should not be evacuated before that Time ; which they would endeavour by all the Delays towards *Spain*, and all the Artifices possible towards this State. That whatever came of it, he found his Master the Emperor was absolutely resolved never to separate himself from the Princes of the Empire in the Course of the Treaty, but leave the Event to God Almighty.

Last Night late the Prince told me, That he hoped to have the Majority of Voices, very considerably, in this Province ; and the other Provinces entirely, for not ratifying their Treaty till *Spain* had signed. That for his part, he would endeavour all he could, that they might not do it till *Spain* should be ready to ratify at the same Time : But that he could have no Hopes of carrying it any farther, unless *France* should refuse to conclude with *Spain*, upon the Propositions they had offered at *Nimeguen*, and which *Spain* had accepted. That if they could, by his Majesty's Firmness, secure the Towns in the *Spaniards* Hands, and thereby for the present save *Flanders* : All that he saw to be done, was to press the whole Business on towards a general Peace ; since without it, after this State and *Spain* were out of the War, he did not see what could hinder *France* from taking *Treves*, *Cologne*, *Ments*, and *Strasburgh*, though they should not invade *Cleves* and *Juliers* presently : And that after they had mastered the *Rhine*, they would soon do the same by this Country and *Flanders*.

This

This Morning I heard that Five of the greatest Towns in *Holland*, next *Amsterdam*, and Three of the chief of *North Holland*, as well as the Nobles, were certainly fixed in not ratifying their Treaty without *Spain* : And that some of them were resolved to fall personally upon Monsieur *Valkener*, who had absolutely governed *Amsterdam* in the Opinion they had taken, and with whom Monsieur *Van Lewen* had a sharp and personal Brush, the last Day the States of *Holland* were assembled. How late they may sit to Day I know not, but hope I may, before the Closure of this Pacquet, give Your Lordship some Account how the Debate runs ; though I do not expect this Sitting should end it.

Having given Your Lordship such a particular Account of those Persons Thoughts upon it, which I esteem most considerable here, and who are least likely to be deceived, I shall not add any Judgment of my own, which ends but in one Point I mentioned in my last to Your Lordship, That all Instructions his Majesty can give to any Man here, ought to be executed (and directed to be so, in Concert with the Prince, in case his Judgment upon them were not had before : And Mr. *Hyde* is most absolutely of this Opinion ; and wishes often, That such a Clause had been in his, in case he should find the Prince here : For Want of it he has been engaged to pursue his Instructions already, farther than he thought the Thing would well bear ; and is in great Pain what to do upon the last Point of them, about his Majesty's Resolution to recall his Troops, in case the States fall not into his Majesty's present Mind upon the Treaty ; which the Prince and Pensioner hitherto are of Opinion, would be a most destructive Pace to the whole Business.

I am ever, with equal Passion and Truth,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To the Prince Elector Palatine.

Hague, September 8. S. N. 1678.

May it please Your Highness,

I Received some Time since the Honour of a Letter from Your Highness, of July 29, by the Conveyance of my Lord Ambassador *Jenkins*, and should not have failed immediately to make that Return which became me, in the Acknowledgments of it, if it had found me in my Station at *Nimeguen*, as Your Highness intended. But being divided between these Two Ambassies, and finding the Duties of them sometimes different, I cannot pretend to charge my self with any Parts of my Function, as a Mediator there, while I find my self engaged in another Sort of Figure, during my Abode here. Besides, I was willing to see what Paces his Majesty might think fit to make or decline in the Business of a General Peace, before I gave my self the Honour of entertaining Your Highness upon the Share You are like to have in it. But since the King has thought fit to propose a Cessation of Six Months in Order towards it, I shall presume to tell Your Highness my Opinion, freely, upon those Two Points, wherein Monsieur *Spanheim* told me, You were pleased chiefly to concern Your self.

For the First, about *Philipsburg*, I do not see how a Peace between *France* and the Empire can be pursued upon any other Foot, than what Your Highness proposes to Your self in that Matter ; so that I believe a General Necessity will therein serve to advance and to effect a Particular Interest which Your Highness lays so much to Heart, and with so much Reason.

For

For the other Pretension, Of Relief and Reparation of the great Damages Your Highness has suffered by the War; since Your Highness intends (and, I think, prudently) to insist no farther upon it, than by engaging his Majesty's Offices and Instances towards *France*; I think, Your Highness will do better to procure them immediately by Your Minister at *London*, to be transmitted from Court to the King's Ambassador at *Paris*, with Orders to pursue and value them there, as a particular and domestick Concernment which his Majesty takes in Your Highness's Interests, rather than trust to their being handed over to the King's Ambassadors Mediators at *Nimeguen*, perhaps, in a Crowd of many other Princes Pretensions, which may all be recommended in his Majesty's Name, and by his Ministers there, but not with that Earnestness and Distinction, which I should be glad the Crown of *England* would express, upon all Occasions, in what concerns Your Highness or Your Family.

I beg Your Highness's Pardon for so long an Interruption, and Your Belief of my being ever, with great Devotion and Truth,

S I R,

Your Highness's, &c.

To my Lord Treasurer.

Hague, September 20. S. N. 1678.

My Lord,

YOUR Lordship will have found by my last to Mr. Secretary *Williamson*, what the great Affair here was like to end in; and by Mr. *Hyde's* this Ordinary, That it has absolutely taken that Ply which was then designed by the Prince and Pensioner, and approved by Monsieur *de Lyra* as all that could be wish'd; or, at least, that they could propose to themselves, after the Course it has run for these Two or Three Months past. The Circumstances with which it was concluded Yesterday, may be worth His Majesty's Knowledge; and therefore, I thought fit to trouble Your Lordship with them.

When it was proposed in the Form I mentioned in my last, the Town of *Amsterdam* opposed it, and said absolutely, They had no Orders from their Principals, farther than barely to ratifie the Treaty, without other Circumstances or Conditions: That for any Security could be proposed to the *Spaniards* in their Treaty, or, afterwards, for *Flanders*, it was provided for sufficiently, in the Article between his Majesty and this State, concerning a Guarantee to be given by them jointly for the Peace between *France* and *Spain*.

In this Proposition the Town of *Amsterdam* (which used ever to have One or Two of the great Towns in close Intelligence with them, and Two or Three of the small ones in a servile Dependence) had now the Ill luck not to be seconded by any One Town of the whole Province of *Holland*; but all of them run down the Deputies of that Town with such Violence, and particular Resentment against their Conduct in the whole Course of this Negotiation, that they suffered the Thing to pass without any farther Debate or Opposition, and to be drawn up with all the Strength that the Prince could desire, both as to the *Dutch* Ambassadors declaring to the *French* at *Nimeguen*, upon delivering the Ratifications, that it was done upon this Condition, That the Treaty likewise with *Spain* should be ratified by the Time limited, and afterwards duly executed; or else, that the Treaty should be wholly void: And also to the States declaring to his Majesty, That in Default of such Performance, the late Treaty between his Majesty and this State should take Effect; and, *le cas du traité seroit tenu pour échu*.

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In the whole Course of this Affair, which held in the States of *Holland* from Three Yesterday Afternoon, till Six, and afterwards passed in the States General, all the Towns of *Holland*, except *Amsterdam*, as well as all the other Provinces, declared in all their whole Discourses upon this whole Subject, That they owed the Peace and Restitution of the Towns, and the Saving of *Flanders*, wholly to his Majesty : That, without the last Treaty, they saw plainly, *France* would have yielded to no Terms with *Spain*, nor have made good their own Offers, in several Points, to this State : That nothing but a firm Union of this State with *England*, could make any Stop against the Ambition and Greatness of *France* ; and, therefore, That they must ever stick firm to the Alliance with the Crown of *England*, and look upon it as their *Salvator* ; which was the Word that run among them. And the Prince himself told me, That he never saw such a Firmness generally among them, as was upon this Point ; nor such a Confusion and Silence, as that of the Deputies of *Amsterdam* upon it.

After this was done, the Nobles of *Holland*, being the first Member of the Province, taking Occasion from a Protest which the Town of *Amsterdam* had put in some Days since, against those which intended to difficult or delay the Ratification with *France*, brought in formally a Counter-protest against the Town of *Amsterdam*, ripping up their whole Conduct in the Course of this Affair, laying this Peace at their Doors, and the ruinous Consequence of it to the present Trade of these Countries, as well as to the Interest of this State, and the Princes their Neighbours and Allies ; especially upon the Points of *Cleves* and *Juliers* ; and protesting the Town of *Amsterdam* to be answerable for all the Mischiefs that could any way come upon this State, by reason of such an unsafe and infamous Peace.

Upon the reading of it, Monsieur *Valkener* turned pale as a Clout, so as every Body took notice of it ; and after it was read, the Deputies of that Town all confess'd, that the Nobles had Reason in all they alledged, and that they had only one Thing to say for themselves, which was, the Plea of Necessity ; having been of Opinion, it was impossible for the State to support the War any longer.

Thus Your Lordship will find how true a Measure I gave his Majesty of this Country, upon my last Return from *Nimeguen* after *du Cros*'s Errand, both as to what Effect his Majesty's Steadiness and Firmness would have in advancing the Prince's Credit and Interest, and devolving the whole Dependance of this State upon his Majesty ; and likewise as to what Effect every loose Pace we made with them, would certainly have, in throwing them wholly upon *France*, even in spite of all the Prince should be able to do in restraining them. I will only add now my own Opinion as to what will follow the Peace ; which is, That whereas it has been the General Thought, that the Prince's Authority was kept up by the War, and would decline upon the Peace ; I believe quite the contrary, and that it will very much increase upon the Peace itself, because every body will see by the Course of Affairs afterwards, that the Prince was all this while in the True Interests of the Country ; and that those who advanced such a Peace as this, were certainly out of it, either upon Faction, or Corruption, or want of good Sense : And by what I hear of the Town of *Amsterdam* themselves, I believe these two or three Men that have led them in this Course, will certainly come, in a little Time, to lose their Credit : And I have some Reason to think, Monsieur *Valkener* would already be glad to compound for that.

I cannot but add one Word which passed last Night between the Prince and me upon this Occasion ; which was, That I had not known a bolder Action, of one that was counted a timorous Man, than this of *Valkener*, to set himself up at the Head of a Party here in Opposition to his Highness ; not only in regard of his Authority in the State, or his *Appuy* from *England* ; but chiefly in regard of his Highness being so absolute in the Interests of the Country : For otherwise, I should not think it a bold Thing, if *Valkener* were in it, and his Highness out of it. Upon which the Prince replied, No ; but on the

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contrary, it would be a bold Thing for me to be out of it ; and those that have been so, You will see ruined, even by the Peace they have promoted.

In short, his Majesty's Firmness, and the Prince's saving of *Mons*, have brought the Thing to this Head, and left his Highness in the Posture he stands. It will, I doubt not, continue, while his Majesty is firm and steady in his present Measures ; and *France* is so sensible of the ill Pace they have made in the first Difficulty about evacuating the Towns, that the several Ministers of that Crown make it their Business to clear themselves of it ; since they find it will not pass here to throw it upon the *Swedes* ; but I do not see how they can ever recover the Trust they have lost by it in this Country, nor the Credit of their Party here.

Your Lordship will find in Mr. *Hyde's* Letter, Two Points upon which the Prince desired us to write this Ordinary ; one about the Satisfaction of his Debts from *Spain*, by the Cession of *Maestricht* : The other about the Princess's Portion. The Introduction he gave them was, That now he saw all publick Business draw to an end here, he would begin to think of his own.

Upon the First, I having seen his Highness since Mr. *Hyde*, I advised a Turn in it which he approved of ; that was, Not to pretend absolutely a Cession of *Maestricht* and *Limburg* at present, but only that *Spain* should leave them in the Hands of the Prince, till they found out a Way of acquitting his Debts ; the Difficulties whereof will, in all Appearance, put them upon this Expedient themselves : This I offered, because I knew Monsieur *de Lyra* had seemed much surprized and shock'd at this Proposition this Morning from the Pensioner ; tho' I have Reason to believe, they are not unprepared for it at *Madrid*. The Prince desires the Orders his Majesty sends to his several Ambassadors upon this Subject may run in that Form.

For the other, about the Portion, He desires his Majesty will either pay it by the Proportions of Times agreed on, or else by setting apart such a Sum of the Monthly Tax given by the Parliament, and including this Portion as will make the Payment within the Time agreed on, which is, I think, about 4000 *l.* per Month, there being one of the Two Years already past.

Your Lordship will have observed in my last Letter to Mr. Secretary *Williamson*, the Mention of one I had received from the King to the States and my self, about Two Ships taken Three Years since by a *Zealand* Caper.

The Letters came through Mr. Secretary *Williamson's* Office ; but in such a Style, as Mr. *Hyde* and I were equally amazed, considering the Game that was playing here, whether this State should take their Measures with *England* or with *France* ; so we both resolved it should first be shewed the Prince. The Matter was, of it self, in a Way of being dispatch'd, and not in all above the Value of Two or Three thousand Pounds ; and coming without any Line from the Secretary himself, we took them to be Things of Form, and procured only by the Solicitation of the Parties, and without any Reflections of his Majesty's. When I shewed it the Prince, he said, That he hoped I consider'd the King's Service here, more than to deliver such a Letter : That he was sure the King never saw it : That it was a Letter to have been writ in 1671, when the King was resolved to quarrel with this State ; and not now, when he was fallen into Measures with them. Nay, He was confident, Mr. Secretary had taken the Draught of the Letters that were written then, and had only chang'd the Names : That the States would certainly interpret it, That his Majesty had resolv'd still to quarrel with them, and had taken his Measures again with *France*, which would make them try to do so too : That in all the Dispositions of that King here, *Zealand* had still been most inclined to *England*, with whom this Breach is threaten'd to begin : For, entering into it with the Admiralty there, was, in effect, with the whole Province. In short, he said, It would be absolutely necessary to suppress the Letter, till I had farther Orders ; but that he would undertake this Business should certainly be done.

I send Your Lordship a Copy of the Letter, which was directed to me, or the Secretary of the Ambassy here in my Absence ; so that if I had not been upon the Place, he had certainly delivered it the next Morning. And, which the Prince thought very hard too, a Copy of the Letter was given to the Persons that sollicite it here ; so that I was fain to desire them to keep it up to themselves, till they found whether I could do their Business or no without it. This puts me in mind of repeating again what I writ to Your Lordship upon my last Return from *Nimeguen*, of the Necessity there would be, while his Majesty continues his Measures here as they are, for his Ministers to act upon Concert with his Highness ; at least, till they had made a Representation to his Majesty upon their Orders, of such Consequences as could not be, or were not foreseen in *England* when they were issued. I told the Prince, at his Return from the Campaign, the first Time Mr. *Hyde* and I attended him, That I had written to Your Lordship upon this Subject, and what You had returned of the Commission the King had given You, to assure his Highness of his Majesty's Resolution in it. The Prince said to us both upon it, That, the Truth was, If his Majesty considered him as perfectly in his own Interests, it ought to be so ; and that the Prince ought to be the King's Ambassador here ; and, in that Case, he should be able to serve his Majesty : Which were just his Words ; and I thought fit to let Your Lordship know them ; because, notwithstanding what You were pleased to say, I neither observe any such Directions to me since, either in General, or in this Particular ; nor any to Mr. *Hyde*, at his coming away ; though he brought an Instruction with him, which would absolutely have spoiled the King's Business here, if, at the Prince's Desire, he had not suppress'd it. And 'tis a very hard Case for an Ambassador either to hinder his Master's Service (perhaps ruin it) or else, by suppressing an Order, to lie under the Lash of a Secretary, who, perhaps, would be pleased with making others smart for his own Faults.

There is a Paper lately sent over to be presented his Majesty from the *Lunenburgh* Ministers at *Nimeguen*, about a Difficulty they have met with in seeing Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, though they pretend to have satisfied the Forms his Majesty requires, as to the Competition with the Emperor. All I shall say upon it, is, That Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* is bound up by such strict Orders in these Points, that I do not see how he can possibly, with them, perform the Part of a Mediator ; being absolutely bound up already from seeing one of the *Spanish*, *Danish*, and *Dutch* Ambassies, and now these of *Lunenburgh*, so much as in Third Places, or ordinary Conversation or Business. To either of which I never understood how such Orders should be tied, or why That should go any farther than the Business or Visits of Ceremony.

I ask Your Lordship's Pardon for the Length of this Trouble, which was intended only to give You such Lights as I thought might be necessary, and You would not, perhaps, receive from any other Hand.

I am ever,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To the Duke of Ormond.

Hague, September 23. S. N. 1678.

My Lord,

SINCE my last to Your Grace, nothing hath passed here, but what You will have foreseen, which ended with Mr. Hyde's Proposition from his Majesty. The States excused themselves from any formal Answer to it for some time, not knowing how the Difficulties between *France* and *Spain* were like to determine. The *French* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen* seemed peremptory in their Demands, especially of *Beaumont*, and the Chatelentye of *Aeth*; but at length submitted themselves to the Arbitrage of this State, as the *Spaniards* had done to his Majesty and them. Monsieur d' *Avaux* came Post hither from *Nimeguen* to support his Master's Right upon this Arbitrage, which was to be dispatch'd in Five Days, so as to make way for signing the Peace with *Spain*, before the last Day left for the Ratifications with this State, which was the 21st current. But before he had been Two Days here, a Courier came to him with News, That the King of *France* had generously remitted both Points to the *Spaniards*, without any Arbitrage, so as the Peace was to be signed on *Saturday* last the 17th. This was done, and the States on *Monday* resolved to exchange their Ratifications with *France*; but, at the same time, to declare, That it was upon Condition of their performing the Treaty with *Spain*; if not, this between them and *France* to be void. Before this, they resolved likewise to give Mr. Hyde and me their formal Answer to his Majesty's last Proposition, That though *France* had signed the Treaty with *Spain*, and theirs with *France* would thereupon be ratified, yet they had declared to his Majesty, it was with this Resolution, That if *France* either refused to ratifie their Treaty with *Spain*, or to perform afterwards the Conditions of it, this State should hold, *le cas du dernier Traité avec sa Majesté pour échû*; and should be ready to perform the Condition of it.

This was all the Prince himself propos'd to bring it to here, since the Game had gone too far to be recovered in any other manner, and the Town of *Amsterdam* was against this it self.

Upon the Exchange of Ratifications made at *Nimeguen* between *France* and this State, on *Wednesday*, in pursuance of this Answer from the States, Mr. Hyde embark'd Yesterday Morning for *England*, and with him my Lord Offory, resolv'd to see Your Grace in *Ireland*, before any Thoughts of returning hither. All that is now left to be done, is, to enter into Guarantees with this State for what remains of *Flanders*; and to try if the Progreß of *France* upon the *Rhine* may be prevented by any Steps towards a general Peace: The first whereof, and which the Prince is much concerned in, has been made already, by his Majesty's Proposition at *Nimeguen*, for a General Suspension of Arms; which *France* yet refuses to come to upon the Score of *Sweden*, as they give out; but, as others believe, upon their own.

I am,

My Lord,

Your Grace's &c.

To

To my Lord Treasurer.

Hague, October 7. S. N. 1678.

My Lord,

BY my Letter this Ordinary to Mr. Secretary *Williamson*, Your Lordship will find an Account of my late Journey to *Amsterdam*, and to the Prince at *Hoogshoore*, about 24 Leagues from this Place, with one part of the Errand that occasioned it, and the Success of it. There were Two other Occasions which led me to it, that I thought not fit to mention in a Letter which must pass so many Eyes; reserving them for Your self, and, by Your means, for His Majesty and Royal Highness; since one of them had its Rise in private Confidence from the Prince; and the other from Your Lordship's last Letter; wherein You seemed so desirous of knowing his Opinion upon Two Points of great Consequence, which I thought it necessary You should be satisfied in by the First, without attending the Prince's Return, which was like to draw out into some Length.

Upon his Highness leaving the Town last, he very earnestly recommended to me the making a Journey to *Amsterdam*; not only for discovering their Minds there as to the Point of the Guarantee, of which I have given Mr. Secretary an Account; but likewise as to the manner they are like to live with the Prince hereafter, now the Peace is made; since their Carriage in the late Debate here about *Maestricht*, gave the Prince a Suspicion, that they were resolved to do it declaredly, upon all Occasions, against his Opinion and Interests, however united with the Sense of the other Provinces, and even the rest of the Towns in this. At least, he believed, Monsieur *Valkener* would act that Part. But, that his Highness might the better take his Measures, he desired to have some certain Light, both as to his particular Resolutions, and how he was likely to be seconded in them by Monsieur *Hoest*; that is, how far supported, or where deserted in them. For the Town of *Amsterdam* is absolutely governed by these Two Men, without any other Person so much as pretending, at present, any Share in it. I have had long Discourses with them both, and not only together, but separately; and, as the Prince thinks, very much to the Advantage of his Affairs and Service here. Monsieur *Valkener*, who is a very thoughtful, designing, and covered Man, yet went so far with me, as to say plainly at last, That, for his part, he should ever shew as much Respect to his Highness's Person and Interests, as any Man in the Country, while he kept within the establish'd Constitutions of the State; but if, upon any Occasion, he should offer to go beyond them, he must oppose it as far as he could; and believed, not only that his Town would do so too, but that they would be applauded in it by the other Towns of this Province; who might yet in the States, upon other Respects, give Opinions different from them: That there were Two different sorts of People for the Prince to make use of here; One, that were fit to follow him at Court, in his Hunting and Entertainments; Another that were fit for the Magistracy of this Country, and had generally a Reputation not only of good Patriots, but of Men of Ability and Honesty, and such as the People generally were content to trust: That he needed not name any such Men; the Prince could not fail of knowing them; for if he did not by his own observing, common Fame would tell him who they were in every Town: And that, if the Prince would have all go easy and unanimous here, he must, when he had any thing to propose in the States, first send for some of these Men from the several Towns, and discourse it with them apart: If he found They agreed in Opinion about it, he might reckon the Thing would certainly and easily pass in the States: If they differed, he should then send for them to talk it over with them together, and tell them, He found they were of several Minds, and therefore, he desired they would reason it with one another before him; which would produce an

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Agreement, one Way or other, among them, as well as the Debates here in the States had in a manner ever done ; and accordingly his Highness might take his certain Measures.

Monfieur *Hoest*, who is a much franker Man, and of greater Credit, tho' less Opinion than the other, went farther with me : For after some Things of the same Kind, about the Prince's consulting with Persons trusted and esteemed in their Towns, taking his Measures previously with those of *Amsterdam* as well as other Towns, which were publicly known to be at his Devotion ; not confining his Conversation to very few Persons, and of another sort, nor the Consultations of Business to any One or Two Men alone : He ended with me, at last, in this Conclusion, That nothing was so necessary here, as a perfect Union between the Prince and States, and the taking away all Appearance of the least Difference between them ; which would but let *France* into the State, by siding with one Party or other, and with either of them just as would serve their present Turn. That for his Part, he was so sensible of this, and had such an Opinion of the Prince, both as to his Moderation, and his understanding his own Interest aright, to be perfectly joined with those of the Country ; that notwithstanding all Jealousies which had unhappily been raised here, or might be so hereafter, perhaps, industriously, he was absolutely resolved he would trust the Prince, till he should see him engaged in Courses against the Interests and Liberties of the State. That, in such a Case, he should enter into the *bonne partie*, and oppose it according to his Duty : But that, in the mean Time, he would not go about to hurt both his Country and the Prince too, by encreasing any Difference between them, upon Suspicions, or Jealousies, that he did not see a plain Ground for.

As to particular Occasions of Difference between the Prince and States, now after the Peace, he would not see any ; unless it should happen about a second Reduction of the Army, and to such a Proportion as might be maintained by the ordinary Revenue of the Country. But when I told him, the Time of proposing this was chiefly considerable ; whether before they should see the general Peace made, or *France* likewise begin to disarm : And upon this it self, they ought to debate the whole Thing, privately, with the Prince of *Orange*, before they brought it into the States : He told me, He thought I had Reason, and he should be of that Mind : And ended with saying many Things of the greatest Esteem that could be of the Prince, and very much Kindness to his Person and Interests ; desiring me to give his Highness the Assurance of it.

Upon my Report of all this to the Prince, he seemed to be extremely pleased with it, and said, I had made a Journey to mighty good Purpose : And he should make so good Use of it, that he doubted not to be able to give a good Account of this Country, as to what should be their Part in the general Concerns of *Christendom*, provided his Majesty would be but *Steady* in the Pursuit of his Measures here.

After this I shewed him Your Lordship's Letter, desiring to know his Opinion about his Majesty's reconciling with *France*, in something about *Sweden* ; and entering into Measures with them, in Behalf of that Crown ; and likewise about a Match with that King to Lady *Anne*, in case it should be pursued : The Prince read it twice over, and very thoughtfully ; and after some Pause, said, That he could not tell on the sudden, what to think of this Letter. That upon his first reading of those Lines about reconciling with *France* in something of *Sweden*, he was as much amazed as the Stag was that Day, at the first Blow that was given him. That he had no Reason to believe, by the last Letters he received from the Duke, or from Your Lordship, that there was any Change in our Councils in *England*, from the late Measures we had taken, of preserving *Europe* from the Design of *France* upon it. That yet he could not imagine how any Body should think we could reconcile with *France* for restoring *Sweden*, without breaking all the Measures we had lately taken, and returning absolutely into our former ones with *France*. That this was certainly an Artifice of the *French*, who saw they could not close with

us directly, upon any Thing between our selves, and so they would ground it upon the Business of *Sweden*; which would be in Effect the same Thing, and bring the Business of *Europe* just where it was Four or Five Years ago. That *Sweden* made no Pace, nor used no Language, but as they were directed by *France*; and so he was sure they were in this. That the Effect of any such Agreement between Us and *France*, would be the King's wholly losing all his Credit, not only with the Empire and *Spain*, as returning into the *French* Interests, by embracing those of *Sweden*, which were wholly joined with them, but it would likewise shake it here too, and make them return to the Opinion they have so long had in this Country, that the King would never heartily break from *France*: And that the Effect of this would be, to make the States run into the Interests of that Crown, as a Thing which must befall them, and without Remedy. And that nothing could be more ruinous than this, to the Affairs of his Majesty here, nor to those particularly of his Highness. That upon any Measures which could be taken between his Majesty and *France*, for the restoring *Sweden*, the first Action on the *French* Side must be the invading *Cleve* and *Wesel*, and the rest of the Duke of *Brandenburg's* Territories adjoining; which will not only let in the *French* into the Empire on that Side, but make them in as great a Measure Masters of this Country, (of which *Cleves* and *Juliers* have ever been esteemed the very Key) as they could have been by their Conquests in *Flanders*. And that his Highness does not apprehend how his Majesty can take part in such an Action; and which must have Consequences so directly opposite to all the Measures he has lately taken, and to the Offers he has made this State about the Security of *Cleves* and *Juliers*. That as far as his Highness understands, his Majesty's Interests, and that of the Crown of *England*, are, after the Peace to enter into such Measures with this State, the Emperor, and the Princes of the Empire, as may preserve *Flanders*, and keep *France* from overturning the World any farther: To live fairly with *France*, but to enter into no new Measures with them; so that upon any ill Talent of *France*, about what his Majesty has already done in the saving *Flanders*, he may have the Empire ready to fall into his Interests, as he has this State already engaged, by a defensive League, in case of *France's* attacking us. And for *Sweden*, he does not see how his Majesty can go farther than to induce them first to a Suspension of Arms, and afterwards to some reasonable Terms in a Peace.

That, for the Match between that King and Lady *Anne*; his Highness knows nothing against it, if the King and Duke think it fit, unless it be the Time of either doing or treating it; which he believes cannot be before the general Peace is made; because it will otherwise have those Effects before-mentioned, especially if accompanied by Engagements with *France*; unless it should be treated upon the Foot of *Sweden's* consenting to such Terms of a Peace, as the Confederates should be likely to fall in with.

This was the Substance of the several and large Discourses which his Highness made me upon this Occasion, and with much Concernment; desiring me to represent them to Your Lordship, at large, as he would write, in short, his Thoughts to You upon them by this Post.

After this he took Notice of the Passage in Your Lordship's Letter, about the King intending to command my Return in a short Time; and said upon it, That it could not be fit at the present; but that he would talk with me about the Time of it, after the Evacuation of the Places in *Flanders*, and the Treaty of Guaranty here should be finished: Which being the first Steps after the Peace, would be of the greatest Importance, and declare the Intention of this State, as to their Measures hereafter with *England* and with *France*. That whenever I left this Post, it would be absolutely necessary for his Majesty to have an Ambassador here, and not a less Character, since the *French* were resolved ever to have one; and that it would extremely import his Highness what sort of Person he sent over: For unless it should be one that might live in Confidence with him, and have Credit in the Country here, 'twere better have none at all. *I am, &c.*

To the Duke of YORK.

Hague, October 11. S. N. 1678.

May it please Your Highness,

I Received Yesterday Morning, by Mr. *White*, the Honour of a Letter from Your Highness, with a Command which it will be very difficult to perform here ; I mean, that of helping her Highness to be *incognito* in this Place. The Prince being yet absent, and the Pensioner too, I spoke of it to Monsieur *Van Lewen*, who was hard to be perswaded, that the Honours due to her Highness by the States, upon such Occasion, should not be performed, solemnly, at her landing. But having acquainted him with the Absoluteness of Your Highness's Commands, both by Your Letter, and, particularly, by Mr. *White*, I prevailed with him to make no mention of it in the States, till the Prince's Return : And this, I hope, may be to night, or to morrow at farthest.

For a House to receive her Highness and Lady *Anne*, with their Attendants, there was no Choice at all in it ; and so the Princess Dowager's House is making ready for this Purpose ; and will, I doubt not, be in Order by to morrow. I could not perswade Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* and Mr. *White* to allow me any other Part in this Care, besides leaving the whole House empty ; which I did early this Morning, and them, with the Prince's Servants, in all the Diligence that could be, of preparing it for her Highness's Reception ; who besides the Honour of such a Piece of Gallantry, will have certainly a very great Satisfaction in seeing here such a Princess, as, in all Kinds, I do believe, is very hard to be seen any where else. I wish the Weather but as fair as the Wind, and then, I hope, this Adventure will be very soon and very happily atchieved.

I beg Your Highness's Leave upon this Occasion, to give You an Account of another Command I received from Your Highness at my coming away ; which was, to speak at large to the Prince about some Particulars in his Way of living, and conversing here, that Your Highness thought of great Consequence to his Affairs in this Country. I did not find an Opportunity that made Way for it, till now of late, since Matters here seemed to fix a little, upon the Conclusion of the Peace with *Spain*, which gave his Highness Occasion of discoursing with me several Times, upon this new Scene of Affairs ; and employing my Offices to discover how the Town of *Amsterdam* was like to live with him, after the Peace. I gave my Lord Treasurer, by last Post, a large Account of what had passed between me and the Two ruling *Burgomasters* there, upon this Subject ; and shall now only add to it, That having represented all that Matter to the Prince at *Hoogshoore*, and, upon that Occasion, the full Scope of Your Highness's Thoughts, he seemed extremely satisfied with both : And assured me, That as there were many Applications which might be made in a Time of Peace, and could not, while his Thoughts were wholly taken up with the War ; so he should not now neglect them, though he might hitherto have done it. That he should fall into a new Ply ; and that he doubted not to give a good Account of this State, in all the publick Concernments of *Christendom*, if his Majesty could resolve to be *Steady* in the Measures he had fallen into of late.

I should not have given Your Highness so long a Trouble, but that I thought You would not be displeased with the Knowledge of this Particular ; and in it my Obedience to that Command of Your Highness, of writing without Ceremony. I am very confident You will believe it to be without any at all ; when I assure Your Highness of my being ever with the greatest Passion and Truth that can be,

S I R,

Your Highness's, &c.

I i i i i

To

To Sir Joseph Williamfon.

Hague, October 11. S. N. 1678.

S I R,

SINCE my last of the 7th, wherein I gave You a large Account of my late Journey to *Amsterdam*, and to the Prince in the *Veloue*; and what Thoughts and Intentions I had met with in both Places, about the Business of the Guarantee: I have likewise given part to the Pensioner of all that passed there, with which he was very much satisfied. But thinking it of the last Importance that the Thing should meet with no Difficulty, after it came once to be proposed here; he was divided in the Opinion, Whether to let it alone till the next Session of the State of *Holland*, which begins next Month; because then it might be passed in Two Days Time, without sending it to the Towns, the Deputies being here? Or, Whether the Prince, the Pensioner, and Monsieur *Van Lewen* to digest the Matter with me here, into the Form and Articles of a Treaty; and then for me to go with it, and engage the Consent of *Amsterdam* to it, even before the next Assembly of the State? He concluded, That we must expect the Prince's Advice upon it; and was, I believe, the more fixed in it, by being himself resolved to go again out of Town, after One Day's Stay here, with Intention of not coming back till the Prince's Return; which we now expect will be this Evening or to Morrow, so as by next Post I may possibly give You a farther Account of this Matter; and I hope I may, in the mean Time, receive his Majesty's Thoughts upon that Project in general, which I gave of it from the Prince and Pensioner's Discourses, about a Fortnight since.

I told You in my last, of the States Deputation, on *Friday* last, to Monsieur *d'Avaux*, about the Evacuation of *Maestricht*, the General Peace, and the Quiet of the Neighbourhood, especially *Juliers* and *Cleves*: I find by Monsieur *Van Lewen*, who was one of the Deputies, that his Answer was, As to the first, that he had yet no Orders; but would that Night dispatch away an Express, and hopes to give them some Account of it within Four Days. For the Second, That his Master was well disposed to the General Peace, and a Suspension of Arms in Order towards it, if his Allies could be induced to it. For the Third, That it was a Thing the King his Master reserved to treat with the Ambassadors of this State in *France*, where he had expected them any Time these Two Months, though they were not yet gone. That, in the mean Time, the Proceedings of the Duke of *Brandenburgh* were such in *Pomerania*, as would of necessity oblige the King his Master to invade his Territories upon the *Rhine*; having no other Way to make a Diversion. Though what Towns he should take there, would be without any Intention of keeping them.

Monsieur *Van Lewen* added to me, That he wondred to hear Monsieur *d'Avaux* speak so frankly in this Matter, as well as in what concerned his Majesty's Mediation; That there was now no Need of it in any Thing between *France* and this State; and that in all Things which concern their Neighbours, or Allies, the King his Master would rather have the States to interpose their Mediation, than his Majesty. And he said, Though it passed in Discourse, and not at the Conference, yet being a Man of Reserve, he believed it would not have been said without Order, and being first weighed.

Yesterday Monsieur *d'Avaux* let the States know, that the King his Master, not to retard the Evacuation of the *Spanish* Towns, would draw off his Forces now in *Flanders*, to *Huy* (a Town between *Namur* and *Liege*) which he intended to fortify; and finding there were Seven or Eight hundred Men of this State at present in it, he desired they would order them to march out, this being a Town of the Empire; and the States being obliged by their Treaty to assist none of the Enemies of *France*. I find them here a little surprised

prized with this, and some Delays that are yet made in the Delivery of *Maestricht*; but no Return, I believe, will be made, till the Prince be consulted after his, to this Place. I am ever,

S-I R,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Treasurer.

Hague, December 6. S. N. 1678.

My Lord,

I Was so infinitely obliged, by the Kindness and Confidence of a Letter I had this Day the Honour of receiving from Your Lordship, by Mr. *Hales*, that I could not delay the acknowledging of it by this Post; though to do that as I ought, will, I doubt, be as hard as to deserve it. And, I fear, to interrupt Your Lordship, at a Time so busy as this, will be a greater Fault than any Omission would have been. I had not before any true Prospect of the present Scene; and though Your Lordship has given me so much Light, yet it serves rather to represent the Sadness of it, than to discover any Remedy to such fatal Distempers as have been long breeding, and are now so violently broken out in our poor unfortunate Nation. God alone can be the Physician, who governs the Hearts of Princes, and the Humours of People: For to think of Advice from any other, in so many cross Accidents, both at home and abroad, as meet to make up this violent *Crisis*, is too great a Compliment to put upon any Man; and if Your Lordship could hope for it, in my Opinion, it ought to be from Your self, who have best been able to observe the Spring and Growth of this Distemper, with the Dispositions of the Body; and by that, as well as by Your own natural Prudence, must be fitter than any other Person to make a Judgment upon it. For my own part, it would be more Presumption in me than in any Man to offer at it, upon many Regards; besides that of the Distance I am at, and have been so long, and so often, for a great Part of my Life. Nor do I know one Quality to make me fit for it, unless it be not only as near and as sensible, but as unpassioned, and as uninteressed Concernment in the true Good and Service of my Master and my Country, as any Man can have. And for this Reason, and because Your Lordship hath used many Times to ask me so kindly, and hear me so favourably, upon smaller Occasions; and because I take You to be equally concerned with the Publick in this, it shall go hard but I will find a Way of telling Your Lordship, by some Hand or other, and in very few Words, all that I have been able to think upon it: Which can do no Hurt, because You may forget it as soon as 'tis done.

For any Accounts of Foreign Affairs, which Your Lordship might have expected if I had come over; the whole Course of my Dispatches, since I left *England* last, will better inform any Body than I my self could do; as having been constant and particular, and thereby containing many Things I have forgot. For the Question You are pleased to ask about the Peace, I cannot add one Word to that short Account Your Lordship will meet with, in my Letter this Post to Sir *Joseph Williamson*; unless it be, That nothing seems to me, at present, so necessary in the Foreign Affairs, as for his Majesty to dispatch away some Minister to *Spain*, whose chief Instruction should be, To watch any Motion of Councils, or Negotiations there, for the Exchange of *Flanders*: To divert them from any such Thoughts, by the greatest Assurance of his Majesty's resolving to take it into his constant Care and Protection: And so to represent the State of our present Disorders them-

selves, as not to dishearten that Court in the Hopes that his Majesty may yet be able to perform effectually, what he intends, and promises, in that Matter. I think the Dispatch of this so much the more necessary, because, I doubt, the present Minister there may, in this Conjunction, be a very ill Instrument in such an Affair ; and be possibly inclined to promote other Ends, in what concerneth that very Business of *Flanders*, and any Exchange of it.

For Mr. *Mountague*, I have neither deserved such Offices Your Lordship speaks of, nor shall trouble my self about making such Returns. I am infinitely obliged to Your Lordship, for the Enquiries You say You will make ; and shall be very glad to know my Faults, from my Enemies as well as my Friends ; because which way soever I find them, I shall make the same Use, that is, to mend them. I stand always upon the Ground of having never done either an unjust, or ungentlemanly Action in my Life ; or an unfaithful one to the Service of my Master, or my Country. And whoever may be perswaded otherwise of me, by Whisperers, or Malice, I shall leave to their own Opinions, till they please to make fair Enquiries ; and concern my self no farther in them nor the Consequences. Having, I thank God, at Heart, neither Hopes to serve, nor Faults to answer for.

As to Sir *Henry Capel*, I should be very sorry to think he meant ill to the Crown or Kingdom, because I always thought otherwise of him ; and cannot reproach my self to have often been deceived by my Friends ; and whenever I am, believe I have not more Reason to quarrel with them, than with my self for chusing them. For his Unkindness to me, I will, at least, be as just, as I desire others to be to me ; which is, To hear first what he saith of it, before I judge. For any to Your Lordship, I shall not easily forgive ; because I do not think You have deserved it, upon any publick Considerations ; which are all that should lead him in his present Figure. For if Your Lordship had not served his Majesty, and the true Interests of his Crowns, with perfect good Intention to both, and the best of Your Power, You have, I am sure, deceived me ; which few of my Friends, I confess, have done : And, I am confident, Your Lordship will never be of that Number.

I am,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, December 30. S. N. 1678.

S I R,

Since my last of the 27th, I have none from You, the contrary Winds having now left Three Pacquets due from *England*. All the Towns of *Holland* have agreed to the Advice of the States General, about deferring the Reform, as I mentioned in my last, except *Amsterdam* alone. What their Answer will prove at last, I cannot yet tell ; nor whether one Man alone, as the Head of a single Town, will set up directly against all the other Towns of this Province, as well as against all the other Provinces ; and in a Matter appearing to them of so great Importance to the State. For though the Peace be made both by this State and *Spain*, and though the *French* have yet raised no Difficulties upon restoring the Towns to the *Spaniards*, yet they have declared, They intended to keep their Forces in *Flanders*, till they are satisfied in what they demand, as remaining due of their Contributions, which amounts

to

to near Two hundred thousand Pistoles. And for this Country, though they have delivered up *Maestricht*, yet they have demanded *Hasselt* and *Maseyck*, by which it would be cut off from the rest of these Territories, and have this Week posted themselves between *Maestricht* and *Hasselt* on one side, and *Maestricht* and *Maseyck* on the other; so as neither Boat nor Waggon can go from these Provinces to *Maestricht*, but must pass through their Quarters; and that Town is not yet provided, in any proportion, of Cannon or Magazines necessary for their Defence. Besides, it is known here, That the *French* Ministers and Officers lie ready to take into their Service immediately all the Troops which this State shall disband; and the last Letters from their Ambassadors at *Paris*, gave them yet farther Apprehensions of the Conduct they are to expect from the *French*. For Monsieur *Boreel*, who is of *Amsterdam*, and was deep in the Cabal of promoting the Peace, writes plainly, That he expects nothing from that Court, upon any of their Pretensions: That they were grown so insolent with their Prosperity, and the ill Posture of all their Neighbours, as not to trouble themselves with giving Reasons, or receiving them upon any thing they treated. To this in General, he writes Two Particulars, that were something more surprizing; the First was, That Monsieur *Pomponne* had told him, That the King his Master had ordered him to take notice of the Prince having turned out the Catholick Magistrates at *Maestricht*, and put in Protestants in their Room, as a Thing contrary to his Treaty with this State. The Second, That Monsieur *de Louvoy* had told him, upon Discourse of the remaining Contributions of *Breda*, That the King his Master had heard what the Prince of *Orange* had said to the States in the Deliberations upon that Matter: *Et le trouvoit mauvais, & que le Prince avoit parlé trop fierement*. Upon the first Point, the States Deputies thought fit to discharge the Prince, by taking upon themselves what he had only acted by their Orders, and to defend their having acted nothing contrary to the Treaty, or innovated any thing in Matter of Religion at *Maestricht*; but that, on the other side, the *French* had no Right to concern themselves in what the States did in the Government of a Town, which was now become again their own. Upon the second Point, which touched only the Prince, his Highness said, That though the States knew he had never spoke any thing upon that Occasion, which might deserve that Term, yet he was of Opinion, no Answer should be made upon it: That he was born in a Free Republick, and that it had so continued hitherto; He could not tell how long it might do so, at the rate they were now treated; but that, while he lived in it, he would, according to his Duty, give his Advice, and speak his Opinion freely in it, without giving Account to any of what he said, but to God alone.

These Particulars have yet gone no farther, than the Deputies of Foreign Affairs, and so You will please may not yet be publick: But they have occasioned very melancholick Reflections among them, considering what a Condition this Peace has already brought them into, and what farther Consequences they may expect of it, upon the unhappy Posture of Affairs in *England*, from whence alone they were to hope for Support. You will guess by Your Dispatches this Post from *Nimeguen*, at least, as well as we can hear, what Issue may be expected from the Parties beginning to enter into Conference there. For my part, I am able to make no Conjecture, nor, whether a Peace with the Emperor, will contribute to the Safety, or increase the Danger of these Countries, and the *Spanish Netherlands*, if the *French* Army continue possessed of *Liege*, and the other Parts necessary for their making War upon the Duke of *Brandenburgh*, as they pretend, in Favour of the *Svedes*.

I am ever, &c.

To Sir Lyonell Jenkins.

Hague, January 20. S. N. 1678-9.

My Lord,

I Have this Morning Your Letters of Yesterday's Date, with the inclosed Papers, by which I am apt to conjecture, That the Peace between the Emperor and *France* is drawing towards a Period; and, very probably, by the last of this Month, being the Term last limited by *France* upon the present Conditions: I shall therefore prepare my self for my Journey towards You, and begin it when You find it necessary for me, to assist at the Signing of the Peace, and what other Acts shall necessarily require a Quorum of our Commission. Which are the Words of the Order I received upon this Occasion, in a Letter from Mr. Secretary *Williamson*, dated the 29th of *October* past.

Your Lordship, I find, apprehends whether You shall have Notice given You by the Parties, of their concluding the Affair Time enough to give me Warning for my Journey; which, with the other Complaints You make, of the little Confidence You are in with them, makes me doubt, whether their Intentions be, that we should sign or no: For, by their own first Draught of the Preface, it was plain, they did not intend it: And though Your Lordship received Orders upon that Point, *To make no Difficulty to sign as Mediators*, in Mr. Secretary's Letter to You of *October* 29th, and farther Orders about the Part his Majesty expected in the Stile of the Preface, by his Letter of *December* 3d, yet I do not find by any of Your Letters, that the Parties have either expressed their Desire or Intention, that we should sign as Mediators, or their Assent to what Your Lordship proposed as to his Majesty's Part in the Preface. I have other Reasons to be a little doubtful how this Matter may pass, and one particularly this very Morning from Monsieur d' *Avaux*, having said, in a Conference with the Deputies of this State, upon Discourse of the Treaty, That the Parties now treating being of the same Religion, the whole Business was in the Nuncio's Hands. I have likewise the Opinions of others here beside my own, That it would be to expose the King's Honour too much, for me to go expressly upon the Place to sign the Treaty, and when I came there, not to be admitted to it. Therefore, to clear all this Matter, I humbly offer to Your Lordship, Whether, seeing the present Approaches between the Parties, You will not take Occasion to let them know, That having formerly acquainted them with the Orders You had received, to be ready to sign the Treaty, and with the Part his Majesty pretended, in that Case, to have in the Preface; and finding it necessary by our Commission, that Two of us should be present at the Act, You desire to know both their Intention upon it, and the Time they are like to be ready, to the end You may give me notice early enough not to fail attending that Service, according to the Order You know I have received. They cannot, I suppose, make any Scruple to give You a clear and plain Answer to such a reasonable Question; and thereupon Your Lordship's Measures and mine will be easily taken: For, Your Lordship, I know, will not fail of giving me Advice by the first, and I shall not, God willing, fail of beginning my Journey accordingly. In case any thing should happen to make them sign of the sudden, without Warning to either of us, I suppose, if they desire we should have our Parts in it, Room may be left for the Mediators to sign afterwards; since it is not a Thing material, as to the Force of the Treaty between the Parties. If they will understand it otherwise, I suppose, it will be to avoid our Signing, in the civilest manner they can. For, upon the whole, the Judgment which is here made of this Treaty, is, That neither of them like it: And though it is Necessity alone which could have brought the Emperor to these Terms; yet *France* is perfectly taken at their Word, and is sensible enough of the Advantages they are like

to

to lose, in not pursuing the War with the Emperor, now *Spain* and this Country are out of it.

I am ever, &c.

P O S T S C R I P T.

I desire, what I say of Monsieur d' *Avaux* having told the Deputies this Morning, may not be taken notice of, because it was given me by one of them in Confidence.

To my Lord Treasurer.

Hague, January 24. S. N. 1679.

My Lord,

I Had the Honour of one from Your Lordship of the 7th, and deferred not upon Receipt thereof, to make that Use of it here, which you intended; and was, indeed, in a manner, necessary for his Majesty's Service and Justification, as well as Your Lordship's. I communicated the first part of it to some of the States who are in chief Credit here, and to the Imperial and *Spanish* Ministers, who all took notice of those Clauses in it, which shewed how great Advantages might have been made by bargaining for any Towns: How no Conditions were proposed, but such as were approved by *Spain* and *Holland*; and how the Thoughts of making any Advantages of that it self, were entertained only at the Persuasion of Mr. *M——e*. And in the several Conversations I have had upon this Subject here, I may assure Your Lordship, all was done with the Success You desired. For the Prince, who was gone from *Utrecht* to *Arnheim*, about the Time I received Your Lordship's Dispatch, I thought there could be no way so good of performing Your Commands towards his Highness, as by sending him the Letter it self, by which he would best see how much You were concerned both in his good Opinion, and in his particular Affair of the Money due to him; which, I am sure, could not have been by me so well expressed, as in Your Words. You will, before this Time, have been fully satisfied, by the Letter I sent You inclosed, how much the Prince was concerned in Your Part of what lately happened in *England*; and how little Reason You had to apprehend any Change of his Highness's Opinion in what concerned Your Lordship upon that Occasion: And, I know very well, he writ that Letter with kinder Intentions, than only of making You a Compliment at that Time. For the Money, he never said one Word of it to me in several Conversations about these Matters, farther than complaining of his own ill Luck, since he was sure to have received it within four or five Days, at the Time when that Trouble was given Your Lordship there; which he reckoned upon as what must certainly delay it, till some better Settlement in his Majesty's Affairs, and especially that of the Revenue.

Having acquitted my self of the Duty I owed Your Lordship upon that first part of Your Letter; I find another I owe to his Majesty upon the latter; of which I despair of being able to acquit my self as I ought to do, or as the Sense of so great a Favour justly obliges me to. The Distinction his Majesty is pleased to make between me and other Men, both in esteeming me fit for the Discharge of so great a Trust, and in offering to be himself at the Charge of Mr. Secretary *Coventry*'s retiring out of it; is what, I am sure, I shall never live to forget, though I can never hope to deserve; and therefore must beg of Your Lordship to assist me in making the heartiest and humblest Acknowledgments to his Majesty, that any Servant can make to the best Master in the World. After this is done, I am very sorry that I must make so true and plain a Confession

fession of my self, as I am forced to do upon this Occasion. If I found my self capable of doing his Majesty the Service that would become me in such a Post, I should esteem it the greatest, and, indeed, the only Happiness that could befall me at this Time, and in the poor Remainders of my Life. But the sensible Decays I feel of late in my self, and which must increase every Day with my Age and ill Health, make me absolutely despair of acquitting my self as I ought, and would be necessary for his Majesty's Service, in a Post that requires not only great Abilities, but good Health, and all the Application that can be; neither of which I can any ways promise either his Majesty or my self. And I may pretend to be so honest a Man, as never to make so ill a Bargain for so good a Master; which would be like selling him a Horse very dear, that I knew to be old and restiff, and not at all fit for the Service he designed him. I beg Your Lordship to represent this to his Majesty, not as an affected Modesty, nor as a Speaker's Form of disabling himself when he is chosen. For Your Lordship may please to remember, I writ the same thing to You Six Months ago: and Mr. *Hyde* knows very well the Thoughts of this kind he both found and left me in at his last being here. The Season I have since passed, in a Place so unkind to my Health, has given me a great deal of Reason to continue them, and to think my self not at all fit to enter upon so great and laborious an Employment, or even to continue this longer than the Spring; beyond which Time I can foresee little Use his Majesty can have of me here. And whenever he shall please to end it, I doubt not but he will give me Leave to seek for a little better Health in some warmer Climate; and, I am sure, he shall never find a better Subject, how useless a Servant soever I may have been; and that none shall ever make more passionate Wishes for his Happiness and Safety, than I shall do all the Days of my Life.

I cannot end this, without making Your Lordship likewise my particular Acknowledgments for Your Favour and good Opinion, which I shall ever esteem among my best Possessions. But having had the Honour of Your agreeing so often with me in what we have talked of, I cannot but be confident, that if You knew me as well as I do my self, You would be perfectly of my mind in this Matter; as I should be of Yours, if I found my self indeed what Your Lordship is pleased to esteem me. That which, I hope, we both agree in, is, The Belief that You can never meet with a greater and sincerer Passion, than that wherewith I have been so long, and shall be,

Yours, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamfon.

Rhenen, February 6. S. N. 1679.

S I R,

UPON this Day Se'nnight I received at the *Hague* an Express from Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, pressing me to come away immediately to *Nimeguen*, upon the Assurance he then had, the Treaty would be signed there the next Day, and that my Presence would be necessary to make up a Commission at that Time. Whereupon, finding my Orders express in that Case, I parted the same Day from the *Hague*, and made a shift to get to *Nimeguen* the next, being *Tuesday* at Night. The *Thursday* following I went to the Prince of *Orange* at *Arnheim*, upon a Letter from his Highness, and returned so late that Night, as to have no part in the Dispatch by that Ordinary, which was the 2d. I have miss'd since my last to You from the *Hague*. I communicated to his Highness the Orders I received by Yours of the 14th past, which came to me the Day after my Arrival at *Nimeguen*. He was very ready to perform the Part his Majesty expected from him upon that Occasion; but

said,

faid, I knew very well he had never been able to hinder Libels and Pasquins from being printed here againſt himſelf, and ſo could not aſſure me of hindring them againſt his Maſteſty; but that he would endeavour it, and hoped he might be able to do it at *Utrecht*, but adviſed me to addreſs my ſelf to the Magiſtrates of *Amſterdam*, where he could not undertake for it. He took Occaſion to tell me, That the Penſioner of *Amſterdam* had been with him the Day before, upon the Election of the Schepers for this Year: That falling into the Diſcourſe of the Affairs of *England*, he had told him, That the General Report and Belief at *Amſterdam*, was, That the great Preparations made by *France* in their Sea Ports, were to make the King Maſter of his Parliament; and that was the Reaſon we took no notice of them in *England*. I took this for a Libel ſpread here by the ſame Hands from which You expected they ſhould be ſent and printed to be ſpread in *England*; but the Prince ſaid, He had reaſon to believe it was given out by the *French*, to damp all Hopes that this State might have of any Support from *England*: And that he had received Two Letters upon the ſame Subject from *Amſterdam*, before the Penſioner of that Town had told him of it.

I ſhall not need tell You of the Peace having been ſign'd laſt Night about 10 of the Clock, between the Emperor and *France*, and agreed to be ſo this Day between the *Imperialiſts* and *Suedes*: You will know the whole Courſe of that Affair, with all Circumſtances, by an Expresſ this Day from my Colleague, and how unneceſſary a Journey I have made in the worſt Seaſon that I ever felt, and upon pure Obedience to the Orders You ſent me: For I had no Reaſon to think the *Imperialiſts* would yield a Point they had ever conteſted, and therefore, I had deſired my Colleague to inform himſelf of it before he ſent for me. 'Tis now paſt, and I have only Reaſon to be ſatisfied, that all was agreed to by the Parties which You ſeem'd to deſire for his Maſteſty's Honour in the Preface, as well as for his Incluſion in the Treaty. This Morning I left *Nimeguen*, and thought to have reach'd *Utrecht* this Night; but the Ways are almoſt impaſſable for a Coach, by the great Drifts of Snow; ſo that all I can hope for, is, to be there to morrow Night. From thence, I reſolve to go to *Amſterdam*, and ſpeak with the Magiſtrates in both Places, about ſearching and preventing what You apprehend from thoſe Preſſes: And becauſe I am not like to be in *Holland* Time enough for next Ordinary, I diſpatch this away to *Utrecht* by Expresſ, in hopes it may get Time enough to the *Hague*, to go away with the Ordinary to morrow Night, that ſo You might know ſomething of my Motions, as well as of my late Omiſſions, which have been occaſioned by them.

I am ever, &c.

To my Lord Treafurer.

Hague, February 21. S. N. 1679.

My Lord,

HAVING ſince my laſt had ſeveral Occaſions of diſcourſing with the Prince upon the Subject of Your Lordſhip's laſt Letter, and the Account You were pleaſed to give there both of his Maſteſty's Conduſt, and Your own, in thoſe Negotiations which were ſo much talked on of late; his Highneſs was very full in his Expreſſions of juſtifying Your Lordſhip upon having done nothing but with his Maſteſty's Order, even in Writing; and could not talk of Mr. M——'s Part in it, without the greateſt Indignation in the World. For the Thing it ſelf, he would ſay little, but, That it was paſt, and ſo 'twas to no purpoſe to talk of it: That no body had any thing left to do ſince the Peace, but to play an ill Game the beſt they could, and ſo he reſolved to do here; but nothing he could now do would ſignifie much towards the common

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Safety,

Safety, unless *England* could grow into a Posture of being more united at Home, and more considered Abroad, than they seemed likely to be by the present Course of our Affairs; which he ever talks of with great Concernment. Since the Commission I received to go again to *Nimeguen*, to continue there the Figure of his Majesty's Mediation, upon the recalling of Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, he was very inquisitive into the Reason of it; which I could not give him; having received barely a Commission to act alone in that Function, and Three Lines only from Mr. Secretary *Williamson*, to tell me, He had sent it by his Majesty's Order. All we could guess, was, The Design of sparing so much Money, by ending Mr. *Hyde's* and Sir *Lyonell's* Ambassy, now the Peace was so near concluded, and continuing mine only for the Decency of the Mediation, till the Assembly should break up. And the Prince said upon it, That he hoped, however, the King might make some good Use of it; and since the Peace of the North would certainly be made, now the Emperor's was so, he thought it would be very much better, that his Majesty should make it, than *France*, especially that between *Brandenburgh* and *Sweden*; and thereby endeavour to draw some Dependence of those Two Princes upon himself after the Peace, which, he doubted, would otherwise fall on *France*: He said besides, That he would think of this Matter within Two or Three Days, and tell me, if not write into *England*, what should occur to him upon it, before I went to *Nimeguen*: And, That the sooner the Peace of the North was now made, the better; that *France* might thereby have no longer a Pretext of keeping the Seven Towns in *Cologne*, *Juliers*, and *Liege*; whereby they are posted so, as to awe this Country and *Flanders*, and to be ready for any new Design upon them.

In this Conference, and one before, his Highness desired me to write to Your Lordship, and put You in mind of his Money; concerning which You had expressed so great Concernment in Your last to me. His Highness said, He did not doubt but this Sum might be easily advanced upon that Act which provided for it, in case the whole Security were not engaged some other ways, which he hoped Your Lordship has had the Kindness and Justice to prevent.

In the midst of Your Lordship's great Affairs, I know very well, I ought to give You as few and as short Troubles as I can; and therefore shall not lengthen this beyond the Assurances of my being ever,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To the Earl of Sunderland.

Hague, February 28. S. N. 1679.

My Lord,

ON *Saturday* last, I received the Honour of one from Your Lordship of the 11th, and this Morning another of the 14th; both of them bringing me his Majesty's Command for my immediate Return; and the last, a Letter of Revocation to the States General. I have this Afternoon communicated both to the Prince, who finding me press'd to make so much Diligence in my Journey, has made it formally his Desire to me, That I will go away, without taking notice here of my absolute Revocation, or, thereupon, any formal Leave of the States, which, he says, may be done as soon as I am there, if his Majesty pleases; and about the Time my Lord Ambassador *Jenkins* shall arrive here. His Highness takes this to be a Point so important to his Majesty's Service, and to his own Interests here at this Time, which, he says, are the same with

with his Majesty's, that he is sure (as he is pleased to say) the King will give him Leave to govern such a Circumstance as this is; and therefore says, He will take it upon himself; and his Majesty will know the Reasons when I have the Honour to attend him. I confess, I could see no Prejudice in this to his Majesty, nor to any, unless my self (on the Account of the usual Presents upon a Revocation); I therefore consented to it; and shall thereupon be ready, I hope, to embark to morrow, or next Day, if Wind and Weather suffer me. Though the Prince had not desired this Way of Parting, I have another Reason would, of Necessity, have engaged me to it; which is, My being so much indebted here, by not having received my Money since my coming over in July last, that it would have been impossible for me to have carried my Goods and Family away from hence, without attending the necessary Dispatches from the Exchequer; which, I doubt, by the Stile of both Your Lordship's Letters, pressing me to so much Haste in my Journey, would not have passed with his Majesty for a good Excuse of my not coming away.

The common Occurrences will be transmitted to Your Lordship by Mr. Meredith, as has been usual: So that, after having very heartily given Your Lordship Joy upon Your Entrance into an Employment of so great Weight and Consequence to his Majesty's Service, with my True Wishes of all the Satisfaction that can be from it, both to His Majesty and Your Self, I shall end with the Professions of,

My being ever, &c.

*The Private Letter of the same Date, to the Earl
of S-----d.*

I Must leave it to Time to tell You, whether Your Letter as Secretary of State, and acquainting me with his Majesty's having sent for me over to enter upon the same Post, were as welcome to me, as, I am sure, it was surprising, after my Preparations and Thoughts had been turned for a Week together to *Nimeguen*. But I cannot forbear assuring You, in the mean Time, That nothing could be welcomer, than a short one I received with it from my Lord *Sunderland*; by which I found he was pleased with the new Employment, and not unsatisfied with the Prospect of our Affairs. I take Your Lordship to be so good and universal a Judge, that I cannot easily believe You should be deceived in what concerns either the Publick or Your Self; and therefore cannot chuse but raise from it good Presages to both: Otherwise, I confess, I see nothing to change my Opinion of publick Affairs, or my Resolutions as to my own Part in them; though, I find, my Friends have so different Thoughts of both. I wish I may find any thing to undeceive me when I come over. In the mean Time, I should be infinitely glad to contribute more than my Wishes towards the Ends You seem to propose Your Selves. And if I could think my self capable of doing it, neither the King, nor Your Lordship, would find a truer Servant. In the mean Time, I will only say, That among all You have, there is none can take more Part in all that concerns Your Lordship, nor that can be more unfeignedly than I am,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Treasurer.

Hague, February 28. S. N. 1679.

My Lord,

I Received last *Saturday* the Honour of one from Your Lordship of the 11th; which, I confess, surprized me more than any I ever had from You; coming not only after my Orders and Preparations for *Nimeguen*, but after my Wife had told me from Your Lordship, how all that Affair had passed; and after I had written to her, how infinitely sensible I was of the Obligations I had to Your Lordship in the whole Course of it, and how perfectly I was satisfied, as to my self, with the Ply it had taken. Time alone must tell, if either His Majesty or I have Reason to be satisfied with the Change he has since made in that Measure, which will depend upon the Success of it, and of my being of the Use designed in so great a Post, towards those publick Ends, that, I am confident, Your Lordship aims at in it, and which none can answer for. I wish to God I could deserve half the Honour his Majesty does me by his good Opinion; for I never can the Kindness of Your Intention (whatever may happen) though no Man can be more sensible than I am of it. For the rest, I shall not trouble Your Lordship farther with any Discourses upon that Subject, being like to have the Honour of waiting on You so soon: For, I hope, God willing, to go aboard the Yacht to Morrow or *Wednesday*, if Wind and Weather suffer me; and, with Your Lordship's good Leave, shall make my first Step into the *Cockpit*; where You will then find, I am sure,

A most Humble Servant.

F I N I S.



A N
INTRODUCTION
TO THE
HISTORY
O F
ENGLAND.

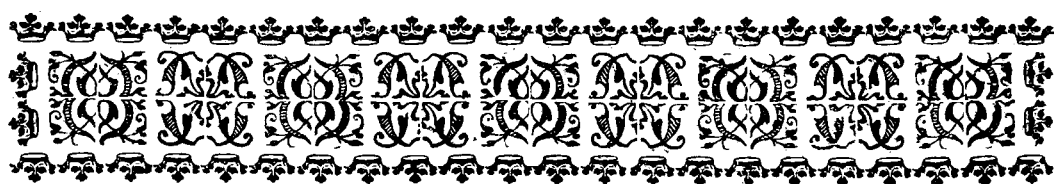
By Sir W. TEMPLE, Bart.

*Nescio qua natale solum dulcedine tangit
Humanos animos -----*



L O N D O N :

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THE P R E F A C E.



Have often complained, That so Ancient and Noble a Nation as ours, so Renowned by the Fame of their Arms and Exploits Abroad, so Applauded and Envied for their Wise and Happy Institutions at Home, so Flourishing in Arts and Learning, and so adorned by Excellent Writers in other kinds, should not yet have produced one good or approved General History of England. That of France has been composed with great Industry by Des Serres ; with Judgment and Candor by Mezeray. That of Spain, with great Diligence and eloquent Stile, by Mariana. That of the Empire, with much Pains and good Order, as well as Learning, by Pedro de Mexia : But ours have been written by such mean and vulgar Authors, so tedious in their Relations, or rather Collections, so injudicious in the Choice of what was fit to be told, or to be let alone, with so little Order, and in so wretched a Stile ; that as it is a Shame to be ignorant in the Affairs of our own Country, so 'tis hardly worth the Time or Pains to be informed ; since for that End, a Man must read over a Library, rather than a Book ; and, after all, must be content to forget more than he remembers.

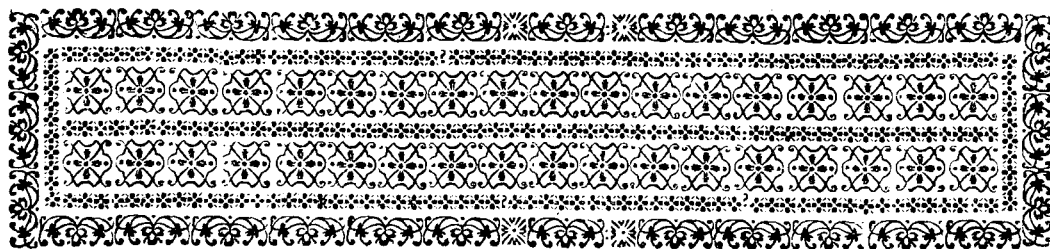
*'Tis true, some Parcels or short Periods of our History have been left us by Persons of great Worth and Learning, much honoured or esteemed in their Times ; as, Part of Edward the Fourth, and Richard the Third, by Sir Thomas Moor ; Henry the Seventh, by Sir Francis Bacon ; Henry the Eighth, by the Lord Herbert ; Edward the Sixth, by Sir John Haywood ; and Queen Elizabeth, by Mr. Camden. There are, besides these, many voluminous Authors of Ancient Times in Latin, and of Modern in English, with
some*

some Foreigners, as Froissart and Polidore Virgil ; out of all which might be framed a full and just Body of our General History, if collected with Pains and Care, and digested with good Order ; for the Architect is only wanting, and not the Materials for such a Building.

I will confess, I had it in my Thoughts at one Time of my Life, and the most proper for such a Work, to make an Abridgment of our English Story, having observed that Mezeray's Abrege of his own, was more esteemed, and much more read than his larger Volume ; but those Thoughts were soon diverted by other Employments, wherein I had the Hopes, as well as the Intentions, of doing some greater Services to my Country. I have since endeavoured to engage some of my Friends in the same Design, whom I thought capable of atchieving it, but have not prevailed ; some pretending Modesty, and others too much valuing Ease.

Therefore to invite and encourage some worthy Spirit, and true Lover of our Country, to pursue this Attempt, I have consented to the Publishing of this Introduction to the History of England, wherein I have traced a short Account of this Island, the Names, the Inhabitants, and Constitutions thereof, from the first Originals, as far as I could find any Ground of probable Story, or of fair Conjecture ; since Philosophers tell us, That none can be said to know Things well, who does not know them in their Beginnings. I have farther deduced it thro' the great and memorable Changes of Names, People, Customs, and Laws that passed here, until the End of the first Norman Reign, which made the last and great Period of this Kingdom, leaving the Successions and Constitutions since that Time, so fix'd and established, as to have lasted for the Space of above Six hundred Years, without any considerable Alteration from so long a Course of Time, or such Variety of Events, as have since arrived in the World.

I have hereby beaten thro' all the rough and dark Ways of this Journey ; the rest lies fair and easie, thro' a plain and open Country ; and I should think myself Happy, to see it well pursued by some abler Hand, for the Honour of our Nation, and the Satisfaction of our own, as well as foreign Readers, who shall be curious to know our Story. I wish it may be performed with the same good Intentions, and with much better Success, than this small Endeavour of mine.



A N
INTRODUCTION
TO THE
HISTORY
O F
ENGLAND.

B *RITAIN* was by the Ancients accounted the greatest Island of the known World, and for ought is yet certain, may be so still, notwithstanding the later Discoveries of *Madagascar* and *Japan*, which are by some brought into Competition. It extends from North to South about Ten Degrees, and about Two hundred Miles in the Breadth of its most extended Angles. It was anciently called *Albion*, which seems to have been softened from *Alpion*; the Word *Alp* in some of the Original Western Languages, signifying generally very high Lands or Hills, as this Isle appears to those who approach it from the Continent. But of those Times there is no Certainty remains in Story, more than that it was so called, and very little known to the rest of the World.

By the *Romans*, and some time before *Cæsar*, it was called *Britannia*; concerning which Name very much Debate, and no Agreement, has been among the modern Learned of our Country, or of others. After raking into all the Rubbish of those Authors, that which seems to me most probable is, That the Strangers who came over into this Island upon the score of Traffick, from the Coasts of *Gaul* or *Germany*, called the Inhabitants by one common Name of *Briths*, given them from the Custom among them of painting their naked Bodies and small Shields with an Azure Blue, which by them was called *Brith*,

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and

Albion

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and distinguished them from Strangers who came among them: From this Name of the Inhabitants, the *Romans*, upon their Invasions, Conquests, and Colonies establish'd in *Gaul*, which brought them first acquainted with this Island, called it *Britannia*, by giving a *Latin* Termination to a barbarous Name, and the same which appears to have been usual with them, by the Appellations of many other Countries, that fell under their Commerce or Conquests, as *Mauritania*, *Lusitania*, *Aquitania*, and several others commonly known. The Curious may observe this Care of the *Romans*, in giving their own Terminations to many barbarous Countries, and forming easie and pleasant Sounds out of the harshest and most offensive, to such elegant Tongues and Ears as theirs: I shall instance only in Three, among many more, that are obvious to such as please themselves with these Speculations. The Province of *Britain* in *France* was called among the Natives *Al Mor*, which signified *Ad Mare*, or Near the Sea; from this the *Romans* called it *Armorica*. The Isle between the Branches of the *Rhine*, which divide for some Distance before they fall into the Sea, was called by the Old *Germans* *Vat Awe*, which signifies Fat or Fruitful Earth; and from this was framed the *Latin* Word *Batavia*. The North-East Part of *Scotland* was by the Natives called *Cal Dun*, which signifies, A Hill of Hazel, with which it was covered; from whence the *Romans* gave it the Name of *Caledonia*: All which have lasted in their Language to this Day.

The *Britains* were little known Abroad, before the first Entrance of the *Romans* into their Isle, or the Preparations and Enquiries they made in order to that Expedition: Their Coasts only opposite to *Gaul* and *Belgium*, were frequented by Merchants from thence, who came thereby acquainted with them, but little with the Inland Provinces: And these were the Men from whom *Cæsar* drew his best Intelligence concerning the Country he intended to invade.

All that we find related of them by any credible Witnesses or Authority, before the *Romans* entred, is, That the whole Country was filled with infinite Numbers of People, mightily abounding in all sorts of Cattle or Beasts, both wild and tame; their Houses poorly built, and scattered all over the Country, without Observance of Order or Distance, by which Villages are composed: But the *Britains* were placed as every Man liked, and at smaller or greater Distances, as they were invited by the Fertility of Soil, or the Convenience of Wood or of Water. They lived most upon Milk, or Flesh which they got by Hunting; little upon Corn, which was not in much Esteem or Plenty among them. What Cloaths they wore to cover any Parts of their Bodies, were usually of the Skins of Beasts; but much of their Body, as Arms, Legs, and Thighs, was left naked, and in many of them, All; what was naked, was painted with Blue. This was universal among them, whether esteemed an Adornment, or of Terror to their Adversaries, or to distinguish them from all their Neighbours that came among them, as Friends or as Enemies.

Their Towns were most upon their Coasts, and founded for the Advantage of Havens, and the Recourse of Strangers from the Continent, to buy and sell, or exchange Wares with those of the Island. These Inhabitants were much more civilized than those of the Inland Country, by the Commerce and Frequentation of other Nations, especially the *Gauls*, who had long before been civilized by the *Roman* Colonies. The Commodities exported out of the Isle, were chiefly Hides and Tin; which last was peculiar to this Country, and in much Use Abroad, both in nearer and remoter Regions, where this Island was chiefly known by the Product of this Commodity, convey'd among them at so great Distances, and so much in Request. Some Silver they had, but not in common Use, as having few Mines, and little Knowledge how to improve them, either in the Digging or Refining: Pearls they had too, and frequently found among them, but neither clear, nor coloured like those of the Orient, and therefore in low Esteem among the *Romans*; but little Iron, and that used either for Arms, or for Rings, which was a sort of Money current among them; the rest was of Brass, which was brought from Abroad, and employed only for this Use.

Their

Their Language, Customs and Religion were generally the same with those of the *Gauls*, before the *Roman* Conquests in that Province, which were much earlier than in *Britain* : This Affinity made them frequently assist the *Gauls* upon the Coasts, in their Wars against the *Romans*, and gave the first Occasion of *Caesar's* invading *Britain* for Revenge and Safety, as well as Conquest and Glory.

Their Government was like that of the ancient *Gauls*, of several small Nations under several petty Princes ; which seem the Original Governments of the World, and deduced from the natural Force and Right of Paternal Dominion : Such were the *Hords* among the *Goths*, the *Clans* in *Scotland*, and *Septs* in *Ireland*. Whether these small *British* Principalities descended by Succession, or were elected by the Advantages of Age, Wisdom or Valour in the Families of the Prince, is not recorded. But upon great or common Dangers, the chief Commander of all their Forces, was chosen by common Consent in general Assemblies ; as *Caesar* relates of *Cassivelaunus* against his Invasion. The same was done upon their Revolts against the *Roman* Colonies, under *Caractacus* and *Voadicea* ; for among them, Women were admitted to their Principalities and general Commands, by the Right of Succession, Nobility of Birth, or Eminence of other Qualities.

Their Forces consisted chiefly in their Foot, and yet they could draw great Numbers of Horse into the Field upon great Occasions ; they likewise used Chariots in Fight, which with short Scythes fasten'd to the Ends of the Axletrees, gave cruel Wounds, great Terror, made fierce Charges upon the Ranks of their Enemies, and were of much Force to break, or to disorder them. Their common Arms were small Shields, but very large Swords, which expressed more desire of wounding their Enemies, than defending themselves. They were esteemed a very brave and fierce People, till their Bodies came to be softned, and their Courages debased by the Luxury, as well as Servitude, which the *Romans* introduced among them.

In their Religion and their Laws, they were wholly governed by their *Druids*, as were the ancient *Gauls*, who are said to have been furnished with the chiefest and most learned of theirs, out of *Britain*, esteemed the Nursery of the ancient *Druids*, so renowned in Story : These were the only Persons of any sort of Learning in these Nations, which was derived by long Tradition among them, consisted in the Observation of the Heavens, Knowledge of the Stars and their Courses, and thereby the Presages of many Events, or at least Seasons, wherein the Vulgar is chiefly concern'd. The rest was their Doctrines of Religion, Forms of Divine Worship, and Instructions in Morality, which consisted in Justice and Fortitude. Their Lives were simple and innocent, in Woods, Caves, and hollow Trees : their Food of Acorns, Berries, or other Mast ; their Drink, Water : which made them respected and admired, not only for knowing more than other Men, but for despising what all others valued and pursued, and by their great Virtue and Temperance, they were suffered patiently to reprove and correct the Vices and Crimes, from which themselves were free. All this together gave them such Authority and Veneration among the People, that they were not only the Priests, but the Judges too, throughout the Nation. No Laws were instituted by Princes or common Assemblies, without the Proposal or Approbation of the *Druids* : No Person was punished by Bonds, Strokes, or Death, without the Judgment and Sentence of the *Druids* : From a Belief, that Men would never submit to the Loss of their Liberties, or their Lives, unless they believed it was inflicted upon them by a Divine Authority.

One Custom there was among the *Britains* which seems peculiar to themselves, and not found in the Stories of any other Nations, either Civil or Barbarous, which was a Society of Wives among certain Numbers, and by common Consent. Every Man married a single Woman, who was always after and alone esteemed his Wife : But it was usual for Five or Six, Ten or Twelve, or more, either Brothers or Friends, as they could agree, to have all their Wives in common : Encounters happened among them as they were invited

by Desire, or favoured by Opportunity. Every Woman's Children were attributed to him that had married her; but all had a Share in the Care and Defence of the whole Society, since no Man knew which were his own. Tho' this Custom be alledged as a Testimony how savage or barbarous a People the *Britains* were, yet I know not why it should appear more extravagant than the Community of Women in some other Countries; the deflowering of Virgins by the Priest the first Night of their Marriage; the unlimited Number of Wives and Concubines; not to mention the Marriage of Sisters among the ancient *Egyptians* and *Athenians*, and the borrowing and lending of Wives among the *Romans*. On t'other side, it may be alledged for some Excuse of these our Ancestors, that by such a Custom they avoided the common Mischiefs of Jealousie, the Injuries of Adultery, the Confinement of single Marriages, the Luxury and Expence of many Wives or Concubines, and the Partiality of Parents in the Education of all their own Children: All which are Considerations that have fallen under the Care of many famous Lawgivers. But the best Excuse was made upon this Occasion by a *British* Woman (in the Time of *Severus*) who being grown familiar with *Julia Augusta*, and other chief Ladies of that Court, and having observed what passed there behind the Curtain, was one Day reproached for this Custom of the *Britains*, as infamous in the Women, as well as barbarous in the Men. She answered coldly, *We do that openly with the best of our Men, which you do privately with the worst of yours*. However it be, such were the People and the Customs of *Britain*, when the *Romans* first invaded their Island under the Ensigns of *Julius Caesar*. This famous Roman Leader, then Governor of *Gaul*, after having subdued all that Province, and the bordering Parts of *Germany*, was the first we read of with any Certainty, that enter'd *Britain* with foreign Arms. His Forces were composed of *Germans*, *Batavians*, and *Gauls*, besides the best of his old *Roman* Legions: Yet in Two Expeditions he made into this Island, he rather increased the Glory, than the Dominion of *Rome*; and gave *Britain* the Honour of being the last Triumph of that mighty Republick, which had before subdued and reduced into Provinces so many Kingdoms and Commonwealths in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*.

The *Britains* with their naked Troops made a brave Opposition against this Veterane Army, in many fierce Encounters with mutual Losses, and various Successes; till Dissention entering among the several Princes, some of them jealous of *Cassivelaunus*, or his Greatness, fled over to *Caesar*, submitted to the *Romans*, and desired their Protection. Others followed their Example, till *Cassivelaunus*, weakened by these Desertions, resolved likewise to make the best Terms he could for himself and the rest; he sends to *Caesar*, acknowledges the *Roman* State, agrees upon a certain Tribute, and delivers Hostages. And here began the Fate of *Britain* to make way for foreign Conquests by their Divisions at Home.

The *Romans* were pleased with the Name of a new Conquest, and glad to end an Adventure with some Honour, which they found was not further to be pursued without long Time, and much Danger; and having discovered, rather than subdued the Southern Parts only of the Island, returned into *Gaul* with their whole Forces, and left the *Britains* to their own Customs, Laws, and Governments.

Caesar being esteemed the best Writer, as well as the greatest Captain of his Age, or, perhaps, of any other; has, with his own Pen, left us the best Account, not only of this Enterprize, but of this Island too, till then little known to the rest of the World.

Those Tales we have of what passed there before his Time, of *Brute* and his *Trojans*, of many Adventures and Successions, are covered with the Rust of Time, or involved in the Vanity of Fables, or pretended Traditions; which seem to all Men obscure or uncertain, but to me forged at Pleasure, by the Wit or Folly of their first Authors, and not to be regarded.

From the first Entrance of *Caesar's* triumphant Arms, we have some constant Light in the Story of *Britain*, tho' often very weak and uncertain, from the
Obscurity

Obscurity of those barbarous Nations, who invaded the Northern Parts of the Island; and from the Ignorance of those illiterate Ages, that passed from the Decay to the Restoration of the *Greek* and *Roman* Languages and Learning, in the Western Parts of *Europe*.

As the *Roman* Conquests advanced in this Island during the Reigns of so many Emperors, the bravest of the Natives, who could not endure that Subjection, retired into the mountainous and rocky Parts of *Wales* and *Cornwall*, where they preserved their Liberty some time longer; but fell at last, with the rest, into the common Servitude. But the greatest Numbers, and of the hardest Bodies, as well as Courage, among the *Britains*, after many brave Attempts for Defence of their Country and Liberty, and many Defeats by the invincible *Romans*, still retired Northward from the Encroachments of the Conqueror, till they were at last beaten out into the rough and savage Parts, beyond the Two Fyths, where the *Romans* afterwards built a Wall. These native *Britains* were by them called *Picts*, from the Custom they still retained of painting their Bodies and their Shields. And this I take for the most probable Account of the Nation so termed by the *Romans* (for among themselves they were called *Albins*); though much Pains and Invention has been employed by many Authors, to make them a foreign Race of People, who, from they know not what Country, and at they know not what Time, invaded and possessed *Caledonia*, or the Northern Parts of *Scotland*.

'Tis more difficult to find out the Original of the *Scots*, or the Time of their Entrance upon those North-West Regions; but as far as can be gathered out of the Dust or Rubbish of such barbarous Times and Writings, and what remains still of known Appellations and Events, it seems probable, That vast Numbers of a savage People, called *Scyths*, at some certain Time, began and atchieved the Conquest of the Northern Parts both of *Britain* and *Ireland*, and by an easie Change of the Word, were called *Scots*; and from them, those Two Countries were called *Scotia Major*, and *Scotia Minor*. Whether the *Scots* landed first in *Ireland* or *Scotland*, I leave disputed and undetermined among their Authors: But it seems agreed, that both those Countries were, for some Course of Time, stiled *Scotia*, and that both the North-West Parts of *Scotland*, as well as *Ireland*, were called *Ierne*. I am apt to conjecture, that when these *Scots* seated themselves in those Parts of *Scotland*, they divided themselves into Two Races or Nations, whereof those who inhabited the North-East Parts, called themselves *Albin-Scots*, the Name of the Natives there, being then *Albins*; and the rest who possessed the North-West Parts, were called *Iren-Scots*, from a River of that Country, which gave it the Name of *Ierne*; and this Name was communicated to all the rest of that Race, who conquered and possessed the North of *Ireland*, which from them was stiled by the *Saxons* *Iren-land*, and by Abbreviation, *Ireland*. And the Original Name seems to have belonged rather to those Parts of *Scotland* than *Ireland*, since it is given us by the ancientest *Latin* Verse that mentions it, with the Epithet of *Glacialis Ierne*, which agrees little with the Climate of *Ireland*.

That these fierce Invaders were *Scythians* or *Scyths* (which was their vulgar Termination) is probably conjectured, if not ascertained, not only from their Name, but from the Seat of that Continent, which is nearest to the North of *Scotland*: This is *Norway*, and is the utmost Western Province of that vast Northern Region, which extends from thence to the farthest Bounds of *Tartary* upon the Eastern Ocean, and was by the Ancients comprehended in that general Appellation of *Scythia*, as well as divided into several other barbarous Names and Countries. Besides, 'tis both usual and rational, that such great Transmigrations of People should be made from a worse to a better Climate or Soil, rather than to a worse, which makes this probable, to have proceeded from *Norway*, than from the lower and more fertile Parts of *Germany*; and the Island which is the nearest Part of Land to that Continent of *Norway*, retains still the Name of *Schetland*, as the first Point which is reported to have been touched by the *Scots*, or *Scyths*, in this Navigation.

Another Argument may be drawn from several Customs still remaining among the old Northern *Irish*, which are recorded to have been anciently among some of the *Scythian* Nations, removing their Houses or Creats from one Place to another according to the Seasons : Burning of their Corn, instead of Beating or Treading in other Countries : Eating Blood they drew from living Cattle : Feeding generally upon Milk, and using little other Husbandry, besides the Pasture and Breed of Cattle. To this is added, That the Mantle or Plad, seems to have been the Garment in use among the Western *Scythians*, as they continue still among the Northern *Irish*, and the Highland *Scots*.

For their Language, it must be confess'd, there is not left the least Trace by which we may seek out the Original of this Nation ; for it is neither known, nor recorded to have been used any where else in the World, besides *Ireland*, the Highlands of *Scotland*, and the Isle of *Man*, and must be allowed to be an Original Language, without any Affinity to the old *British*, or any other upon the Continent, and, perhaps, with less Mixture than any other of those Original Languages yet remaining in any Parts of *Europe*. The Conjecture raised of its having come from *Spain*, because some *Spanish* Words are observed in it, appears too light to be regarded, when those very Words are of the modern *Spanish*, which is a Language not above Seven or Eight hundred Years old, and compounded chiefly out of old *Roman* and *Gothick*, with a later Intrusion of the *Saracen* among them : And yet I know no better Ground than this, for the other Tradition of *Ireland* having been anciently planted from *Spain*, and esteem the few *Spanish* Words to have been introduced only by Traffick of the South-West Parts of *Ireland* to *Spain*.

It seems probable, that from what Part soever of the Continent this Nation failed upon this Adventure, they were driven away by the Force or Fear of some other Invaders, and in so great Numbers, that the Natives remaining, neither preserved any where their Name or Language, but were either destroy'd by the Conquerors, or blended into the Mass of the new Nations, who seated themselves in their Country, as we find the old *British* to have been in *England*, by the Conquests and Inundations of the *Saxons*.

The Time of this Expedition is yet less in View ; nor does *Buchanan*, or any other Author, that I know of, pretend to tell, or so much as conjecture farther, than upon a Supposition of the *Scots* coming first out of *Ireland*, without alledging any Authority for that neither. I know no way of making any Guesses at a Matter so obscure, without recourse to the Runick Learning and Stories, by which we find, that the *Asiatick Scythians*, under the Names of *Getes* or *Goths*, and the Conduct of *Odin* their Captain (their Lawgiver at first, and afterwards one of their Gods) are esteemed to have begun their Expedition into the North-West Parts of *Europe*, about the Time that the *Roman* Arms began first to make a great Noise, and give great Fears in *Asia*, which was in the Reigns of *Antiochus* first, and then of *Mithridates*. How long the Arms of *Odin* and his Successors were employed in the Conquest and Settlement of that vast Kingdom, which contained all the Tracts of Country surrounding the *Baltick* Sea, is not agreed upon in these Runick Stories ; but 'tis necessary, *Norway* must have been the last they possessed in their Western Progress ; and I am apt to think, the *Scyths* may have been driven by them to seek nearer Seats in our Islands, and that 'tis probable to have been some Time of the First Century. Whenever it was, it seems more agreed, That after the first Entrance of the *Scots* into *Caledonia*, they subdued much of the Country, mingled with the rest of the Native *Picts*, continued long to infest the Frontier Parts of the *Roman* Colonies in *Britain*, with great Fierceness, and many various Events ; and would possibly have made much greater Noise and Impressions upon the *Romans*, if their greater Numbers had not been drawn another way, by so great a Drain as that of *Ireland* ; which they totally conquered, and long possessed.

This is the best Account I have been ever able to give my self of these ancient Times and Events in the Northern Parts of our Islands, being a Mat-
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ter that has employed so many unskilful Pens in so much idle Trash, and worthless Stuff, as they have left upon it ; but all involved in such groundless Traditions and Vanity of Fables, so obscured by the Length of Time, and Darkness of unlearned Ages, or covered over with such gross Forgeries, made at Pleasure by their first Inventers, that I know few ancient Authors upon this Subject, worth the Pains of Perusal, and of dividing or refining so little Gold, out of so much coarse Ore, or from so much Dross. And I have the rather made this Excursion, because I have met with nothing in Story more obscure, and often observed with Wonder, that we should know less of *Ireland*, than of any other Country in *Europe* : For, besides its having been anciently planted by the *Scots*, and taken their Name, and then, after several Centuries, been subdued, and much of it planted by the *Danes* ; we know nothing certain of the Affairs or Revolutions of that Island, till the *English* began their Conquests there, under the Ensigns of *Henry the Second*. For the *Danish* Establishments there, we neither know the Time nor the Manner they either began or ended ; tho' many Monuments still remain of the Towns and Castles they built, and many Records among some Families in *Denmark*, of the Lands and Possessions they long held and enjoyed in *Ireland*.

I shall now return to that Part of our Island, which was more properly by the *Romans* termed *Britannia*, was conquered by the victorious Arms, and reduced into a Province by the wise Institutions of that renowned Nation ; and having once found the End of the Thread, it will be easie to wind off the Bottom ; and being a Subject treated by so many Authors, and pretty well agreed, I shall trouble my self no farther, than to continue the Thread as it leads through the several Revolutions that have happen'd in this noble Island, till the last *Norman* Period, by which the present Succession and Government seem to have been establish'd, and have ever since continued.

The *Roman* Arms entered *Britain* under the first and most renowned of their Emperors, which was *Julius Caesar* : But it was not a Quarry worth such an Eagle, and so left by him to be pursued by the Lieutenants of the succeeding Emperors.

The second Expedition into *Britain* was made by *Claudius*, under the Conduct of *Plautius*, and pursued under *Ostorius*, and other *Roman* Commanders, with great Successes. The Southern Coasts, with most of the Inland Parts thereunto adjacent, were wholly subdued and secured by fortifying Camps, building Castles, and planting many Colonies. The rest seemed at a Gaze, and to promise Submissions at the first, rather than any Disturbances, to the Progress of the *Roman* Arms. 'Till, provoked by the Oppression of some of the Prætors, and their corrupt Officers, the *Britains* towards the North, made Head under *Caractacus*, and continued for Nine Years, not only a brave Defence, but threatened some fatal Dangers to the *Roman* Colonies, 'till, in a decisive Battel, by the Advantage of armed and disciplined Veteran Soldiers, against loose Troops of naked Men, the *Britains* were totally vanquished, *Caractacus* taken Prisoner, and sent to make a Part of a famous *British* Triumph at *Rome*. Yet one strong Endeavour more was made for their Liberty, in the Time of *Nero* ; when *Paulinus* going with the best Part of his Army to subdue the Isle of *Anglesey*, the *Britains* presuming upon so great a Distance between the Governor and his Colonies, made a general Insurrection under *Voadicea*, fell upon the *Romans* in all Places, took their Castles, destroyed the chief Seats of their Power at *London* and *Verulam*, and pursued their Advantages with such Slaughter and Revenge, that above Seventy thousand *Romans*, or their Auxiliaries, were kill'd by the Fury of this general Revolt : Yet *Paulinus* returning with his Army, encountred the *British* Forces in a set Battel, overthrew their whole Powers, pursued his Victory, with the Slaughter of Eighty thousand ; forceth *Voadicea* to poison her self in Despair : And here ended, not only the *British* Liberties, but their very Hopes too, or any considerable Attempts ever to recover them.

Under *Vespasian* and *Domitian*, *Julius Agricola* first discovered it to be an Island, sailing round it with his Fleets, and extended and pacified the Bounds
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of his Province to the Neck of Land between the Two Fryths about *Sterling* and *Glasgow*; and returning, applied himself to the Arts of Peace and Civil Institutions, brought in the Use of the *Roman* Laws and Customs, Habits and Arms, Language and Manners, Baths and Feasts, Studies and Learning: By all which he pretended to soften the Minds, and change the very Natures of a barbarous People, very difficult to be subdued by other means, how violent soever. This wise Council, pursued by his Successors in the Government, succeeded so well, that the *Romans* had little Trouble afterwards in *Britain*, besides the Defence of their Province upon the Northern Borders.

After these Establishments, the *Romans* called all that Part of the Island lying Northward from the Two Fryths, *Caledonia*; leaving the Name of *Britannia* to the rest which was reduced to their Obedience, and from that Time remained a *Roman* Province. To defend it from the Irruptions of these fierce and numerous People on the North side, *Agricola* began, and in some manner finished, a Wall, or Vallum, upon that narrow Space of Land that lies between the two Fryths or Bays of the Eastern and Western Seas, upon which *Glasgow* and *Sterling* are seated. He fortified this Pass between the two Points, with Towers and Ramparts, to make it defensible against those barbarous Nations who inhabited the Northern side of that Country, which the *Romans* esteemed not worth the conquering, and provided only for Security of the rest of the Island. Many Ruins of this Vallum were lately, and, for ought I know, may be still remaining; and among the rest, a small round Tower built of Stone, but so exactly cut, as every one to joint into another, with admirable Art and Firmness, though without any Use of Mortar or Iron. And this was esteemed to have been a Temple of *Terminus*, and built there as the utmost Bounds of the *Roman* Province. This Wall was afterwards repaired and stronger fortified by *Adrian* and *Severus*: Nor is it indeed agreed by Authors which of them began or finish'd it, and whether the last made not another Vallum between the two Seas more Southward, and of a much greater Length: But, I think, the first more probable. However, this was a Defence intended and achieved by the *Romans*, against those bold and brave Remainers of the Northern *Britains*, assisted by the *Scots*, who yet frequently invaded and infested the Province, during the Time the *Romans* held this Island, which was till the Reign of *Honorius*, and for the Space of about Four hundred and sixty Years.

Upon the Divisions in the *Roman* Empire, which was grown a Prey to their Armies, and commonly disposed by their inconstant Humours, the Pretenders often fought their Battels, and decided their Quarrels in *Gallia*, as well several of the Commanders there who arrived at the Empire, as several others who fell in the Pursuit of that fatal Purple, and left only the Name of Tyrants behind them in the Stories of that Age. For the Assistance of these Factions, the *British* Legions were at several Times and Occasions drawn away into *Gaul*, and with them great Numbers of the bravest of the *British* Youth, who were affectionate to the *Roman* Government, and instructed in their Language, Manners, and Discipline of their Arms. As the *Roman* Forces decreased in *Britain*, the *Picts* and *Scots* still the more boldly infested the Northern Parts, crossing the Fryths, and hovering about the Coasts in little Boats of Wicker, covered with Leather, filled all where they came with Spoil and Slaughter, 'till repelled by what remained of the *Roman* Forces, they retired still into their Northern Nest, watching for the next Occasion of Invasion, and Revenge upon the Neighbouring *Britains*, whenever the *Romans* were drawn away into remoter Parts of the Island. These Enterprizes were often repeated, and as often repress'd, for some Time, 'till, in the Reign of the Second *Valentinian*, upon the mighty Inundations of those barbarous Northern Nations, which, under the Names of *Goths* and *Vandals*, invaded the *Roman* Empire with infinite Numbers, Fury, and Danger to *Rome* it self, all the *Roman* Legions were at last drawn out of *Britain*, with most of the *Britains* that were fit for Military Service, to relieve the Emperor, who was pursued by the *Goths* into *Piedmont*, and there besieged in a strong Passage or Town he pretended to defend.

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The *Romans* taking their last Leave of this Province here, left the *Britains* to their own Government, and Choice of their own Kings and Leaders, with the best Instructions for the Exercise of their Arms and Discipline, and the Repairs and Defence of the Wall, or Rampart, they had raised against their Northern Foes. But these, finding the whole Country deserted by the *Roman* Bands, exhausted of their own bravest Youth, and weakened by their new Divisions, began to pour in greater Numbers than ever into the Northern Parts, and ravaged all before them, with greater Rage and Fury. The poor *Britains* sent over their miserable Epistle for Relief (still upon Record) to the renowned *Ætius*, who had by several famous Successes, for a Time, repelled the Violence of the *Gothick* Arms; which was addressed in these Words; *To Ætius thrice Consul; The Groans of the Britains*; and told him, after other lamentable Complaints, *That the barbarous People drove them to the Sea, and the Sea back to the barbarous People; between which, they had only left the Choice of these Two Deaths, either to be killed by the one, or drowned by the other.* But having no Hopes given them by the *Roman* General, of any Succours from that Side, they began to consider what other Nation they might call over to their Relief.

The *Saxons* were one Branch of those *Gothick* Nations, which swarming from the Northern Hive, had, under the Conduct of *Odin*, possessed themselves anciently of all those mighty Tracts of Land that surround the *Baltick* Sea. A Branch of these, under the Name of *Suevi* (from whom the *Baltick* was of old called *Mare Suevicum*) had some time before *Cæsar's* Wars in *Gaul*, invaded and subdued very large extended Territories in *Germany*, from the Coast of the North-west Ocean to the South-eastern Parts, whereof *Suabia* still retains the Memory and the Name. These *Suevi*, or *Suabi*, were, for their Strength and Valour, grown so formidable to all the *German* Nations they had conquered, and forced to seek new Seats, that those upon the *Rhine* sending Ambassadors to *Cæsar*, told him, *They would neither seek War with the Romans, nor avoid it; That they esteemed themselves as valiant as any other Nation, excepting only the Suevi, for whom the very immortal Gods were not a Match.* These *Suevi* became afterwards divided into Two several Nations, and by Limits agreed between them. Those towards the South-east of *Germany* were called *Franks*, from their great Love of Liberty, and their Valour in preserving it, and never submitting to the *Roman* Subjection, as many other *German* Nations had done: These, upon the fatal Decline of that Empire, invaded *Gaul*, under the leading of *Pharamond*; and under the succeeding Kings of his Race, conquered the whole Province, and established that noble and ancient Kingdom of *France*.

The other Branch of the *Suevi* possessed themselves of all those Tracts of Land in *Germany* that lie between the *Elve* and the lower *Rhine*, had extended their Seats all over the Coasts of the North-west Sea, and from thence exercised their Arms and fierce Courages, in all sorts of Spoils and Piracies, not only upon Merchants, or Traders at Sea, but upon the Maritime Coasts of *Britain*, opposite to those Countries about the Mouth of the *Rhine*, or thereunto adjacent. These fierce People were called *Saxons*, from a Weapon generally used among them, and made like a Scythe with the Edge reversed, which in their Language were termed *Scaxes*.

To these *Vortigern*, chosen King by the deserted and afflicted *Britains*, made Address for Aid against the *Picts* and *Scots*, who had now made Inroads as far as *Trent*. Their Desires of Relief, and Offers of Seats in *Britain*, were soon accepted and granted by the *Saxons*; who under the Conduct of *Hengist* and *Horfa*, of the Race of *Odin*, came over with great Numbers to the Assistance of the *Britains*, in the Year 450. They joined with the Natives at first, as Friends and Allies, had the Isle of *Thanet* assigned them at their landing; and upon Occasion of greater Numbers, the County of *Kent* for their Colony and Habitation. They marched against the *Picts* and *Scots*, and in Conjunction with the *British* Arms, overthrew their Forces in several Battles, or Encounters, with those cruel Ravagers, and beat them back into the

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most Northern Parts of the Province. After this, by Consent of the *Britains*, *Hengist* and *Horfa* sent for their Two Sons, or near Kinsmen, to come over with a new Army of *Saxons*, by Sea, into those Northern Parts; who seated their Colony about *Northumberland*, upon Pretence of guarding that Frontier against the *Picts* and *Scots*, and their Incursions upon the *Britains*, which they did with great Bravery and Successes; and thereby left those Nations contented, or forced, to bound their Territories with those rough and mountainous Countries that lye between the Two Seas, near the River *Tweed*, and which ever since continued as the Borders between the Two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, into which the Island came afterwards to be divided.

The Province now delivered, and secured from their ancient Foes, Dissentions began to arise between the *Britains* and their new Allies: The *Saxons* valued too high the Assistance they had given, and the *Britains*, perhaps, too low what they had received; 'till the first, allured by so fair a Prey, and the fertile Soil of so sweet a Country, inviting still greater Numbers from the Continent, established Two *Saxon* Kingdoms, one in the Southern, and t'other in the Northern Parts; and from both these Sides invaded the *Britains*, who for some Time defended themselves and their Liberties, with various Successes, and with the greater Hatred and Distinction, the *Saxons* being all Pagans, and the *British* generally Christians; which Religion seems to have been planted here in the first Century, but to have taken Root, and spread, chiefly, under *Constantius*, who was long Governour of the *Roman* Province here, a great Favourer of Christianity, and Father of *Constantine* the Great.

In the Time of these first Wars between the *Saxons* and *Britains*, *Ambrosius* reigned over the last; and either as General of his Armies, or his Successor in the Kingdom, *Arthur*, so famous in the Traditions, or rather in the Romances, of succeeding Ages, and who is said to have gained Twelve Battels over the *Saxons*, and to have left the *Britains* in the Middle of the Province, for some Time secure from these fierce Enemies, 'till Peace and Luxury had again softened them; and by new Dissentions among themselves, exposed their whole Province to become an easy Prey to so fierce and numerous Invaders. The Time of King *Arthur's* Reign, or Atchievements (if any such there were) must have been between the Years 460 and 500. But this whole Story is left so uncertain, or obscure, by those poor Writers, who have pretended to leave the Tales, rather than the History of those Times behind them, that it remains in doubt, whether to consider them as a Part of the Story of that, or the Fables of succeeding Ages. Whatever there was of plain Stuff, the Embroideroy of it, with the Knights of the Round Table, their Orders and their Chivalry, and the rest of that Kind, seems to have been introduced by that Vein of the *Spanish* Romances, which many Ages after filled the World with so much of that idle Trash; and chose for the Subject of them, the Adventures and Successes of the first Christian, pretended, Heroes, who renowned such fictitious Names, by extravagant Actions, or Adventures, against the Pagans, or the *Saracens*, either in *Spain* or other Parts of *Europe* and *Asia*. And among these, 'tis probable, those Writers found Room for the many Legends of the *British Arthur*, and his romantick Adventures against the Heathen *Saxons*.

After the Year 500, for one Century, or thereabouts, the *Saxon* Forces were employed in subduing the midland Parts of *Britain*, interjacent between their Two first establish'd Colonies, or Kingdoms, in the South, or *Kent*, and in the North, or about *Northumberland*; and to furnish Men for such Atchievements, and the new Plantation of so great Tracts of Country, after the Conquest and Devastation of the old, mighty Numbers of the *Saxon* Race came over into *Britain*, in several Expeditions, and landing at several Places: That which is recorded to have made sudden and easy Way for their final Conquests, was a Treaty they entered into with the *Britains*; where, upon a Parley mediated between them, Three hundred of the chief of each Side, agreed to meet, and conclude the Treaty, in a great Plain: In the midst of Talk
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and Drink, which had part in this Commerce, the *Saxons* provoking maliciously, and the *Britains* innocently resenting, fell to quarrel, first in Words, and at last to Blows : When the *Saxons*, upon a Sign agreed between them, drew out short Swords they had concealed under their upper Garments, fell upon the unarmed *Britains*, slew their whole Number in the Field, who being the best and bravest of their Nation, left the rest exposed, without Heart or Head, to the Fury and Progress of the *Saxon* Arms. These heartened with Success, and proud of so great Possessions and Territories, invited and allured still greater Numbers of their own from abroad ; who being of several Branches, and from several Coasts, arrived here under several Names ; among whom the *Angles* from *Schonen* and *Futland*, swarmed over in such Numbers, that they gave a new Name at length, to this Province, which from them was called *Angle-land*, and for easier Sound *England*.

The *Saxons* pursued their Invasion with Courage and Fierceness, equal to the Multitudes of their Nation, that swarmed over into this Island, and with such an uninterrupted Course of Fortune and Victories, after the Year 500, that by the End of the next Century, they had subdued the whole Body of the Province, and establish'd in it Seven several Kingdoms, which were, by the Writers of those Times, stiled the Heptarchy of the *Saxons*. They had expelled the *Britains* out of the fairest and best of their ancient Possessions, and driven their greatest Numbers, who escaped the Conquerors Fury, into *Wales* and *Cornwall*, Countries mountainous and barren, encompassed on Three Sides by the Sea, and towards the Land of difficult Access. Some great Colonies of them wholly abandoned their Native Country to their fierce Invaders, sailed over into the North-west Parts of *France*, where possessing new Seats, they gave a new Appellation to that *Peninsula*, which preserves still the Name and Memory of *Britain* there, though, about this Time, almost worn out at home.

This is the Account commonly given of the *British* Colonies first establishing themselves in that Canton of *Gaul* : But there is another given by some learned Persons of their own, and drawn, as they say, either from ancient Archives, or Traditions among them, and which to me seems the most probable. When upon the *Roman* Wars in *Gaul*, among several Pretenders to the Empire, great Numbers of the *Britains*, as well as *Roman* Forces in that Island, were drawn over to assist the contending Parties : 'Tis said, That very great Multitudes of the *British* having followed the unfortunate Side, retired as fast as they could to that Part of the Sea-coast nearest to their Isle, and most likely to furnish them with Ships for their Transportation ; but that the Miseries of their Native Country, from the furious Inroads of the *Picts* and *Scots*, so discouraged their Return, that by Consent of the *Gauls* their Friends, they established themselves in the farthest North-west Parts of that Province, which has since that Time retained their Language and their Name. And this agrees with the Legend of King *Arthur*, who is said to have been a young Prince, or Leader, sent from the *Britains* in *France*, to assist their Countrymen here against the *Saxons*. Whatever the Beginnings of this Colony were, or at what Time, 'tis, at least, agreed to have been much augmented by the Resort of so many *Britains*, as sought Refuge there from the *Saxon* Cruelty.

The weak and poor Reminders of the Old *Britains*, who were scattered among the *Saxons* in *England*, were wholly spoiled of their Lands and Goods, which were fallen under the Mercy of the Conquerors, who sharing them all among themselves, left the remaining *Britains* in a Condition of downright Servitude, used them for tilling Ground, feeding Cattle, and other servile Works, in House or Field ; sometimes farming out certain Parts of Land to them, at certain Rents or Profits, but held always at the Will and Pleasure of the Landlord. The Children that were born of these miserable People, belonged to the Lord of the Soil, like the rest of the Stock or Cattle upon it, and thus began Villenage in *England*, which lasted till the Time or End of *Henry* the Seventh's Reign.

Soon after the Year 600, the *Saxons* in *England* having ended their old Quarrel with the *Britains*, began new ones among themselves; and, according to the usual Circle of human Affairs, War ended in Peace, Peace in Plenty and Luxury, these in Pride, and Pride in Contention, till the Circle ended in new Wars. The *Saxon* Princes, of the Seven Kingdoms they had erected in *Britain*, fell into Emulations of one another's Greatness, Disputes about the Bounds of their several Principalities, or about Successions or Usurpations, pretended or exercised in one or other of them: These were followed by formal Wars among them, the Stronger swallowing up the Weaker, and these having recourse to their Neighbours, for Defence against encroaching Power. Many fierce Encounters, Sieges, Battels, Spoils, and Devastations of Country, succeeded in the Progress and Decision of these mutual Injuries and Invasions between the *Saxon* Kings, for above Two hundred Years: but the Account of them is very poorly given us, with little Order or Agreement of Times or Actions, by the few and mean Authors of those barbarous and illiterate Ages; and, perhaps, the rough Course of those lawless Times and Actions, would have been too ignoble a Subject for a good Historian.

About the Year 830, after many various Events and Revolutions between the several Races of the Heptarchy, *Ecbert*, descended from the *West-Saxon* Kings, having inherited most of the Successions from the Prowess and Exploits of his Ancestors, and acquired others by his own, became the First sole King or Monarch of *England*, as it now was distinguished from the Principality of *Wales*, possessed by the old *Britains*, and from that Part of the Island to the North of *Tweed*, possessed by the *Picts* and *Scots*, and by the *Saxons* styled by one common Name of *Scotland*.

This famous Adventure of the *Saxons* in *England*, was achieved by the Force and Confluence of such Multitudes from the Coasts of *Germany*, which lie between the *Belgick* and *Baltick* Shores, that some Parts of their Native Countries were left almost dispeopled, to fill again by new Swarms from the great Northern Hive, and the Number of *Saxons* and *Angles*, *Jutes*, and other Nations that came over, were not only sufficient to conquer and waste this whole Province, but even to plant and people it soon again, with numerous and new Inhabitants. So as by them succeeded in this Island, not only a Change of Government, as by the *Roman* Arms; but a Change of the very People or Nation, that inhabited or possessed the Lands of this whole Province: This induced a Change likewise of Names, of Language, of Customs, of Laws, of Arms, of Discipline, of Possessions, of Titles, of Religion, and even of the whole Face of Nature, through this whole Kingdom. So as we may justly date the Original of all these amongst us, as well as our Nation itself, from these our *Saxon* Ancestors: *Britain*, which was before a *Roman* Province, was now grown a *Saxon* Kingdom; and instead of its former Name, was called *England*; the Language, which was either *Latin* or *British*, was now grown wholly *Saxon* or *English*; the Land that was before divided into *Roman* Colonies or Governments, was so now into Shires, with Names given to them by the *Saxons*, as they first possessed, or afterwards thought fit to distinguish them.

The Habits in Peace, and Arms in War, the Titles of Officers in both, as well as of great Counsellors to their Kings, or great Proprietors of Lands, came to be all according to the *Saxon* Forms and Usage. The Laws of this Country, which before were *Roman*, changed now into *Old Saxon* Customs or Constitutions. Their Princes or Leaders of their several Nations, became *Konings* or Kings of the Territories they had subdued. They reserved part of the Lands to themselves for their Revenue, and shared the rest among their chief Commanders, by great Divisions, and among their Soldiers by smaller Shares. The first, who had the great Divisions, were called Earls or Barons; those of the smaller were Knights; and the smallest of all were Freemen, who possessed some Proportions of Free Lands, and were thereby distinguished from the Villens, that held nothing but at the Will of the Landlord.

In this universal Transformation, Religion it ſelf had a Share, like all the reſt, and received new Forms and Orders, with the new Inhabitants, whiſt all that was *Roman* or *British*, expired together in this Country : The *Britains* began early to receive the Chriſtian Faith, and, as is reported, from ſome of the Diſciples themſelves : and this was ſo propagated among them, that when the *Romans* left the Province, they were generally Chriſtians, and had their Priests and Bishops from that Ancient and Apoſtolic Institution. The *Saxons* were a ſort of idolatrous Pagans, that worſhipped ſeveral Gods peculiar to themſelves, among whom *Woden*, *Thor*, and *Frea* were the chief, which left their Memories ſtill preſerved by the common Names of Three Days in the Week : This Religious Worſhip they introduced with them, and continued long in *England*, till they ſubdued the *Britains*, reduced it under their Heptarchy of *Saxon* Kings, perſecuted the *British* Chriſtians, and drove them with their Religion, into *Wales*, where they continued under their primitive Priests and Bishops, who, with their Monks, were all under the Superintendence of one Arch-Priest or Biſhop of *Carleon*, the Bound of the *British* Principality. About the Year 600, Pope *Gregory* ſent *Auſtin* the Monk to preach the Goſpel in *England* to the Heathen *Saxons*, who landing at *Dover*, was received with Humanity by *Ethelbert*, King of the *South-Saxons* ; and being admitted, with Four or Five of his Companions, as well-meaning Men, to teach and explain the Doctrines and Myſteries of Chriſtianity, among theſe ignorant and barbarous People, they ſo well ſucceeded, that they converted at firſt great Numbers of the common ſort, and at length the King himſelf, whoſe Example gave eaſie way for introducing the Chriſtian Faith into his whole Kingdom, which from thence ſpread into all the Countries ſubject to the *Saxon* Heptarchy. Thus Religion came to be eſtabliſh'd in *England*, under the Rites and Forms, and Authority, of the *Roman* Church ; by which *Auſtin* was inſtituted chief Biſhop in *England*, and ſeated by the *Saxon* King at *Canterbury*. But his Jurisdiction, though admitted in all the *Saxon* Territories, was not received by the *British* Priests or People in *Wales*, tho' endeavour'd by many Miſſions from *Auſtin* and his Succeſſors, and even by Wars and Perſecutions of the *Saxons*, upon the old *British* Chriſtians, at the Inſtigation of the new *Romiſh* Priests, in one of which, near *Carleon*, Twelve hundred of the poor *British* Monks are ſaid to have been ſlaughtered, while they were apart in the Field at their Prayers for the Succeſs of the *British* Army.

With this Account of a new Face and State of Perſons and of Things, both Natural, Civil, and Religious, eſtabliſh'd in *England*, I return to the Period I left, of the *Saxon* Heptarchy, which being extinguiſh'd by long and various Revolutions among themſelves, made way for the Reign of *Ecbert*, the firſt ſole King or Monarch of *England*, about the Year 830.

It might have been reaſonably expected, that a wiſe and fortunate Prince, at the Head of ſo great a Dominion, and ſo brave and numerous a People, as the *English*, after the Expulſion of the *Picts* and *Scots* out of his Country into the rough Northern Parts, and of the *Britains* into the North-Weſt Corners of the Iſland, ſhould not only have enjoyed the Fruits of Peace and Quiet, but left much Felicity, as well as Greatneſs, to many ſucceeding Generations, both of Prince and People. Yet ſuch is the Inſtability of human Affairs, and the Weakneſs of their beſt Conjectures, that *Ecbert* was hardly warm in his united Throne, when both he and his Subjects began to be alarmed and perplexed at the Approach of new and unknown Enemies, and this Iſland expoſed to new Invaſions.

About this Time, a mighty Swarm of the Old Northern Hive, who had poſſeſſed the Seats about the *Baltick* (almost deſerted by ſuch Numbers of *Goths*, *Vandals*, and *Saxons*, as had iſſued out of them ſome Centuries before) began, under the Names of *Danes* and *Normans*, to infeſt at firſt the Sea, and at length the Lands of the *Belgick*, *Gallick*, and *British* Shores, filling all where they came with Slaughters, Spoils, and Devaſtations. The *Normans* firſt over-run the *Belgick* Provinces upon the Mouth of the *Rhine*, and gave new Names of *Holland* and *Zealand* to thoſe Parts adjacent to the Sea : Afterwards they ſailed with mighty Numbers into the Mouth of the *Sein*, and with

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great Fiercenefs subdued that Northern Part of *France*, which from them firft received, and ever fince retained, the Name of *Normandy*, and became the State of a great *Norman* Duke, and his Succeffors, for feveral Generations.

In the mean Time, the *Danes* began their Inroads and furious Invaſions upon the Coaſts of *England*, with mighty Numbers of Ships, full of fierce and barbarous People, ſometimes entring the *Thames*, ſometimes the *Humber*, other times coaſting as far as *Exeter*, landing where-ever they found the Shores unguarded, filling all with Ravage, Slaughter, Spoil, and Devaſtations of the Country; where they found any ſtrong Oppoſition, retiring to their Ships, ſailing home laden with Spoil; and by ſuch Encouragements, giving Life to new Expeditions the next Season of the Year. The braveſt Blood of the *Engliſh* had been exhausted in their own Civil Wars, during the Contentions of the Heptarchy; ſince thoſe ended, the reſt were grown flothful with Peace and with Luxury, ſoftned with new Devotions of their Priests and their Monks, with Penances and Pilgrimages, and great Numbers running into Cloiſters, and grown as unequal a Match now for the *Danes*, as the *Britiſh* had been for the *Saxons* before. Yet this Century paſſed not without many various Succeſſes between the Two Nations, many Victories and many Defeats on both ſides, ſo that Twelve Battels are ſaid to have been fought between them in one Year. The *Danes* divided their Force into ſeveral Camps, removed them from one part of the Country to another, as they were forced by Neceſſity of Proviſions, or invited by Hopes of new Spoils, or the Weakneſs and Diviſions of the *Engliſh*: at length, fortified Poſts and Paſſages, built Caſtles for Defence of Borders one againſt the other, which gave the Beginning to thoſe numerous Forts and Caſtles that were ſcattered over the whole Country, and laſted ſo long, as to remain, many of them, to this very Age. The *Engliſh* ſometimes repulſed theſe Invaſions, ſometimes purchaſed the Safety of their Provinces by great Sums of Money, which occaſioned great Exaſtions of their Kings upon the People, and that great Diſcontents; while the *Danes* increaſing ſtill, by new Supplies of Numbers and Force, began to mingle among the Inhabitants of thoſe Parts they had subdued, made Truces and Treaties, and thereupon grew to live more peaceably under the Laws and Government of the *Engliſh* Kings. *Alfred*, to prevent the Danger of new Invaſions, began to build Ships for the Defence of his Coaſts; and *Edgar*, a Prince of great Wiſdom and Felicity in his Reign, applying all his Thoughts to the Increaſe and Greatneſs of his Naval Forces, as the true Strength and Safety of his Kingdom, raiſed them to that Height, both of Numbers and Force, and diſpoſed them with that Order, for the Guard of the Seas round the whole Iſland, as proved not only ſufficient to ſecure his own Coaſts from any new Invaſions, but the Seas themſelves from the Rovers and Spoilers of thoſe Northern Nations, who had ſo long infeſted them; ſo that all Traders were glad to come under his Protection: Which gave a Riſe to that Right, ſo long claimed by the Crown of *England* to the Dominion of the Seas, about the Year 960.

But theſe Proviſions for the Safety of the Kingdom, began to decline with the Life of *Edgar*, and neglected in the ſucceeding Reigns, made way for new Expeditions of the *Danes*, who exaſted new Tribute from the Kings, and Spoils from the Subjects; 'till *Ethelred*, compounding with them for his own Safety, and their peaceable living in *England*, and fortifying himſelf by an Alliance with *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*, laid a Deſign for the general Maſſacre of the *Danes*, ſpread abroad and living peaceably throughout the Realm, which was carried on with that Secrecy and Concurrence of all the *Engliſh*, that it was executed upon one Day, and the whole Nation of the *Danes* maſſacred in *England* about the Year 1002.

This cruel and perfidious Maſſacre of ſo many Thouſands, inſtead of ending the long Miſeries of this Kingdom from the Violences, Invaſions, and Intruſions of the *Danes*, made way for new and greater Calamities than before: For *Swane* King of *Denmark*, exaſperated by the Slaughter of his Nation here, and among them of his own Siſter, and animated by the Succeſſes of ſo many private

-private Expeditions ; soon after landed with great Forces, formed several Camps of *Danes* in several Parts of *England*, filled all with Spoil and Slaughter, forced *Ethelred* to fly for Relief into *Normandy* ; and though he returned again, yet being a weak and cruel Prince, and thereby ill beloved, and ill obeyed by his Subjects, he never recovered Strength enough to oppose the Forces and Numbers of the *Danes*, to whom many of the *English* Nobles, as well as Commoners, had in his Absence submitted.

Swane died before he could atchieve this Adventure ; but left his Son *Canute* in a Course of such prosperous Fortunes, and the *English* so broken or divided, that coming out of *Denmark* with new Forces in Two hundred Ships, he reduced *Edmund* Son of *Ethelred*, first to a Division of the whole Kingdom between them, and after his untimely Death, was by the whole Nobility of the Realm acknowledged and received for King of *England*. This fierce Prince cut off some of the Royal Line, and forced others into Exile, reigned long, and left the Crown for Two Successions to his *Danish* Race, who all swore to govern the Realm by the Laws which had been established, or rather digested, by *Edward* the First, and *Edgar*, out of the old *Saxon* Customs and Constitutions. But *Hardecnute*, last of the *Danish* Kings, dying suddenly at a Feast, in the Year 1042, left the Race so hated, by the Imposition and Exaction of several Tributes upon his People, that *Edward*, surnamed *The Confessor*, and Grandson to *Edgar*, coming out of *Normandy*, where he had been long protected, found an easie Accession to the Crown, by the general Concurrence both of Nobles and People, and with great Applause restor'd the *Saxon* Race, in the Year 1043.

Thus expired, not only the Dominion, but all Attempts or Invasions of the *Danes* in *England* ; which, though continued and often renewed, with mighty Numbers, for above Two Hundred Years, yet left no Change of Laws, Customs, Language, or Religion, nor other Traces of their Establishments here, besides the many Castles they built, and many Families they left behind them, who after the Accession of *Edward the Confessor* to the Crown, wholly submitting to his Government, and peaceably inhabiting, came to incorporate, and make a Part of the *English* Nation, without any Distinction.

Edward the Confessor reigned long, reduced the Laws of *Edward*, *Alfred*, and *Edgar*'s Reigns into more Form and Order, and governed by them. His Wars were successful both in *Scotland* and *Wales*, though managed by his Leaders, and without his Presence. But being a Prince of a soft and easie Nature, he gave way to the growing Power and Arrogance of Earl *Godwin* and his Sons, who had been the chief Instruments of advancing him to the Throne, upon the Condition of marrying Earl *Godwin*'s Daughter. After he was settled in the Kingdom, either upon Gratitude or Inclination to the People and Customs of a Country where he had lived long, and been well received when he was banished from his own ; he invited many of his *Norman* Friends into *England*, employ'd them in his greatest Offices either of Church or State, and upon some Quarrels between them and the *English*, express'd too much Partiality to the *Normans* : This gave *Godwin* and his Son *Harold*, Occasion or Pretence of raising and heading great Discontents of the *English* against the *Norman* Favourites, and at last Insurrections against the King ; who soft in his Nature, devout in his Temper, and now declined in his Age, endeavoured rather to appease these Troubles by Articles than by Arms, and thereby left *Harold* too powerful for a Subject, and aspiring to the Crown. *Edward* had no Children ; and though he seemed desirous to leave the Crown to his Nephew, yet distrusting his Weakness to defend it against so powerful a Rival, it does not appear, or is not agreed among Authors, whether he made any Disposition of it at his Death, or no ; or whether any such, at least, as was afterwards pretended.

Harold alledged, That he was appointed by *Edward the Confessor* to succeed him, was believed by some, and allowed by more, who followed his Power, rather than his Right, and was immediately after the King's Death, elected or admitted to the Crown.

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His first Trouble was from his own Brother, who being the Elder, had obtained Assistance from *Normay*, to set up a Title or Pretence to the Kingdom, though he could have no other, but that his Brother had usurped it. *Harold* having marched into the North, overthrown his Brother and his Army of Strangers or Discontents, with great Slaughter, at *Stamford*, was suddenly recalled by a more dangerous and fatal Storm from the South. For *William* Duke of *Normandy*, surnamed *The Conqueror*, was landed at *Hastings* with a mighty Army of stout *Norman* Soldiers, to pursue a Right he pretended to the Succession of the Crown after the Death of *Edward*. What this was, is but obscurely proved or defended. But the Pretext was, That *Edward* had by Testament left him Successor of the Crown; and that *Harold*, while he was last in *Normandy*, had likewise assured him of his Assistance to advance him to the Kingdom upon the Death of the King; and the Duke therefore sent to put him in mind of that Engagement. But *Harold* was in possession, and admitted neither of these Claims, resolved to defend well what he had gotten ill, since the apparent Right was in *Edgar Atheling*, descended from the true *Saxon* Race, and from a Brother of *Edward the Confessor*. To decide these Disputes between the Two powerful Pretenders (while the just Right lay unregarded for want of Force to support it) a fierce and bloody Battel was fought near *Hastings*, which continued for a whole Day, with great Bravery and Slaughter on both sides; but ended with the Death of *Harold*, most of the bravest Captains, and above Sixty thousand Soldiers of the *English* Nation, who resolved to defend a Domestick Usurper against a Foreign Invader; and by the Loss of their Lives made easie Way for the undisputed Succession of *William the Conqueror* to the Crown of *England*, about the Year 1066, or, as some account, 1068.

This *Norman* Prince was Natural Son of *Robert* the Sixth Duke of *Normandy*, by *Arlette*, a very beautiful Virgin of *Falaize*, with whom he fell in Love, as she stood gazing at her Door, whilst he passed through that Town: So that he was the Issue of a sudden and strong Inclination; like a noble Plant, raised in a hot Bed, which gave it such Force and Vigour, as made it prosper and grow to so great a Height: Nor is it unlikely, that the ancient Heroes derived themselves from some Gods, to cover the Misfortunes or Follies, the Rapes or Loves, of some fair Maidens, or else the Passions of some frail Wives, who loved a Gallant better than a Husband: And the Force of such Encounters might have Part in the Constitution of a young Hero, and give a Natural Vigour, Spirit, and Lustre to the Children, from the Flames wherein they were conceived. 'Tis certain this young Conqueror owed his Greatness to his Birth, and his Fortunes to his Personal Merit, from the Strength of his Temper, and Vigour of his Mind: For he had a Body of Iron, as well as a Heart of Steel; yet his Intellectuals were, at least, equal to his other natural Advantages; and he appears as Wise in his Politick Institutions, as he was Bold in his Enterprizes, or Brave and Fortunate in the Atchievement of his great Adventures.

His Father *Robert* growing old, fell into a Fit of Devotion, frequent enough in that Age; which made him resolve upon a Visit to the Holy Sepulchre: His Nobles used all Arguments they could to dissuade him, but chiefly from the want of lawful Issue, and the Competition like to arise upon his Death, between several great Pretenders, which might prove dangerous to his Country, and, perhaps, fatal to the *Norman* State. But he persisted in the Design of his Journey, and told them, He had a young Son, that he believed certainly to be his own, and of whose Person and Disposition he had great Hopes, and therefore resolved to leave him his Successor in the Dutchy; recommended him to their Care and Loyalty, and appointed the King of *France* to be his Guardian, and the Duke of *Britain* his Governor, who was one of the fairest Pretenders to the Succession of that Dutchy, after the failing of *Robert's* Line: An unusual Strain or Testimony of the good Faith and Meaning of that Age, where Honour was so much more in request than Interest, that such a Prince could trust a Son of reproached Birth and disputed Right,

Right, to a powerful Neighbour, the likeliest to invade him, and to a Pretender, that stood the fairest to contest his Title.

The Prince was not above Nine or Ten Years old, when Duke *Robert* caused his Nobles and chief *Norman* Subjects, to swear Fealty to him, and afterwards carried him to do Homage to *Henry* the First, King of *France*, for the Dutchy of *Normandy*, according to the Custom of the former Dukes, since their first Accords with that Crown, after their Conquests and Establishments in that Part of *France*, which was before called *Neustrie*, and took the Name of *Normandy* from those fierce Invaders: These coming from the Coasts of *Norway*, in Two several Expeditions, with mighty Numbers of a brave, but barbarous People, had, about Two hundred Years before, first ravaged the Coasts of *Holland* and *Flanders*, then entred the Mouth of the *Sein*, subjected the Country by unresisted Arms; then taking the City of *Rouen*, Capital of that Province, upon Composition, and made Inroads from thence into the Isle of *France*, and near *Paris* it self, with such Fury and Success, that the King of *France*, embroiled then at Home, thought fit to tame these Lyons, rather than longer to oppose them, and threw them that noble and fruitful Morfel of *Normandy*, to assuage their Hunger; yielding it up wholly to their Leader *Rout*, upon Conditions of his turning Christian, and his holding that Dutchy from the Crown of *France*, for him and his Successors.

After these Ceremonies were passed of the Homages received in *Normandy*, and given in *France*, the old Duke *Robert* delivered his young Son himself into the Hands and Tutelage of the *French* King, upon the Confidence of great Services he had formerly done him, in Disputes about the Crown; and immediately after these Transactions, began his Voyage into *Asia*, where he lived not long, and left his Son to be the Founder of his own Fortunes, rather than Heir of his Father's; which he found exposed to all sorts of Dangers from the Tendernefs of his Age, the Reproach of his Birth, a suspected Guardian, a disputed Title, and a distracted State.

After the News of Duke *Robert's* Decease, the Nobles of *Normandy* by him intrusted with the Government during his Son's Minority, found themselves soon involved in many Difficulties, by the open Factions of some Nobles, who envied their Greatness; and by the private Practices of others, who being derived from some of the former Dukes, resolved to set up their Pretences to the Succession, but masqued their Designs at first, and herded with the common Discontents, against the present Administration. The Governors, faithful to the Trust reposed in them by the Father, and the Fealty they had sworn to the Son, esteemed the Presence of the young Prince necessary to support their Authority and his Title, and thereupon prevailed with the King of *France* to send him into *Normandy*; which he did accordingly, with great Honour to Himself, and Kindness to the young Duke, as well as Satisfaction to all his loyal Subjects; but to the Disappointment of those, who pretended their Discontents rather against the Governors, than the Succession.

No Prince ever came so early into the Cares and Thorns of a Crown, nor felt them longer, engaged in Difficulties and Toils, in Hardships and Dangers; his Life exposed to the Arms of Enemies, the Plots of Assassins; his Reign embroiled by the Revolts of his Subjects, the Invasions of his Neighbours; and his whole Life, though very long, spent in the necessary and dangerous Defence of his own Title and Dominion, or in the ambitious Designs of acquiring greater: Yet none ever surmounted all with more Constancy of Mind, Prudence of Conduct, and Felicity of Fortune. By all which, he seems born to have been rather a great Prince, than a happy Man.

His first Contests and Dangers, arose from the declared Competition of the Pretenders to the Succession of the Dutchy, who, favoured by the Defects of his Birth, and grounding their Title upon their own legitimate Descent, found so many Followers at Home, and such Assistance from some neighbouring Princes, that, agreeing together against the present Possessor, tho' disputing among themselves upon their own Rights, they raised great Forces, and con-

strained the young Duke to appear, not only at the Head of his Councils, but of his Armies too, by that time he was full Seventeen Years old.

These Civil Wars continued long, with many various Successes, bloody Encounters, defeating and recruiting of Troops, surprizing, sacking, besieging, relieving of Towns, and wasting of Countries; 'till at last, the Duke, by his Vigilance, Prudence, Courage, and Industry, subdued totally, not only the Forces, but the Hearts of all his Competitors and Enemies at Home, and forced them to quit both *Normandy* and *France*, and seek new Fortunes, or, at least, Protection, in *Italy*, under the Banners and Service of those Northern Princes, who had first, by assisting their Friends, and then pursuing their own Fortunes, made themselves Masters of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicily*. So great was the Prowess and Conduct of those brave *Norman* Adventurers, that from *Truhans*, as the *French* called them, because they could not stay at home, but left their own Country, to seek Room in foreign and distant Regions, they became Possessors and Sovereigns, in less than Two hundred Years, of one noble Dutchy in *France*, a great Kingdom in the best Parts of *Italy*, and a greater yet, and more renowned, in the *British* Isle, and thereby exchanged the savage Woods, and barren Mountains of *Normay*, for Three of the fruit-fullest, fairest, and most pleasant Countries in the Western Parts of *Europe*, and which had been observed, both before and since, to produce the bravest Bodies and Courages of any Provinces among their Neighbour Nations.

The Defeats and final Overthrow of Competitors at Home, gave Duke *William* no long Quiet; for another appeared from Abroad, more dangerous than any of the former: This was *Martel* Earl of *Anjou*, that was not only a Prince of great Possessions, but yet more formidable, by the Alliance and Assistance of the King of *France*, who, jealous of the *Norman* Greatness, thought it both wise and just, to prevent its farther Growth, and abate a Neighbour's Power, before it grew too high, and, perhaps, out of his Reach, by the Conduct, Ambition, and Fortune of such an aspiring Prince.

To this End, and upon small Pretences (which never fail a strong Invader) he encouraged, if not set on foot, the Earl of *Anjou's* Pretensions to the Dutchy of *Normandy*, gave him first his Countenance and Assistance, to justify his Claim, and pursue it by Arms, but by degrees, engaged in an open and declared War against the Duke: This he prosecuted with much Passion and Violence, imploying in it not only all the Forces he could raise, but his own Person to command them, attended by many, the chief Nobles of his Kingdom, and many great Persons of his Allies.

Duke *William* lost nothing of his Temper or Courage, upon the Approaches of so great a Storm, but prepared first for his Defence; 'till flush'd with Success in many Encounters, and trusting to the Bravery and Affections of his Army, though much inferior to the *French*, he brought the Quarrel to the Decision of Two fierce Battels in Two pitch'd Fields: The first ended in an entire Victory on the Duke's side, with the Slaughter of Three Parts of his Enemies, amounting to above Thirty thousand Men. This Loss, however, rather enraged, than discouraged the King of *France*, who gave himself or his Enemies no Quiet, 'till he engaged the *Normans* in a second Battel, with greater Forces and Rage on both sides, but with the same Success the former had ended. In this Field the King of *France* lost the Flower of his Army, the greatest part of his Nobles, and hardly escaped himself in Person. But that little availed this unfortunate Prince, who was so sensible of the Loss, and, as he thought, Dishonour, received by so unequal a Match, that he had not the Heart to survive it long, but died of Grief, and thereby gave an End to this War, and left Duke *William* a calm and peaceable Reign, 'till he disturbed his own and his Neighbours Quiet, by new and greater Adventures. But to discover their Causes, and judge better of the Events, we must have recourse to the Accidents of the former Reigns, both in *England* and *Normandy*, and the great Commerce and Intelligences that were thereby grown, for many Years past, between these Two Courts and Nations.

Edward,

Edward, for his Piety, surnamed *The Confessor*, the last King of the Saxon Race in England, had, by the Persecution of his Enemies under the Reign of *Hardecnute the Dane*, been forced to leave England, and seek Shelter in *Normandy*, where he was kindly received, nobly entertained by the Duke, lived long there with many English, who adhered to his Right, followed his Fortunes, and shared in the Causes and Reliefs of his Banishment; some found Employments, others Alliances, All, Favour and kind Reception in *Normandy*. These mutual good Offices produced so much Kindness between the Givers and Receivers, that 'tis by some Writers reported, King *Edward*, during his Residence in the *Norman* Court, promised Duke *Robert*, That in case he recovered the Kingdom of England, and died without Issue, he would leave him the Crown. The first happening, and *Edward* restored by the Power of Earl *Godwin*, or rather the general Discontents of the English against the Danish Race and Government, 'tis certain, King *Edward*, after his Restoration, or rather first Accession to the Crown, ever appeared more favourable and partial to the *Normans*, than was well repented by his English Subjects in general; but Earl *Godwin* and his Son *Harold* were so offended, that they made it the Cause or Pretence of a dangerous Insurrection, and were forced, upon the ill Success thereof, to leave the Kingdom, and fly into *Flanders*, though after restored and received by the King, rather by Force, than any free and willing Consent.

Duke *William*, after the End of his Wars with France, had turned his Thoughts to the common Arts and Entertainments of Peace, regulating the Abuses of his State, and the Disorders introduced by a long Course of Wars and Violence, adorning his Palaces and Houses of Pleasure, building Churches and Abbies, and endowing them with great Bounty and Piety: After which he made a Journey into England, where he was received and entertained by King *Edward*, with the same Kindness himself had found in the *Norman* Court; for which, like a good Prince, he was much pleased to make this Return of Gratitude, as well as Justice. In this Visit, 'tis said by some Authors, that the Duke gained so far upon the Esteem and Kindness of the King, that he then renewed to the Son in England, the Promise he had formerly made the Father in *Normandy*, of leaving him the Crown by Testament, in case he died without Issue.

Some time after the Duke's Return, *Harold* Son to Earl *Godwin*, and Heir of his great Possessions and Dependances in England, was forced by a Storm (as he at least pretended) upon the Coasts of *Normandy*; and to refresh himself after the Toils and Dangers of his Sea Voyage, went first to the *Norman* Court, and after some Stay there, to that of France; and was in both entertained like a Person known to be of so great Consideration and Power in England. But his last Visit at Paris, was thought designed only to cover the true Intention of his first in *Normandy*; where he engaged to assist that Duke with all his Friends and Force, in his Claim to the Crown of England, upon King *Edward's* Death; which happening not long after, *William* claimed the Crown by virtue of a Testament from that King, and of an Engagement from *Harold*. But he, on the contrary, denied any such Testament from the deceased Prince; alledged an Appointment made by him at his Death for *Harold* to succeed him; disowned any Promise made in Favour of the Duke, and making the best Use of the Credit and Authority gained by his Father and himself, in a crasse and diseased State, during the soft Reign of a weak, though pious, King; *Harold* set up boldly for himself, without any respect of Right, beyond the Peoples Submission (interpreted for their Consent), and was elected King by those Nobles and Commons of his Friends, or indifferent Persons, who assembled at his Coronation; leaving to *Edgar Atheling* an undoubted, but yet unregarded Right of Succession; and to *William*, a disputed Plea, from the alledged Testament of the deceased King.

The Duke, fond of those ambitious Hopes he had framed early, and nourished long, and spighted at the perfidious Dealing of *Harold* towards him, and his Insolence towards the English Nation, in seizing the Crown and Go-

vernment, against all Justice, or so much as Pretence of Right (which is commonly made use of to cover the most lawless Actions) assembles his Estates of *Normandy*, exposes to them his Claim to *England*; the Wrong done him by *Harold*; his Resolutions of prosecuting both with his utmost Power; the Glory as well as Justice of the Enterprize; the Hopes of Success from his own Right; and the Hatred in *England* of the Usurper, as well as the Friends and Intelligences he had in that Kingdom; the Greatness of Spoils and Possessions, by the Conquest of his Enemies; and the Share he intended his Friends and Followers, according to each Man's Merit and Contribution towards the Advancement of his Designs.

Though the Generality of the *Normans* in this Assembly, were not at first very much moved by these Discourses, as either doubting the Right or Success of so hazardous an Adventure, yet they could not discourage what they were unwilling to promote, since they found the Prince had it so much at Heart; who prevailed with several of the greatest Bishops and Nobles of *Normandy*, to make him a voluntary Offer of what Monies, Men, and Ships they would each of them furnish towards this Enterprize, as well as of their own personal Attendance upon him, in so noble and just a Design.

This free and magnanimous Offer of the greatest among them, in some Degree, spirited not only the rest of the Assembly, but had much Influence upon the People in general, who grew confident of the Success, from the Greatness and Boldness of the Undertakers, so as they fell into Emulation, who should engage soonest, and contribute farthest upon this Occasion.

The Duke, assisted to his Expectation by his Subjects, began to practise upon the Hopes and Ambition of his Neighbours, who, weary of the long Quiet they had lived in at Home, since the part they had taken in the *French* and *Norman* Wars, begun to grow fond of some new Action, and to look out for new Adventures.

The Duke had gained and deserved so high Esteem and general Reputation, by the wise Conduct of his Government, both in Peace and in War, by his Justice and Bounty, his Valour and his Clemency, that he was renowned not only among his Subjects and his Neighbours, but in the remoter Regions of *Germany* and *Italy*; and found a Concurrence in this Design from many Princes his Friends, and some who had been his greatest Enemies: He was favoured and assisted with Money, or with Soldiers, by the Dukes of *Britain* and of *Brabant*, the Counts of *Bologne* and *Flanders*, and his ancient Competitor the Earl of *Anjou*: By many Princes of *France*, the most considered in that Court; as, the Duke of *Orleans*, Earls of *Poitou* and *Maine*, excited by the Honour of the Enterprize, or Fame of the Leader, at a Time when the Infancy of their King gave them no Hopes of Action at Home, and left that Crown unconcerned in what passed Abroad. The Emperor sent some choice Troops, and experienced Commanders, to serve in this Expedition; and the Pope, induced by the Fame of this Duke's great Virtues, and Piety, in the whole Course of his Reign, which had now lasted above Forty Years, sent him a Banner he had blessed, with several Relicks; and thereby was esteemed, according to the Devotion of those Times, to have justified his Title, and even sanctified his Arms.

With all these Advantages, this brave Duke began and finished his mighty Preparations, by a general Concurrence of his own Nobles and Subjects, and a Confluence of most of the bold adventurous Spirits in his Neighbour Provinces, led by the Desires of Glory or of Gains: The Princes trusted his Faith and his Promises, which he had never forfeited: The Knights and Soldiers relied upon his Valour and his Fortune, which had never failed in the long and happy Course of his Reign.

What the Number was of the Army he brought over into *England*, is not distinctly related, or well agreed; but must be concluded to have been very great, by that of the Ships wherein they were embarked, which were between Eight and Nine Hundred: Besides, they were all chosen and brave Troops, excellently disciplined, commanded by gallant Officers, strongly united by
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the Love of their Prince, and encouraged by the common Hatred of *Harold* his Enemy, both at Home and Abroad: A known Usurper, cruel in his Nature, of *Danish* Extraction, and thereby ungrateful to the *English*; a Hater of his own Blood, and who had never triumphed, but over his own Brother; and by a bloody Victory at *Stamford*, had lost the bravest of his Troops, as he had done before the Hearts of his Subjects.

The Duke landed his Army at *Hastings* in *Suffex*, about the beginning of *October*; and expecting a general Submission of the *English* to his Right and Title (pretended from the Testament of *Edward the Confessor*) or the Desertion of *Harold* (as an Usurper) by his own Army; he made at first no Show of invading a hostile Country, but rather of incamping in his own: Forbidding all Injuries to any of the Inhabitants, and all Spoil of the Country about him: And so continued, with his whole Army, in a quiet and peaceable manner, for about a Fortnight, either to refresh his Troops, or to expect how his Claim to the Crown, and Arrival upon it, would be received in *England*.

But after this Time expired, he was soon roused by the Approach of *Harold*, who returned from the Defeat of his Brother, and his *Danish* Assistants, with all the Forces he had employed in that Expedition, and all he could invite or collect out of the Country as he passed. The first were standing Troops, numerous and brave, which he kept for the Defence of his Person and Title, knowing they were both generally hated in *England*. The last were ill-disciplined, and worse affected, and served only to increase the Number of his Army, which was very great.

Upon Approach of his Enemies, he sent Spies into the *Norman* Camp, who were taken, and courteously used by the Duke; carried thro' all his Troops, shewed their Discipline and Disposal, and sent back with Rewards. At their Return, they told *Harold*, that the *Normans* looked rather like an Army of Priests, than of Soldiers, by their great Silence and Order in their Camp, as well as by their Faces being all shaved.

'Tis said, The Duke, before the Battel, sent an Offer to *Harold*, to decide the Quarrel between them by single Combat, and thereby spare their Subjects Blood; which *Harold* refused, and said, He would leave it to God to determine. Upon which, his Brother desired him, That he would not be present at the Battel, because he had formerly sworn to Duke *William* to assist his Title upon King *Edward's* Death; and rather leave it to them, who had a juster Cause; and should fight only for Defence of their Country, and without Breach of Oath. But the Courage of *Harold* was more than his Conscience, and so both Parts disposed their Armies for a pitch'd Battel next Morning: after the *English* had passed the Night in Songs and Feasting, and the *Normans* in much Devotion.

The Fight began with great Fury, and equal Bravery, as well as Order, on both sides. The *English* were cruelly gauled by thick Showers of Arrows from the *Norman* Long Bows, before the Battle joined; which was a Weapon then unused in *England*, and thereby the more surprizing, by Wounds coming from Enemies so far out of Reach, and not suddenly to be revenged. But when they came up to close Fight, the *Normans* were hewed down by the *English* Bills, which of all Weapons gives the most ghastly and deplorable Wounds. Besides, their Points were so strong and so close together, that no Charges of the *Norman* Horse, could break the *English* Ranks, though the Duke assaulted them so often, and with so great Bravery, that he had Three Horses killed under him in the Attempt. But finding them continue firm, he at length, by a Signal, caused a sudden Flight to be feigned, by his *Normans* that were most advanced: Upon which, the *English*, easily deceived by their own Courage, as well as Hopes, began such an eager Pursuit, as by it they dissolved their Ranks, that had been otherwise impenetrable. Upon this Incident, before expected, and soon discovered by the Duke, and upon another Signal given, the *Normans* returned with greater Fury than before; broke into the disordered Body of the *English*, routed and pursued them to a rising Ground; where their broken Forces made a Stand, fell again into Order, and, encou-

encouraged by the Speeches, but more by the brave Example of *Harold*, they renewed the Fight, and made a mighty Slaughter of the *Normans*, as they endeavoured to force them against the Disadvantage of the Hill which they defended.

The Fierceness and Obstinacy of this memorable Battle, was often renewed by the Courage of the Leaders, where-ever that of the Soldiers began to faint ; 'till the *Normans* leaving the Assault of the Hill, too obstinately defended, and keeping a little Distance, fell again to their Arrows, with one of which *Harold* was shot quite through the Head, and fell to the Ground : And by his Death gave the Victory and the Field to the *Normans*, which had hitherto continued doubtful on both sides ; and seemed thus far to have been fought with equal Courage, and with equal Loss. But the Flight of the *English*, upon *Harold's* Fall, soon determined it, and was followed by a long and bloody Pursuit of the *Normans*, which lasted 'till Night, and left mighty Numbers of the *English* slain in the Flight, that had been safe in the Battle ; and the rest of them wholly dispersed, though cover'd by the Night : So different are the Effects of Courage and of Fear, and so just the Rewards of both ; the first, which seeks Dangers, often avoids them ; the other, often runs into them, by endeavouring to escape them : Much greater Numbers falling in all Battles, by the Pursuit of those that fly, than by the Slaughter of those that fight.

Nothing seems to show the Greatness of *England* so much at this Time, as that *Harold* should be able to assemble so mighty an Army to oppose this Invasion ; and find above Threescore Thousand Men, brave enough not only to fight, but to lose their Lives in his Defence : For so many are agreed to have been slain of the *English* at this Battle of *Hastings* ; where he lost his Crown and his Life together ; and left the Field, with the Kingdom, to this brave *Norman* Conqueror. This was the Man, these the Forces, and such the Circumstances that contributed to so famous an Enterprize ; by which the Fate of *England* was determined, in or about the Year 1066.

The Duke after this famous Victory, resolved not to lose the Fruits and Advantages he had thereby gained (which is often done) for Want of Speed, or Vigor, in the Prosecution, wherein Celerity is sometimes of more Consequence than Force. Therefore, after the Pursuit of his broken Enemies, and a short Refreshment of his own Army ; he began immediately his March towards *London*, where was all the Strength then left in the Kingdom ; believing if he could be Master of the Head, the rest of the Body would follow, without more Struggle or Resistance.

In his March he is said to have exercised much Cruelty towards all he found in Arms, with great Rigour and Oppression upon the other Inhabitants, and Spoil of the Countries where he passed ; 'till entering into a woody Part of *Kent*, and advancing with his Vanguard before the rest of his Army, he found himself almost environed with mighty Numbers of the *Kentishmen*, who had concealed themselves in the Wood, by carrying every Man a great Bough of a Tree, like a Shield, in his Hand. But when they saw the *Norman* Troops, and the Duke at the Head of them, within their Danger, they began on a sudden to march, like a moving Wood, 'till approaching their Enemies, they threw down their Boughs, and discovered on all Sides a Multitude of brave armed Men, ready to charge the *Normans*, that stood surprized and amazed at the Strangeness of the Sight, which appeared as if a Wood had been, by some Enchantment, transformed into an Army : But the *Kentishmen* approaching, made a Halt, and sent the Abbot of *St. Austin's* to tell the Duke, That all the Men of that Province were there assembled, to defend their Country and their Liberties, or to sell their Lives as dear as they could ; that if he would swear to preserve them in those ancient Laws and Customs, under which they and their Ancestors had so long lived, they were all ready to lay down their Arms, and become his Subjects ; if not, he must prepare to fight with Men that had resolved to lose their Lives, rather than their Liberties and Laws. The Duke finding he was too far advanced to join the Body of his Army before

before he engaged, and unwilling to venture all his Fortunes and Hopes against such numerous Bands as these appeared, and of so desperate Men, granted to all the Inhabitants of the Province of *Kent*, the Preservation and free Enjoyment of all their ancient Laws and Customs under the *Saxon* Reigns, swore the Observance of his Grant, received their Homage, and so pursued his March. This is represented as a forc'd Prelude to a subsequent voluntary Act of this Prince, whereby he made, or confirmed, the same Concession, in general, to all the rest of the Kingdom. And though this Adventure of the *Kentishmen* be not recorded with great Evidence of Truth, or Agreement of Circumstances, or of Time (for some Writers place it before his first Arrival at *London*, others after, and upon an Expedition to reduce the Castle of *Dover*) yet it is related by so many Authors, and is so generally received by vulgar Tradition, that it seems not to be omitted: But when, or however it happened, or whether at all or no, is not material to the History of this Prince, or to the following Actions, or Institutions, of his Reign.

In the City of *London*, besides the great Numbers and Riches of the Inhabitants, were retired most of the great Nobles of the Kingdom, both Ecclesiastical and Secular, who had not been engaged in Action of either Side; and attended what would be the Issue of this strong and violent Convulsion of the State. Upon Decision of the last Battel, they all consulted together with the Citizens, what was best to be advised and done for their common Interest and Safety, as well as of the whole Kingdom; which was like to run their Fate, by following their Example. Many of the Secular Nobles were for collecting what Forces they could, and making a Stand, either in the Field, or in the Town; and thereby trying their Fortunes, or, at the worst, making Conditions; for they could not bear that their great Possessions and Lands should lie at the Mercy of a Prince, whose Will might be as boundless as his Power, and who had so great a Train to be rewarded at their Cost, and by the Spoils, if he pleased, of the whole Kingdom.

The Citizens feared the hostile Entrance of an incensed Army, upon a weak Resistance, and the sudden Loss of their Possessions, which consisting chiefly in Moveables, might be seiz'd in a Day, and dissipated, past any Recovery, by the very Grace of the Prince, or succeeding Composition between him and the rest of the Kingdom: They thought no Forces could be collected, either in Time, upon so sudden an Approach, or with Strength enough to make Opposition, in a Body that had lost so much Blood, and without a Head to command them, or, upon any Treaty, to manage their common Interests to the best Advantage; and so they were disposed to submit to what they esteemed the Fate of the Kingdom. The Arch-bishops, Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy, were a sort of State apart, within the State itself, having a Jurisdiction independent (as they pretended, and were usually allowed in that Age) upon the Secular Power; they held their Lands and Possessions in the Kingdom, by another Tenure than the Laity pretended, and feared not to lose them under any Prince that was a Christian, which made them more indifferent of what Race, or by what Title he held the Crown; and so more easy to fall in with the Stream of any Changes or new Revolutions: Besides, they were possess'd with the Fame of this Prince's Piety, and the Opinion of his Right having been determined by the Pope's approving and assisting it with his Benediction. They thought, as well as the Citizens, that this Torrent was not to be resisted; that a faint and fruitless Opposition would but exasperate the Duke, and make him continue, as well as begin his Reign, like a Conqueror; and therefore esteemed the wisest Part was, to acknowledge his Right, and thereby tempt or persuade him into a safer and easier Form of Government, both for himself and his Subjects, as a just and lawful King.

The Clergy was in very great Authority at this Time, and among all sorts of People in the Kingdom, having enjoyed and exercised it here, during the whole Course of the *Saxon* Reigns, after those Kings became Christians in this Island;

Island ; nor could any other Authority rise so high, and spread so far, as growing from so many Roots : They were allowed to be the Guides and Instructors of Mankind in all spiritual Worship and Divine Service, and even the Dispensers of those Graces and Forfeitures upon which depended the Rewards or Punishments of a future State ; which being greater and longer than those of this Life, gave them more Influence upon the Minds of Men, than any secular Jurisdiction that can extend no farther : They had mighty Possessions in Lands throughout the Kingdom, as well as other Riches, from the Bounty of pious Princes, of devout and innocent People, and from many others, who thought to expiate Crimes, or cover ill Lives by these kinds of Donation to the Church. These Possessions were esteemed sacred, and as much went into this Stock every Age, so nothing ever went out ; and all the Lands in the Kingdom might, in the Course of Ages, have held of the Church, if this Current had not been stopped by the Statute of *Mortmain* in the Time of *Edward the First*. 'Tis recorded, That of Sixty two thousand Knights Fees, that were reckoned in *England* during the Reign of this first *Norman* King, there were in that of King *John* Twenty eight thousand in the Hands of the Church. This gave the Clergy (by the Dependances of those that held under them in so great Numbers) a Secular Power annexed to their Ecclesiastical Authority : They had, besides, all the little Learning which was in those ignorant Ages, and passes for Wisdom among those who want both ; gives a Faculty, at least, of discoursing, though, perhaps, not of judging better than others, and gains more Attention, and easier Applause from vulgar Auditors. Lastly, They were united, more than any other State, upon one common Bottom, and in Pursuit of one common Interest, which was always pretended to be the Greatness of the Holy Church ; but, indeed, was their own, and the Honours, Power, and Riches of the Church-Men, rather than of the Church. By these Circumstances, and the Advantage of such a complicated Strength, the Clergy came to such an Authority, that they were Arbiters, if not of all Affairs, at least, of all Contests in the Kingdom, and turned the Ballance which way soever they fell in ; were still applied to by the weaker, and often by the unjust side ; had the chief Sway, and were the chiefest Instruments in all those many Revolutions of State, irregular Successions, and even Usurpations of the Crown, that happen'd between the Time of the Conquest, and the Reign of *Henry the Third* ; which may easily be observed, and cannot easily be wondered at, by all who read the Story of those Reigns, and consider what has been said upon this Subject, important enough to excuse this Digression.

But to return to our Conqueror, upon his March to *London*, and the Consultations there how to receive him. The Opinions and Counsels of the Bishops and Ecclesiasticks easily prevailed, and seem to have had more Reason, as well as Authority, than the rest : so it was unanimously resolved, not only to submit to a Power they could not oppose, but to acknowledge a Title they would not dispute. The Duke, upon his Approach to the City, was received with open Gates and open Arms, at least, without the Appearance of any Reluctance or Discontent, any more than of Resistance : He claimed the Crown at his Arrival, by the Testament of King *Edward the Confessor*, without any mention of Conquest, which was infinitely grateful to all the Nobles and Commons of the Realm ; whether it was a Strain of his own Prudence and good natural Sense, or a Persuasion of those *English*, who had either assisted or invited his Invasion, or Apprehension of so great and brave a People, if offended by the Name of Conquest, and irritated by the Dangers or Fears of a lawless Arbitrary Power, to which they had not yet their Hearts or Strength broken enough, easily to submit.

He was crowned King at *Westminster* by the Archbishop of *York*, who with *Stigand* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, had been the Great Promoters of those Councils, by which he entred upon so peaceable a Beginning of his Reign. At his Coronation, he took the Oath usual in the Times both of the *Saxon* and *Danish* Kings ; which was, To protect and defend the Church, to observe the
Laws.

Laws of the Realm, and to govern his People justly : After which he caused Fealty to be sworn to him by all the Bishops, Barons, and Nobles, with the Magistrates of the City, who had assisted or attended at his Coronation, and thereupon found himself on a sudden settled in a calm and quiet Possession of a Crown he had so long aspired to, and so lately won by one single, tho' violent Blow.

This King was about Two and Fifty Years old, upon his Accession to this Crown, and is, perhaps, the only Instance found in Story, either before or since, in this Island, or the rest of the World, that began and atchieved any great and famous Enterprize after that Age : Whether the Decline of Nature leaves not Vigour enough for such Designs or Actions ; or Fortune, like her Sex, have no Kindness left for old Men, how much soever she favoured them when they were young : But the Talents of Age, which are Prudence and Moderation, learnt best in the School of Experience, and seldom joined, if consistent, with the warm Passions of Youth, were now as necessary to this Prince, for the Conservation of his Kingdom, as his long, industrious Application, and bold Execution, had been for acquiring it ; and how much he excelled in these Qualities, will be seen by the Sequel of his Reign.

He consider'd very wisely, That though he had gained the Crown by the Assistance of foreign Forces, and by the Decision of Arms, yet these might not always be so prosperous, if too often tried, and the Number or Strength of his Foreigners, bore no proportion to those of so brave and populous a Nation, if they should unite on any Bottom of common Discontents, of Dangers, or of Fears, and that the Safety and Peace of his new acquired Dominion, could be preserved only by the general Satisfaction and Security of his *English* Subjects : And this was his first Care, and was the best provided for by the Two first Actions of his Reign ; one was, That as he had claimed the Crown only from the Testament of King *Edward*, and wholly avoided that odious Name of Conquest, so he expressed, upon all Occasions, his Resolution to govern the Kingdom as a legal Prince, and leave the ancient Laws and Liberties of the *English* Nation, as they had before enjoyed them : The other was, That as he drew no Blood, but what was spilt in the Field, so he seized only the Lands and Estates of those who had been in Arms against him, before his Accession to the Crown, or after that Time, by any Revolt, or new Oppositions.

This wise Counsel made a clear and sudden Distinction between those *English* that were to feel any ill Effects by this late Revolution, and the rest who were left out of Danger, and in the same State they enjoyed under the Race of their former lawful Kings, and so but little sensible of the Change : The forfeited Estates and Lands were, indeed, seized with great Severity, but the greatest Part of the Proprietors were silent in the Grave, having been slain in the Battel of *Hastings*, and Pursuit of that Victory ; those who remained alive, being at once despoiled of all their Possessions, were broken in their Hearts, maimed in their Interest among their Neighbours ; and being but few throughout the Kingdom, in Comparison of those that were safe, their Losses or Complaints were little regarded by the rest, but, like wounded Deer, were deserted, and even avoided, by the Herd.

Upon the Coronation of the King at *London*, with the Concurrence of Nobles and People in that City, and his Care in publishing throughout the several Countries, these Two Resolutions concerning the Safety of their Properties and Laws : All the Inhabitants of both the adjacent and remoter Counties, and of what Degree soever, not only with universal Consent, submitted to his Government as to a Decree of Heaven, but most of them began to express, or, at least, pretend, a common Joy at the Fate of the late Usurper, and the prosperous Fortunes of the present King.

His next Care was the Satisfaction of those many and brave Adventurers and Soldiers, who had followed him in this Expedition ; which he endeavoured to make with Justice to his Promises, and to their several Merits, as far as the forfeited Lands and Revenues would reach, or any Treasures or Debts he

found here belonging to the Crown : The Lands of the *English* Barons who had opposed him, he divided among the *Norman* Barons that had attended him ; those of the Commoners among the Soldiers ; what Offices were vacant, he supplied with such as he had not Lands or Money to reward ; such of the *Normans* as he could not clear Accounts with at present by any of these Ways, he distributed into the rich and numerous Abbies of the Kingdom, to be there entertained 'till new Employments should fall, or new Forfeitures, or new Supplies should come into the King's Coffers, by the large Revenues of the Crown, or the wise Management of his Treasures ; which had always been a Virtue of this Prince, and exercised in his lower Fortunes, as far as could agree with the Bounty of his Nature, towards those who deserved it by their Merits or their Services.

The Provision he made for so many poor *Normans*, by disposing them among the rich Monasteries, to share in their Plenty, seemed, at least, a temporary Imposition upon the Clergy, and a Breach of those Immunities they had enjoyed in the *Saxon* Reign : For though one chief End of the large Donations made by so many Princes and pious Subjects to the Church, was intended for charitable Uses, by Relief of the Poor, and the hospitable Entertainment of Passengers, Pilgrims, and Strangers ; yet this Use was left voluntary, and at the Choice of those who possessed these Revenues : The *Normans* sent among them, were indeed Strangers and Poor, but yet the most charitable Monks had little mind to relieve them, or, if they had, were not willing to receive them within their Convents, to be, not only Sharers of their Provisions, but Observers of their Actions ; however, they complied at present with the Desires of the King, or the Necessity of the Times ; yet they generally took it ill of the King, and for a Diminution of those Immunities, or of that Favour they had enjoyed under former Reigns : Some thought, he had an envious Eye at the vast Riches of the Clergy ; others, that he was jealous of their Power, and suspected their Affections to his Person and Government, and apprehended as easy a Change among them, upon the Approach of any new Revolution, as they had shewed upon the last, in his own Favour. That for these Reasons he had dispersed his *Normans* as so many Guards, or, at least, as so many Spies among them : Whatever it was, 'tis certain this Action bred the first Unkindness of the Clergy towards this King, and being followed by Two other Strains of the same Nature (which will be observed in their Time) left an Imposition upon his Memory, of Hardship, Cruelty, Oppression, or Exaction, which he deserved as little as other Princes, that have a fairer Character in Story and common Opinion. For the Monks having been the only Writers remaining of those Times, as well as some succeeding Reigns, have left a Tincture of their Passions upon the Actions of the first Kings of this *Norman* Race, and painted their Virtues and Vices in fairer or fouler Colours, according to the Ideas they had framed of them and their several Dispositions or Actions in Favour or Prejudice of the Church ; that is, of Ecclesiastical Persons or Privileges : Such an Authority have the Pens of learned Writers, always claimed and possessed, as to pass the definitive Sentence upon the Memories of the greatest Princes, in the vulgar Opinion of Posterity. Nor is it evident, whether the invidious Name of Conqueror, which this King had so carefully avoided, were entailed upon him by the Flattery of his Friends, or the Malice of his Enemies ; among whom, the Monkish Writers seem to have been the chief and most inveterate.

Whatever Motions were raised upon this Occasion in the Minds of the Clergy, none appeared in the rest of the Body of the Realm, or Mass of the People : Most were satisfied, because they either liked their new King, or hated the last Usurper : Some were indifferent to both, while their Estates and Liberties were out of Danger ; and such who were displeased with either, disguised their Resentment, or were not taken notice of in the Crowd. All conspired to make so great a Calm succeed in the Kingdom, as is usual after a great Storm is over, that the King, having passed some Months here in the Cares and for the Settlement of his new Dominions in *England*, made a Journey to visit

visit his old in *Normandy*, about the Beginning of the Summer, having been crowned at *Westminster* on *Christmas-Day*.

Whether this was undertaken upon any Necessity of his Affairs on that side, or to settle them so, as not to interrupt him here, where he intended to reside, is not known; or whether he took a Pleasure and a Pride to shew both his Subjects, and his Neighbour Princes, how secure he esteemed himself in his new acquired Dominions; but it looks like a Strain of his usual Boldness and fearless Temper, and succeeded well, like the rest of his Counsels and Resolutions: Yet was not this Journey undertaken without Prudence and Caution, in the Choice of those Hands with whom he left the Government in his Absence, and of those Persons he engaged to accompany him in the Voyage. He committed the Rule of the Kingdom to his Brother *Odon* Bishop of *Bayeux*, and to *Fitz Aubar* his near Kinsman, whom he had lately made Earl of *Hereford*. He took with him into *Normandy*, *Stigand* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who though a great Instrument in his easy and peaceable Admission to the Crown, yet had been discontented at his Coronation, which had been performed by the Archbishop of *York*, upon Pretence of some Fault or Question about the other's Investiture; with him he took several other Bishops, the Earls *Edwin* and *Morchar*, Two Persons of great Power and Dependances, with many other *English* Noblemen, of whose Faith or Affections he was the least confident; and besides these, he took with him a greater and much more considerable Hostage for the Quiet of *England*, though under colour of honouring him, or being honoured by his Company; This was *Edgar*, surnamed *Atheling*, Nephew to *Edward the Confessor*, and designed by him for Successor, as was divulged among those of his Subjects, that neither favoured the Right or Pretensions of *Harold*, or the *Norman* Duke. He had many Disadvantages to ballance and weigh down his Right which was undisputed; as, His foreign Birth and Breeding, which was in *Hungary*, during his Father's Exile under the Reign of *Hardycnute*; The Persecution and Hatred of his Grandmother *Emma*, a Woman celebrated in her Time, for the Suspicion and Clearing of her Chastity by the *Saxon* Trial of Fire Ordeal; but who having married *Hardycnute*, after the Death of her first Husband, had ever after more Inclination to the *Danish* than the *Saxon* Race: Besides, *Edgar*, though of so good and virtuous Dispositions, as made him be styled *England's Darling*, yet they were such as seemed to become an excellent private Person, rather than a Prince, or, at least, to have adorned an easy and peaceful Possession of a Crown, rather than to force his Way to a legal Right, through the Difficulties and Opposition of Two powerful Pretenders. However, an undisputed Right (which, they say, never dies) had left him so many Friends in the Kingdom, that the King thought it not safe to leave him behind, upon his going into *Normandy*, nor wise to tempt either Him or his new *English* Subjects with such an Opportunity of raising any Commotions upon so fair a Pretence.

Besides these Cautions, he took with him most of his *French* Adventurers into *Normandy*, finding they were not very agreeable here, either to the *English*, or to the *Normans*, and pretending he was not able to clear his Accounts with all that assisted him, out of the Revenues or Forfeitures here, and that he would find out Ways of satisfying them, either in *Normandy*, or by his Credit and Recommendations to other Princes, where his own Bounty or Abilities could not reach.

During his Stay in *Normandy*, which was no less than the whole Summer, his new Government in *England* continued quiet and peaceable; though one *Erick*, called *The Forester*, endeavoured to disturb it, by calling in some loose Forces of the *Welsh*, his Neighbours, into *Herefordshire*; but He was soon suppressed, and They easily forced back into their own Mountains, by the Vigilance of the Governors, and the Vigor of those Forces he had left here, disposed with such Order, into the several Countries, as to give Way or Time to no growing Dangers, that should arise in any one Corner, or from any single Discontent, while the general Humour of the People was calm, and

either satisfied with the Change, or at a Gaze how this new World was like to end. So that the King, after having settled his Affairs in *Normandy* to his Mind, returned before Winter, to enjoy the Fruits of so many Dangers and Toils, as his Life had been engaged in, resolving to spend the Remainder of it in *England*, as the nobler Scene and greater Dominion, and to cultivate with Care, an Acquisition he had gained himself with much Hazard and Pains, and with greater Glory.

The King at his Return into *England*, finding his new Dominion had continued calm and peaceable under the Authority of his Brother and Council, had Reason to believe it would be easily preserved so, under his own. For, as the Absence of an ill Prince seldom fails of raising Disquiets and Commotions among the People, in a Government which is obeyed only from Fear; so nothing contributes more to the Satisfaction and Obedience of Subjects, than the Presence of a good King; and this is the Reason why all distant Provinces, governed by Commissions or subordinate Authorities, are so subject to frequent Seditions and Revolts, how lawfully soever they are inherited, or how well soever they are established after any new Conquest or Acquisition; the Force and Influence of Authority growing still weaker by the Change of Hands and Distance of Place: This disposed the new King to the Resolution he took at this Time, of making *England* the Seat of his Person, as well as Empire, and governing *Normandy* by his Lieutenants; thereby forcing the common Affections of Birth, or Education and Custom, to yield and comply with Reasons of State, and preferring a foreign to his natural Soil, though, perhaps, seated in a better Climate, and at that Time more adorned and civilized by the Commerce of *France*, and other Countries upon the Continent.

With this Resolution, and in this Security, he applied himself at his Return to the Arts of Peace, and the Orders of his State, wherein he as well excelled, as in those of War, and was framed, not only for a Great Prince, but for a Good; to which he was inclined by the Bounty and Clemency of his natural Dispositions, by the Strength and Soundness of his Judgment, and by the Experience of his Age: His first Care was to provide for the due Administration and Execution of Laws and Justice throughout his Realm; and the next was, to introduce Order into the common Course of his Revenue, and manage it with so great Proportion of his Expence to his Receipts, as might neither leave the Crown in Necessities, nor the Subjects in Fears of new or lawless Exactions and Oppressions; Justice being the very Foundation of Government, as Treasure is said to be the Sinew of War.

For the first; As he had sworn at his Coronation to govern by the Laws of the Realm; so he continued the ancient Customs and Liberties of the People, that were called the Common Law of the Kingdom, which he caused to be in Substance observed, both in what concerned the Crown and the Subject, tho' he introduced several new Forms in the Administration or Execution of them: Besides the ancient Laws or Customs that concerned the Descent of private Inheritances, or the Penalties upon several Crimes, there were Two fundamental Laws of the *Saxon* or *English* Kingdom; The Tryal by Juries of Twelve Men, wherein consisted the chief Safety of Mens Properties and Lives; And the Borough Law, which was the greatest Security that had been invented by the Wisdom of our *Saxon* Ancestors, for the Peace and Order of the Realm. The first, I know, is by some Authors mentioned as having been introduced by this *Norman* King out of the Laws of that Country: But I think it evident to have been an Institution very ancient among the *Saxons*, and to have been derived and observed, during the whole Succession of the *English* Kings, and even in the *Danish* Reigns, without any Interruption. Nor does there want some Traces or Appearance of it, from the very Institutions of *Odin*, the first great Leader of the *Asiatick Goths* or *Geta* into *Europe*, and the Founder of that mighty Kingdom round the *Baltick* Sea, from whence all the *Gothick* Governments in these North-West Parts of the World, were derived, by the spreading Conquests of those Northern Races.

'Tis recorded, That upon the Beginning of his Expedition, he ordained a Council of Twelve Men, who should judge and decide all Matters that came in Question: And there being then no other Laws establish'd among those vast Numbers of rough People, going to seek out new Conquests, and thereby Seats to inhabit; it is probable, these Twelve Men judg'd all Cases upon Evidence or Matter of Fact, and then gave their Sentence, and appointed Penalties according to what they esteem'd most agreeable to Justice and Equity, so as the Twelve Men were at first both Jurors and Judges: Their Judgments in Causes both real and criminal, being generally approved as just and equitable, grew into Precedent to succeeding Judges, and being received by general Submission, introduced the Custom of certain Sentences being pronounced in certain Causes, and certain Punishments being usually inflicted upon certain Crimes. In Process of Time, and Multiplicity of Business, the Matter of Fact continued to be tried by Twelve Men; but the Adjudgment of the Punishment, and the Sentence thereupon, came to be given by one or two, or more Persons chosen out of such as were best vers'd in the Knowledge of what had been usual in former Judgments upon like Cases; and as the first Part was left to the Equals or Neighbours of the Persons accused (as most likely to do Justice to one of their own Rank or Acquaintance) so the other was committed to Persons of Learning or Knowledge in the ancient Customs, Records or Traditions of what had long pass'd in the Course of Justice among that Nation: Thus we find it evident, That in the *Saxon* Reigns in *England*, Causes were adjudg'd by the Aldermen and Bishop of the several Shires, with the Assistance of Twelve Men of the same County, who are said to have been Judges or Assistants to the Two first, by such as affirm or pretend this manner of Tryal to have been drawn by the Conqueror himself out of *Normandy*, who is thereby said to have introduced in this, as well as some other Forms, the *Norman* Laws into the Common Law of *England*. 'Tis true, that the same Custom or Tryal was us'd in *Normandy* before the Conquest, and it is most probable, that neither the *English* received it from the *Normans*, nor these from the *English*; but that both Nations, deriving their Original from those ancient *Goths*, agreed in several Customs or Institutions, deduced from their common Ancestors, which made this Tryal by Juries continue uninterrupted in *England*, not only by the *Normans*, but by the *Danes* also, who were but another Swarm of that great Northern Hive. 'Tis true, the Terms of Jury and Verdict were introduced by the *Normans*, with many others, in the Style and Practice of our Laws; but the Tryals by Twelve Men, with that essential Circumstance of their unanimous Agreement, was not only us'd among the *Saxons* and *Normans*, but is known to have been as ancient in *Sweden*, as any Records or Traditions of that Kingdom, which was the first Seat of the *Gothick* Dominions in the North-West Parts of *Europe*, and it still remains in some Provinces of that Country. However, King *William* caus'd this to be observ'd as the Common Law of the Kingdom, and thereby gave great and universal Satisfaction to the Body of the People, both *English* and *Normans*.

The Borough-Law had been likewise anciently establish'd among the *Saxons*, whereby every Shire was divided into so many Hundreds or Boroughs, consisting at first of One Hundred Families therein usually inhabiting; every Hundred into so many Tythings, consisting of Ten Families. If any Person committed, or were accus'd of any Crime, the Tything to which he belonged was bound to produce him to Justice before the Court of the Hundred or County: If he fled, they were to swear, they were not Complices of the Fact, and that they would procure the Criminal, whenever they could find him; if this fail'd, in a certain Time, they would discover all the Goods he was possess'd of within their Tything, to satisfy the Damage done to a Subject, or a Fine to the King upon such an Offence: If neither Person nor Estate appear'd, then the Tything was answerable to a certain Proportion; and if that were not sufficient, then it was laid upon the Hundred. By this means, it became every Man's Interest, as well as Duty, to prevent all Crimes and Misdemeanors among their Neighbours, and to discover the Criminals, since they were other-

otherwise to share in the Penalty ; and, as the rest of the Tything was bound for the Behaviour of every Freeman among them, so every Lord or Master was bound to answer in the same manner for their Servants.

I know not whether any Constitution of Government, either Ancient or Modern, ever invented and instituted any Law or Order, of greater Wisdom, or of greater Force, to preserve the Peace and Safety of any State, and of equal Utility to the Prince and People, making Virtue and Innocence of Life so necessary, by the easy Apprehension or Discovery, and certain Punishment of Offenders. This Law the King caused likewise to be severely observed during his Reign, finding therein his own Interest, as well as his Peoples, and the great Security of his new-settled Government.

He confirmed all Mens Properties, Inheritances, and Successions, invading none, either for his own Benefit, or Reward of his *Norman* Forces, or Friends, excepting the Possessions of such as had opposed his Claim to the Crown, which he pretended to be a lawful Right, as derived from the Testament of *Edward the Confessor*, and thereby was made a Pretence of legal Forfeiture in all that resisted him : But this Blow to so many Estates and Families, was given at once, and no more renewed : On the contrary, Justice was administered equally to the *Englishmen*, upon the Injuries of the *Normans*, who presumed upon the King's Favour, in prejudice of Right, and of those Laws he had confirmed or established. Whereof one memorable Instance remains upon Record, even in those Writers who were most severe upon the Actions and Memory of this Prince : It was an Action between *Warren* a *Norman*, and *Sherburn* an *Englishman* : The first, by Virtue of a Grant from the King, had enter'd upon the Lands of the other ; who came into Court, and pleaded, That he had never bore Arms against the King, nor opposed his Title or Accession to the Crown, but had lived always peaceably upon his own Lands, and so was liable to no Forfeiture by the Common Law, but was farther secured by the King's Declaration, immediately after his coming to the Crown : Upon which Plea, a just Sentence was given in Favour of *Sherburn*, his Lands restor'd, and *Warren* the *Norman* cast and condemned to the Costs of the Suit.

He appointed Justices to preserve the Peace, and administer Justice in every County, pursuant to that which was used in the *Saxon* Reigns. For the Pleas of the Crown, and those of greater Moment, between the Subjects, he created Judges of the most Learned and Able he could find ; and ordained Four Terms each Year, consisting of a certain Number of Days, wherein Justice should be duly administered, and all Suits heard in such Places as the King should appoint, and find most convenient. Besides these Orders, he instituted the Courts of Chancery and Exchequer ; the first for tempering the Rigor of Laws, according to the Dictates of Conscience and Equity ; and the other for determining all Actions concerning the Revenues of the Crown, and punishing Exactions or irregular Proceedings in the Officers who levied or received them, as well as Defaults or Delays in those from whom it was due.

For Taxes or Impositions unusual, it does not appear that he levied any, excepting one of Six Shillings upon each Plow-Land, throughout the Kingdom ; nor is it well agreed, at what Time, or upon what Occasion, this was raised, whether by Consent of a general Assembly, or by his own Regal Authority : By this, indeed, he imposed *Danegelt* upon the Invasion of the *Danes*, which happen'd once or twice in this Reign, though with little Progress or Success.

This Tax was first raised by *Ethelred*, upon the first Enterprize of the *Danes* upon *England*, and afterwards used by several of his Successors, upon the like Danger, sometimes to repulse them by Force and Arms, sometimes to evade them by Bargains and Money ; wherewith they compounded for the present Dangers, but invited others to come by such mean Defences.

This Tax grew odious to the People, whenever it was raised upon any other Pretence, than a *Danish* Invasion ; and though it was sometimes levied, yet very seldom, and cautiously, by some few of the *Saxon* Kings, and but once or twice by this *Norman* Prince, and then, most probably, upon the
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True natural Occasions, which had given it the first Original: Thus, I suppose, it is confounded with the Tax before-mentioned, and without applying it to the *Danish* Invasions, by some Writers who seem to take all Occasions of defaming the Actions and Memory of this King, and to avoid all just Excuses of any that were ill resented: And this proceeded from the ill Talent of the Monkish Writers, who measured the Virtues and Vices of Princes, by the Opinion of their Favour or Disaffection to the Clergy, whom they accounted, or stiled the Church; though this general Appellation is known to comprehend not only such Persons as were anciently chosen to administer the Offices of Divine Worship, but also all believing Christians that composed such Assemblies, to whom those Offices were administered: Of this the King seemed to be sensible, for though he was a Prince of known and great Piety, and so approved by the several Popes during his Reign; yet he appeared very little favourable, if not something hard to the Ecclesiasticks of this Kingdom; and, perhaps, something bold with their Privileges, so long enjoy'd under the devout *Saxon* Kings.

For the rest, he contented himself with the usual Revenues of the Crown; and by his great Order and Management, as well as Moderation in his constant Expence, gained much Ease to the Crown, and Satisfaction to his People.

The chief and ancient Branches of the Crown-Revenue consisted of, First, The Lands of old reserved as a Provision for the King's Household, and so reckoned as Crown-Lands: These, at first, yielded only certain Quantities of Provisions, as Beefs, Sheep, Wheat, Hay, Oats, according to the Nature of the Lands, the Tenures by which they held, and the Quantity of Provisions found necessary for the King's Household; what Overplus remained, was compounded for, and paid in Money, according to Rates usual and agreed. The next was a Duty reserved anciently out of every Knight's Fee; which, at first, was constantly paid as a Quit-rent, but being small, came, in Time, to be neglected by the Kings, that contented themselves with the Military Attendance of the Knights in their Wars; and with levying sometimes a greater Duty, upon great or urgent Occasions, under the Name of Escuage, which was burthensome and odious, 'till the Proportions and Occasions came to be ascertained. Those Authors who will make the Conqueror to have broken, or changed, the Laws of *England*, and introduced those of *Normandy*, pretend this Duty of Escuage, with the Tenures of Knight's Service and Baronage, to have come over in this Reign, as well as the Trial by Juries: But as enough has been said to clear the last, so it needs no Proof that these, with the other Feudal Laws, were all brought into *Europe* by the ancient *Goths*, and by them settled in all the Provinces which they conquered of the *Roman* Empire; and, among the rest, by the *Saxons* in *England*, as well as by the *Franks* in *Gaul*, and the *Normans* in *Normandy*; where the Use of their States, or general Assemblies, were likewise of the same Original.

The last common Branch of the King's Revenue, consisted of Forfeitures, both of Lands and Goods, in Cases of Treason; and Fines, or some known mulctary Punishments upon other Crimes, which were distinctly prescribed in the *Saxon* Laws, even for Manslaughter and Murder it self; the Rigour of those Times not extending to Blood, except in those Cases where the common Safety of the Kingdom was concerned, by the Danger of the King.

By all these Orders and Institutions, and the Clemency, as well as Justice, wherewith they were administered, the King, how new soever his Reign, how disputed his Title, and how disagreeable his Person by a foreign Birth, yet so far gained the general Affections and Satisfaction of the Commoners of the Realm, who ask nothing but Security in their Estates and Properties, that no Commotions afterwards raised by the Nobles and Clergy against his Government, though in Favour of a better Right and Title, were ever supported by the Commons, who compose the Mass and Bulk of a Nation; and whose
general

general good or ill Humour, Satisfaction or Discontent, will ever have the most forcible Influence for the Preservation, or Ruin, of any State.

Besides the good and profitable Institutions and Orders of this King, already mentioned, so generally approved, and so grateful to the Commonalty of the Realm, there were others, of a different Nature, and which had a contrary Effect, by distastef and disobliging many of the chief Nobility, and most or all of the Clergy; though some were so cautious, as not to lose their Dignities or Revenues, by expressing their Resentments.

The Offences taken by these last, were, First, The abrogating, or surceasing the judiciary Power, exercised by the Bishops, during the *Saxons* Times, in each County, where Justice was administered; and the Bishop, with the Alderman, or Earl of each Shire, sat as Judges in those Courts; which encreased not only their Authority, but their Revenues too, by a Share they had with the King in all Fines rais'd from the Issue of Causes there determined: But all this was abolished by the King's Institution of Justiciaries, to administer Justice upon all Pleas of the Crown, and others among Subjects, at Four Terms of the Year.

This gave particular Offence to the Bishops, but another to the whole Clergy; for whereas before they held all their Lands by *Franc Almonage*, and subject to no Duties or Impositions, but such as they laid upon themselves in their Ecclesiastical Assemblies. This Prince finding above a Third Part of the Lands of the Kingdom in Possession of the Clergy, and the Forces of the Crown, which consisted in Knights Service, lessened in Proportion by their Immunity; he reduced all their Lands to the Tenure of Knights Fees and Baronage; and thereby subjected them to the Attendance upon the King in his Wars, and to other Services anciently due; and sometimes raised upon all Lands that held in Fee from the Crown. This Innovation touched not only the Bishops, but all the Abbots throughout the Kingdom; many of whom were endowed with so great Lands and Revenues, that in Right thereof they were, upon the regular Constitutions of Parliaments, allowed Session with the Bishops, as Barons, in the House of Lords.

The whole Clergy exclaimed against this new Institution, not only as an Indignity and Injustice, but as an Impiety too, and Violation of the Sacred Rights of the Holy Church: But their Complaints were without Redress, though not without ill Consequence.

The Discontents among many of the great Nobles, arose chiefly from Two Occasions: The first was, The Rigor of the Forest-Laws, and of their Execution: And the other was, The King's too apparent Partiality to his *Normans*.

To know the Ground, or Pretence, of these Forest-Laws, it will be necessary to run up to their Original. In the first Seizures and Distributions made of the *British* Lands, by the conquering *Saxons*, besides those reserved to the Kings, or divided among the People, and held by the Tenures, either of Knights Service, or of Book-land, as it was termed among the *Saxons*, and thereby distinguished from that of Villenage, there were many great Tracts of barren, wild, or woody Lands, left undisposed, and, in a manner, waste; so great Numbers of *British* Inhabitants having been extinguished by the Wars, or retired into *Wales*, *Cornwall*, *Britany*, and *Scotland*; and the new *Saxons* not content to share among them any Lands, but such as were fruitful, and fit to be cultivated: These were inclosed, or improved, as well as inhabited by the new Proprietors, and the others left waste, as well as undisposed to any certain Owners. The whole Country was, as has been observed, very full of all sorts of wild Game in the Time of the *Britains*; who lived at large, without any Inclosures, little Property, and subsisted much upon Hunting, Fishing and Fowling, which they had all in common. Upon the enclosing, or cultivating, of the fruitful Lands by the *Saxons*, the wild Beasts, naturally afraid of Neighbours, whom they found to be all Enemies, fled, into the wild, woody, and desolate Tracts of Land, where they found Shelter,

Shelter, and fed, though hardly, yet out of common Sight and Noise : And hereby all those Parts became replenish'd with all sorts of Game, especially with Red and Fallow Deer, and made all those several Extents of Ground, which were afterwards called Forests.

The *Saxon* Kings esteemed these to belong to the Crown, by their Right to all Possessions that have no certain Owner, and by their never having been disposed upon the first Divisions of Land in the *Saxon* Kingdoms, nor afterwards by any Grants of the Crown. This Right was not disputed, nor any Use of it made, farther than for the King's Pleasure, which yet was not by them restrained from the Nobles or Knights, that were Borderers upon the Forests, who were so moderate in those more simple Ages, as to commit no Excesses, or destroy the Game, which it was their Interest to preserve, both for their Sport and the Quarry ; and for some Use made of it for common Pasturage, among all the bordering Neighbours.

William the Conqueror not only seized upon all these Forests, as part of his own Demesnes, but made a very large one in *Hampshire*, besides those he found, by laying waste, and leaving uninhabited great Extents of Land, which he pretended to be fallen to the Crown, by ancient Succession, or by new Forfeitures ; and this he called, *The New Forest*, which Name, after so long a Course of Ages, it still retains.

In all these Forests he pretended an absolute Right and Dominion ; and in pursuance thereof, instituted new and arbitrary Laws of his own, unused and unknown before in this Kingdom, and very different from the Moderation of the *Saxon* Government. He confined all Hunting or Fowling in these Forests to himself, or such as should have Right to it by his Concessions or Permissions. He imposed Fines upon all Trespasses committed in them, according to his own Pleasure, and which seemed much to exceed the Fault or Value of the Thing. These he caused to be levied with great Rigor and Exaction ; and thereby debarred not only his Commoners, but his Nobles too, from a Liberty they had before always enjoy'd. Tho' he took Care not to provoke the Commoners, by leaving Pasturage free for such of the Neighbours who lived most upon their Stock, and thereby took no great Offence at the Restraint from their Sport, which they had not Time from their Labour much to follow ; yet the Nobles and Knights, who valued their Sports more than common Gains, and made use of their Riches but for Encrease of their Pleasures, resented this Restraint as a sensible Injury, as an Invasion of their Liberties, and even as an Affectation of an Arbitrary Power in this Particular ; and from the Exercise whereof he was only restrained by the Regards of his Safety and Interest, in others of more Moment and Consequence : The great Nobles resented it yet farther, as an Indignity, by levelling their Privileges with the Liberties of the Commoners ; from whom they esteemed themselves distinguished by the usual Regards and Respects paid them from the Princes, in their Degree, as well as from the People. Nor does it appear, whether this violent Institution of the Forest-Laws proceeded from his passionate Love of Hunting (the only Pleasure to which this Prince was addicted) or from his Avarice, by so many Fines to increase his Treasure, or from a Desire of being Absolute and Arbitrary in one Part of his Government, which he found he could not be with any Safety in the rest.

For his Partiality to the *Normans*, though it was disguised, or, at least, not evident, in the common Forms of his Justice, which run a free and even Course, yet it was easily discover'd in that of his Graces and Favour ; the Civil Offices, Ecclesiastical Benefices, Places of most Trust about his Person, and in his Realm, were conferred generally upon his *Normans* ; and besides these Advantages, and those of the Forfeitures that fell upon his Entrance ; they appeared to have his Countenance, his Conversation, his Confidence ; so that whatsoever the *English* possessed of the Kingdom, the *Normans* alone seemed to possess the King.

This might have been more excusable, if the *English* had considered the King as much as themselves, and many of his Circumstances, as well as their own : They were Strangers to him, or but new Acquaintance ; they differ'd in Language, in Manners, in Customs ; they had very lately differ'd in Interest, and from Enemies in War, were, indeed, now become Subjects, but rather as to a Conqueror, than a lawful Prince : The *Normans* spoke his Native Tongue, were trained up in the same Customs, acquainted with his Person from his Youth, had attended him in his Court, followed him in his Wars, at Home and Abroad ; and thought it but just they should share in his Fortunes, as they had in his Dangers.

However, many of the great aspiring Spirits among the *English* Nobles, could not bear this Partiality of the King's : They thought the *Normans* ought to be provided of Rewards or Honours in *Normandy*, but those of *England* should be conferred upon *English* : Besides, they resented the common Testimonies of his Inclination to the *Normans*, as much as they could have done Injuries to themselves ; like generous Lovers, who are more jealous and spited to see their Rivals gain the Inclination of their Mistress, than the Possession ; and had rather they should have her Body, than her Heart.

Upon all these Causes, the Discontents of many chief *English* Nobles and Prelates, were grown to such a Height, swelling more within, the more they were suppressed ; that they wanted only a fair Occasion to draw them to a Head, and make them break out with Violence, and much Pain and Danger to the State.

This was furnish'd them, either by Fortune or Design, in the Third, Fourth, or Fifth Year of the Conqueror's Reign ; for the Authors are neither distinct, nor agreed in assigning the Causes, or the Times of this King's Actions in War, or Institutions in Peace ; by which their true Nature, and that of the Prince, would have been best discover'd ; whereas they content themselves to display their Eloquence, or vent their Passions, by relating general or particular Events, what was done, and what was suffered in his Reign ; by which some of the *Norman* Writers endeavour to represent him as a God, and some of the *English* like a Devil, and both unjustly.

Edgar Atheling was Nephew to *Edward the Confessor*, and the undisputed, as well as undoubted Heir of the Kingdom from the *Saxon* Race : It was generally thought, that he had likewise been designed by King *Edward*, a just and pious Prince, to succeed him in the Throne ; and that his Declaration pretended by *Harold*, or Testament by the Duke of *Normandy*, were fictitious, or, at least, neither of them evident from any clear and undoubted Writings, or Testimonies. *Edgar* was besides, from the Bounty of his Nature, the Excellence of his Temper, the Prerogative of his Birth, and the Compassion of his unjust Fortunes, much and generally beloved and esteemed among all the *English*, both Nobles and Commons ; yet he neither opposed *Harold's* Usurpation, nor the *Normans* Conquest ; whether for want of Spirit to attempt so great an Adventure, or upon Prudence, not to oppose such Powers, as he found irresistible, and in which so many Circumstances had conspired, chusing rather to content himself with the Shades of a private Condition, out of Danger and Envy, or, at least, to attend some future Occasions, that might open a more probable Way to his Hopes and his Fortunes.

He was at *London*, among many other Nobles, when the famous and decisive Battle was fought at *Hastings*, and the News brought of the Duke's Victory, and of *Harold's* Death : Those of the Nobles who were for opposing the Conqueror, were for declaring *Edgar Atheling* King ; the Citizens of *London* were at first disposed to the same Resolution ; but the Bishops and Clergy, who had the greatest Sway among both those Orders, prevailed in this general Council, for a general Submission to the Fate of the Kingdom.

In pursuance of this Resolution, *Edgar Atheling*, with *Stigand* and *Alred*, Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, *Edwin* and *Morchar*, Two of the greatest *English* Lords, the rest of the Nobles and Bishops, who had attended the Victorious Duke upon his Way to *London*, was well received by him, and treated

treated with Bounty, as well as Humanity ; so that the young Prince attended frequently at Court, accompanied the King into *Normandy*, returned with him into *England*, and lived there for some time, like one who had forgot his Birth and his Title, though they were by the *English* well remembered : But at length, either weary of Rest, or roused by other Spirits more unquiet than his own, he resolved, or, at least, pretended, to make a Journey into *Hungary*, where he was born, during his Father's Exile, had lived long, and was much beloved : He embark'd for *Flanders*, with his two Sisters, *Margaret* and *Christine* ; but, forced by a Storm and contrary Winds, or allured by fairer Hopes, he was driven upon the Coasts of *Scotland* ; the first was given out, but the last suspected, from the Event of this Voyage. He was received by *Malcolm* the King, with great Kindness, and Compassion of his Disasters both at Sea and Land ; was resorted to by all the Nobles and Gentlemen who had shelter'd themselves in that Kingdom upon Hate or Fear of the Conquest in *England* ; and was by them acknowledged and honoured as the true lawful Heir of that Crown. Soon after his Arrival, the King of *Scotland*, inflamed either with the Beauty of the young Lady, or with the Hopes of her Brother's Fortunes, or upon former Concert with the *English* Nobles residing in *Scotland*, and Intelligence with others discontented in *England*, married the Lady *Margaret*, eldest Sister of *Edgar* ; and thereby became newly engaged in the Interests and Family of this noble, but unfortunate Prince.

The Fame of this Adventure was no sooner divulged in *England*, than it raised a great, though different Motion in the Minds of all Men there, who were either well or ill affected to the new King, filling one Party with new Hopes, and the other with new Fears, and reasonably enough in both, from all common Appearances. Many Persons of great Note and Authority in *England*, repaired immediately upon it into *Scotland*, some by easy Passages out of the Northern Counties, and others out of the remoter Parts of the Realm, by more difficult Escapes, either by Sea or Land. Among these were the Earls *Edwin*, *Morchar*, *Hereward*, *Syward*, *Gospatrick*, Men of great Estates and Power, as was believed, in *England*, with many other Nobles and Gentlemen. But that which seemed yet of greater Influence and Authority, was the Repair of *Stigand* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Alred* of *York*, with divers other Bishops and Prelates, who having been the chief Instruments in making way for the easy Accession of Duke *William* to the Crown, and for the general Submission of the *English* to his Reign, were presumed now likely to prove of as great Moment and Importance for the Restoration and Support of a just *English* Title in *Edgar*, as they had been for the Admission and Establishment of one disputed and foreign, of the *Norman* Duke's : Besides, the Clergy being accounted the wise and learned Men of that Age, were esteemed most likely to judge best of the Rights, and best to foresee the Events in Disputes of the Crown, and unlikely to embark themselves in a Bottom unground, upon either the Regards of Justice or Success.

Edgar, exalted with such a Concourse of Nobles out of *England*, and the Hopes they gave him of a greater from the People there, when he should appear among them, resolved to lay Claim to that Crown, and with stronger Arguments, than those of a bare Title, or Right of Succession, how just soever : For the *Scotch* King had now assisted him with a great Army, being induced to engage openly in his Quarrel, not only by the Charms of his Wife, or Compassion of her Brother's hard Fortune, but by Reasons of State, as well as of Justice and Affection : He feared the dangerous Neighbourhood of so powerful, aspiring, and fortunate a Prince, and apprehended, his Ambition would not cease with the Conquest of *England*, but extend it to that of *Scotland* too, and reducing the whole Island of *Britain* under one Dominion, for which it seemed by Nature to have been framed ; he thought it both wise and necessary, to give some Stop to this growing Power, before it became too well settled at Home, and thereby prepared for new Enterprizes Abroad ; and that it was better carrying a War into *England*, than expecting it in *Scotland*.

He was glad of so fair an Occasion to justify his Quarrel, and by advancing the Fortunes of *Edgar*, to secure his own : He had taken Measures with *Swane* King of *Denmark*, to enter the *Humber* with a powerful Navy, whilst he with his Army enter'd the Northern Provinces by Land ; and with the Sons of *Harold*, at the same Time, to invade the West, by the Assistance of Forces to be furnish'd by *Drone* King of *Ireland*, to whom they had fled upon the *Norman* Victory. He presumed upon great Insurrections among the *English*, in favour of *Edgar*, and by the Authority of the Nobles his Associates, who had represented the common Discontents in *England*, to be as great as their own.

These Hopes were not ill grounded, nor the Designs ill laid ; for the *Danish* Fleet was ready to sail, and the Sons of *Harold*, with their *Irish* Forces, landed and raised a Commotion in the West, at the same Time that *Edgar*, with those out of *Scotland*, invaded the North, where he found at first no Opposition ; but instead of Enemies, met with many Friends prepared to receive him, and increase his Strength : He made himself Master of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and the Bishoprick of *Durham*, by the Defeat of *Robert* Count of *Mortain*, who was there slain, with Seven hundred *Normans*. From thence he marched, without Resistance, as far as *York*, which was defended by a strong Garrison of *Norman* Soldiers : He besieged this City, the Capital and Defence of all the Northern Counties, and assaulted it with that Fury, that he carried the Town by Storm, where all the *Normans* were put to the Sword by the Rage and Revenge of the *English* Nobles in his Army ; many in the Heat of the Assault, and the rest, after they were entred, and found no more Resistance. After this Success, *Edgar* remained some time at *York*, to refresh his Army, after so long a March, and so warm an Action, which had cost him the Lives of many brave Men, and the Wounds of many more. Besides, he expected here to see his Army soon increased, by the Repair of many Friends and Discontents out of the Southern Provinces of *England*, and by the Arrival of the *Danish* Fleet in the *Humber*, according to the Concert before agreed, and for which he knew all had been prepared.

King *William* thus surrounded with Dangers from the West and North, and with Jealousies of his new Subjects, of whose Affections he had yet made no Tryal, farther than some few Years Submission to his Government ; was yet undaunted at the News of all these Attempts, nor any ways distracted by such various either Dangers or Fears. He applied himself to those which were nearest, by sending the Forces he had ready, immediately into the West, under experienced Commanders ; and prepared a greater Army both of *English* and *Normans*, to march himself into the North, after the Commotions in the West should be appeased : This happened to be easier and sooner than he expected ; for the Attempt of *Harold's* Sons, with their *Irish* Forces, proved weak and faint, though successful in the first Encounter ; wherein *Ednoth*, a brave Commander on the King's side, was slain, with several of his Followers ; but the Sons of *Harold* being defeated in a second Engagement, and failing of any considerable Recourse or Insurrection of the *English* there (upon which they had grounded their chief Hopes) much disappointed, and thereby discouraged, were easily broken by the brave *Norman* Troops, and forced to return, with the Remainder of their *Irish* Forces, into *Ireland*.

King *William*, upon the happy End of this Adventure, after the best Orders taken for the Security of the Southern Parts, in his Absence, marched at the Head of a brave Army into the North, engaged the Forces of *Edgar* in a set Battel ; and by the Valour of his Troops, the Discipline and Order of his Army, and his own excellent Conduct, defeated intirely the united Strength of his Enemies ; besieged and took again the City of *York*, defended by *Waltheof*, Son to the Earl *Syward*, a young Gentleman of great Valour, and much admired in this Action, being said to have stood firm at a Breach made in the Wall, and with his Sword to have cut off the Heads of many *Normans*, as they pressed to enter, and could do it but one by one, by the Narrowness of the Breach so bravely defended.

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After this Defeat, and the Surrender of *York*, *Edgar* retired into *Scotland* with those of his Dependants, who were most desperate and impatient of the *Norman* Conquest. The rest of the *English* Nobles, who had escaped the Battel, submitted themselves to the King, and came in upon publick Faith, took a new Oath of Allegiance, and were thereupon all pardoned, and many restored, not only to their Estates, but to Favour with the King ; who had found *Erick the Forester*, that had first rebelled against him, after his Coronation, express great Fidelity, after his Pardon obtained, and perform good Service in this Northern Expedition. He made *Gospatrick* Earl of *Northumberland*, and employ'd him against the Dangers and Incursions he apprehended from the *Scotch*. He was so charmed with the Valour and Constancy that *Waltheof* had shewed in the Defence of *York*, (though so much to his Cost, and the Loss of so many *Normans* by his Sword) that he resolved to gain him at what Rate soever he valued himself, shewing the Nobleness of his own Courage and Virtue, by loving and honouring them in his Enemies. He married this young Gentleman to *Judith* his Niece, gave him great Possessions, besides those to which he was Heir, and used him with much Confidence ; which was for some time returned with Service, and with Faith.

Most of the other Nobles that came in upon Pardon of their Lives, he despoiled of their Estates and Offices, and bestowed them upon his *Norman* Friends and Followers : Some he kept Prisoners, whom he thought most dangerous ; as the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, and *Edwin*, a Man of the greatest Power and Dependances, whose Earldom and great Possessions in *Yorkshire*, were given to *Alain* Earl of *Britain* ; as were those of several others at the same Time, to others of his Kindred or Friends. In the Room of *Stigand*, he made *Lanfranc* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, an *Italian* born, but an Abbot in *Normandy*, a Person of great Wisdom and Temper, as well as Learning : *Thomas*, his Chaplain, he made Archbishop of *York*, and obtained the Approbation of the Pope, for their Succession in those Sees (during the Lives of the other Two) upon Representation of other Crimes, or, at least, Vices, besides their Rebellion against a King, whose Title had been confirmed by the Pope, as well as encouraged.

'Tis not agreed at what Time the *Danish* Fleet arrived upon the Coasts, but 'tis certain, they enter'd *Humber* with about Two Hundred Sail : Some write, That they return'd again without making any Attempt upon the Shore ; That their Commanders were enrich'd with great Presents from the King, and their Soldiers supplied with Provisions, and all treated rather like Friends than Enemies : Whether their Arrival out of Time, made them despair of any Success, and whether that were occasion'd by cross Winds at Sea, or cross Purposes in the *Danish* Court, is not well known : For *William the Conqueror*, after he was seated in the Throne, feared no Insult from Abroad, but by *Danish* Powers, and Pretensions they had still upon *England* ; and the Preparations (as was divulged Abroad) of *Swane* their King, for invading it with a Navy of a Thousand Ships. Hereupon he endeavour'd to ward this Blow, by Slight rather than Force, thinking his Safety on that side, better purchased with Treasure, than with Blood. He practis'd private Intelligences in the *Danish* Court, and by Force of Presents and Pensions, gained to his Devotion some Persons of Credit, and among the rest, *Edelbert* Archbishop of *Hamburg*, a Man of great Authority in those Parts, and whose Advices were much used and esteem'd by the *Danish* King. It was believed the Artifices and Practices of these Men, eluded the first great Design of a mighty Invasion, changed it into an Assistance of the Discontented here with smaller Forces, delay'd them 'till the Time was pass'd, and disposed their Commanders to return without Action, and their Master to receive their Excuses with Approbation, or, at least, with Impunity.

Yet there are other Writers, who say, The *Danes* landed in *England*, made great Spoils, joyned Prince *Edgar's* Forces, winter'd in this Kingdom, and return'd in the Spring, by the King's private Practices and Rewards among the Commanders, as well as Bounty to the Soldiers.

The

The King, after having establish'd his Affairs in the North, return'd triumphant to *London*, where the first Action he perform'd, was, To take a new personal Oath before *Lanfranc* the new Archbishop, and all the Lords then present in that City, to observe the ancient Laws of the Realm, establish'd by the Kings of *England*, his Predecessors, and particularly those of *Edward the Confessor*.

This Action of the King's was the more applauded, and the better accepted by the *English*, because it was unconstrain'd by any Necessity of his Affairs, or Appearance of any new Dangers, against which he might have Reason to provide. And 'tis certain, his Oath taken at his Coronation, of preserving the ancient Laws of the Realm, had been the chief Occasion of his Safety in the late and dangerous Convulsion of the State; together with the ill chosen Time of the *Scotch* Invasion, and the Revolt of the Lords in Favour of *Edgar*: For if such Attempts had been made soon after the Conquest, while the Minds of the People were generally in Motion, and in Fear of what might succeed, to the Danger of their Properties, and their ancient Liberties, upon that new Revolution, his Throne had not been only shaken, but in evident Danger of being overthrown by such a violent Concussion. But the People having lived quietly some Years under the Protection of their ancient Laws, and in an equal Course of known and common Justice, grew indifferent to the Change which had been made in the Rights or Succession of the Crown, or to any new one that might succeed. Besides, though they were well affected to *Edgar*, yet they disliked the Company with which he came attended, and hated the Entrance of a *Scotch* Army into *England*, more than they loved *Edgar*. They thought, if he succeeded, the Dominion would fall under the *Scotch*, whilst he only retained the Name; and if they must be governed by Strangers, the best was to have those they were already used to, and so feared least. The common Subjects of a Kingdom are not so apt to trouble themselves about the Rights and Possession of a Crown, as about their own; and seldom ingage in the Quarrels of the first, but upon some general and strong Apprehensions, that the last are in Danger. So the Discontents and Insurrections of the Nobles in *England*, though encourag'd and supported by Foreign Forces, yet fail'd of Success against this new King and his Government, because they were not follow'd by any general Commotion or Sublevation of the People, which left all safe and quiet in the Southern Parts, and main Body of the Kingdom, whilst he marched with his Army against his Enemies in the North. Nor is the Safety of a Prince so firm and well establish'd upon any other Bottom, as the general Safety, and thereby Satisfaction of the common People, which make the Bulk and Strength of all great Kingdoms, whenever they conspire and unite in any common Passion or Interest. For the Nobles, without them, are but like an Army of Officers without Soldiers, and make only a vain Show or weak Noise, unless raised and increased by the Voice of the People; which for this Reason is in a common *Latin* Proverb called, *The Voice of God*.

No Prince ever made greater or happier Experience of this Truth, than *William the Conqueror*, both in the Events of the last and formidable Dangers, which he so easily surmounted, and in the whole Course of his subsequent Reign, which was infested by many new Troubles, either in *England* or in *Normandy*, that would have proved fatal to him, if he had been distracted by the common Discontents, or Insurrections of his *English* Subjects; for his present Calm was not of long Continuance; the Clouds soon gather'd again, and threatned another Storm, and from the same Winds by which the last had been raised.

Malcolm King of *Scotland*, still persisted in the Envy and Fear of his neighbouring Power and Greatness, still esteemed it his own Interest to join with those of *Edgar*, and his Dependants in *England*, and thereby weaken the Force, or disturb the Quiet of the *Norman* Government in *England*, before it should, by the Favour of Time and calm Seasons, take too deep Root, to be afterwards shaken. He raised a greater Army than before, with which he threat-

threatned again to invade *England*, and led them himself, though still in Favour only of *Edgar's* Title and Advancement to the Crown. He enter'd into new Practices with several of the *English* Nobles who had followed him, tho' unfortunately, in the last Expedition, and were resolv'd to repair their former Losses, by venturing greater, rather than give over the Game. Nor could the Hopes of the discontented *English* ever die, while the Root was alive, and they were fomented by the Malice, and encouraged by the Forces of so powerful a Neighbour, joyn'd with so just Pretensions, as those of *Edgar* were generally esteem'd.

When the Preparations in *Scotland*, and Intelligences in *England*, were ripe for Execution, the Earl *Edwin* made his Escape, and fled towards the North, but was by the Way murder'd by some of his own Retinue. The Earls *Morchar* and *Hereward*, who were already upon the Wing for the same Flight, discouraged by this Misadventure, durst not pursue it; but yet already engag'd too far to make a Retreat, they made way to possess themselves of the Isle of *Ely*, fortified there the best they could, and hoped the *Scotch* Invasion would divert the King's Forces from attempting them before Winter, and that the Season and Situation together would there cover them for some Time.

On the contrary, the *Scotch* King was discouraged from beginning his March, by the News of these Disasters among his Confederates in *England*, and chose rather to send the Bishop of *Durham* and Earl *Syward* out of *Scotland*, to relieve and animate those Lords, retired to the Isle of *Ely*, than to enter *England*, without Hopes of their making some Diversion. But the King, who never feared or slighted any Dangers, and knew they were like Diseases, to be taken in Time, marched immediately with his Forces to the Isle of *Ely*, beset it upon one side with a great Number of flat-bottom Boats, and on another, made a Bridge of Two Miles long, with incredible Diligence and Labour, and with such Speed, as both surprized and terrified his Enemies within. So as despairing of farther Resistance, they all submitted to the King's Mercy, except *Hereward*, who, with some few Followers, escaped thro' the Fens, and, thro' many Dangers, arriv'd safe in *Scotland*. The rest of the Lords were sent Prisoners to several Parts of the Kingdom, where some remained during the King's Life, and others died before Him, with whom they could not be content to live.

The King, after this small Adventure so happily atchieved, and the present Peace of his Kingdom restored, yet considering the Root of all his Dangers was in *Scotland*, and unwilling to take up present Quiet and Safety, at too great an Interest of Dangers to come, resolv'd to march into *Scotland* with a powerful Army, and endeavour to secure himself on that side, either by a Peace or Victory. He first sent *Roger* a *Norman*, then *Gospatrick* Earl of *Northumberland*, with part of his Forces into the North, to oppose the *Scotch* Army that was already enter'd those Provinces, with great Spoils and Ravages of the Country, and to keep them at a Bay, 'till the King came up with the rest of his Army. In the mean Time, he assembled his Forces at *York*, with the best Choice of Men and Officers, and such Numbers, as he judg'd necessary for such an Expedition, compos'd of *English* and *Normans*, whose Emulation he encouraged, with Promises of Reward, and Hopes of establishing their common Safety by the Success of this Enterprize. From *York* to *Durham*, he met with many Hardships and Difficulties, from the Wants of his Army, in a Country which had been so lately wasted by the *Scotch* Forces and his own, and with which he was then contented to prevent another Invasion. But having surmounted all by his own Care, and the Patience of his Men, from the Example of their Leaders, he march'd near the Borders without any Opposition, tho' common Fame had made him expect the *Scotch* would give him Battel in *England*, and not the Trouble of so long a March.

But *Malcolm* their King, now destitute of Hopes or Assurances from any Foreign Confederates, or any Insurrections in *England*, after the last Disasters of the discontented Lords, began to cool the Heats of his Blood; and, instead
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of farther invading *England*, changed his Counfels, and refolved only upon a defensive War. At the News of King *William's* Entrance into the Northern Provinces, he quitted *Northumberland*, and, with good Order, retreated back to the Borders, and there incamped his Army to the beft Advantage, without making any farther Incursions into the *Englifh* Territories, either to fecure his Provisions, or not to provoke his Enemies, and render all Terms of Reconcilement desperate, or not to indanger his Retreat, in cafe of any Difafter.

The King of *England* approaching the Borders, and thereby the *Scotch* Army, thought fit likewise to incamp his own, both to refresh his Soldiers, haraffed by fo long and difficult a March, as alfo to discover the Forces of the Enemy, obferve their Countenance, their Order, and their Motions, and thereby judge of their Defigns, and direct his own to the beft Advantage: So that for fome Days the Two Armies flood at a Bay, feeming both prepared for a fierce Encounter, and yet both content to delay it, from a mutual Refpect they had for one another's Forces and Difpofitions. They were, indeed, not much unequal in Numbers, nor in the Bravery and Order of their Troops; both Kings were valiant and wife, having been train'd up in Arms, inur'd to Dangers, and much imbroil'd at Home in the Beginning of their Reigns. They were now animated to a Battel by their own Courage, as well as their Soldiers, but yet both confider'd the Event, in the Uncertainty and the Confequence; the Lofs of a Battel might prove the Lofs of a Crown, and the Fortune of one Day, determine the Fate of a Kingdom; and they knew very well, that whoever fights a Battel, with what Number and Forces, what Provisions and Orders, or Appearances foever of Succefs, yet, at the beft, runs a Venture, and leaves much at the Mercy of Fortune, from Accidents not to be forefeen by any Prudence, or governed by any Conduct or Skill. Thefe Reflections began to difpofe both Kings to the Thoughts of ending their Quarrel by a Peace rather than a Battel; and, though both had the fame Inclination, yet each of them was unwilling firft to discover it, left it might be interpreted to proceed from Apprehenfions of Weaknefs, or Fears, and thereby difhearten their own Soldiers, or encourage their Enemies. The *Scotch*, at length, began the Overture, which was received by King *William* with a Show of Indifference, but with a concealed Joy; and the more reasonable, as having the greater Stake, the lefs to win, and the more to lofe by the Ifue of a Battle. The firft Parley was follow'd by a Treaty, and this, after fome Debate, by a Peace, concluded as between equal Forces, fo upon equal Conditions; each King to content himfelf with the ancient Bounds of their feveral Kingdoms, whereof the Borders were agreed. Neither to invade one another's Dominions, nor to affift the Enemies, or receive and protect the Rebels of each other; Prifoners in the laft, or this War, to be on both fides releafed, and Subjects, who defired to return, to be on both fides reftor'd to their Country and Poffeffions.

Edgar, the principal, or moft appearing Caufe of the War, was included and provided for in this Treaty, to return into *England*, make his Submiffion to the King, renounce any farther Claim to the Crown; and thereupon, not only to be reftor'd to his own Poffeffions, with his Friends and Followers, but to be provided of a large and honourable Maintenance from the King during his Life. And thus this Storm, which threatned both Kingdoms with fuch fatal Dangers, and long Confequences, was of a fudden blown over; a general Calm reftor'd in the whole Ifland of *Britain*; and the Two Kings returned to enjoy the Fruits of a Peace, to which they had both contributed by their equal Temper and Prudence, as well as by their equal Preparations for a War.

Soon after the King's Return, *Edgar* repair'd into *England*, where he was very favourably received, and all Conditions of the Treaty performed, and ever after obferved with great Faith and Sincerenefs on both Parts. He had his Provisions and Revenues (agreed by the Treaty) fairly eftablifhed; but being defirous to go to the Wars of the *Holy Land*, which was the common

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Humour of idle or devout Princes in that Age : He was furnished by the King with great Sums of Money, to prepare and maintain a noble Equipage for that Journey. He there gained much Honour and Esteem ; after which, returning into *England*, he passed the rest of his whole Life in the Ease and Security of a large, but private Fortune ; and, perhaps, happier than he might have done in the Contests and Dangers of Ambition, however they might have succeeded. A rare Example of Moderation in Prince *Edgar*, and of Magnanimity, as well as Justice and Clemency in this King ; and very different from several of his Successors, who defamed their Reigns by the Death of innocent Princes, for having only been born to just Rights of the Crown, without any appearing Means or Attempts to pursue them, or indanger the Possessors ; thereby staining their Memories with the Blots both of Cruelty and Fear. For as Clemency is produced by Magnanimity and Fearlessness of Dangers ; so is Cruelty by Cowardice and Fear, and argues not only a Depravedness of Nature, but also a Meanness of Courage, and Imbecility of Mind ; for which Reason, it is both hated by all that are within its Reach and Danger, and despised by all that are without.

The King, upon his Return, began again to apply himself to the Arts of Peace, which consist chiefly in the preventing of future, as those of War, in the surmounting of present Dangers. And as nothing raises the Power of a Crown so much as weak and private Conspiracies against it, rashly undertaken by some few Discontents, unsupported by any general Defections of the People, faintly pursued, and ending without Success ; so this Prince found his Throne and Authority more firmly establish'd, in all Appearance, by the happy Issue of the Two late Wars, and the unfortunate Events of his revolted Nobles ; and now esteemed himself more at Liberty from those Regards of his *English* Subjects and their Laws, which his unsettled State had made necessary upon his first Accession to the Crown. He was provoked by the Rebellions of so many of the greatest *English* Nobles, after their Fealty sworn to him : He was persuaded of the general Disaffection of the rest, and that the late Insurrections would have been found much deeper rooted, and farther spread, if they had been attended with any Success. He thought the *English* Lords and Bishops had too great Dependance of their Tenants and Vassals upon them, and had themselves too little upon the Prince : since they esteemed themselves neither bound to attend him in the Wars, unless they pleased, nor to furnish the Expences, unless by their own Consent in their general Assemblies : Nor was he satisfy'd to have them judge of his Necessities, whom he thought likeliest to increase them, or, at least, to desire them. He believed the *English* in general would, as long as they retained the *Saxon* Laws and Forms of Government, ever be affected to the Race of their *Saxon* Kings : and for this Reason, he was thought to have encouraged the Voyage of *Edgar* for the *Holy Land*, by so large Supplies of Treasure, under Pretence of that Prince's Honour, but from true Intentions of his own Safety. Besides, he found his Treasures exhausted by the great Charges of his Two last Expeditions, and the just Rewards he had promised both his *Normans*, and those of the *English*, who had well and faithfully served in them. Though he had once or twice (for 'tis left in doubt) levy'd the Tax of *Danegelt* upon the Threats of a *Danish* Invasion, and by an ancient Prerogative of the *Saxon* Kings, pretended or exercised upon that Occasion ; yet he found it was not raised without great Murmur and Reluctancy of the People, as well as the Nobles, who pretended to ancient Liberties, of paying no Taxes imposed without the Consent of their general Assemblies, which began in this King's, or his Son's Time, first to be stiled Parliaments, according to the *Norman* Phrase ; whereas they had by the *Saxons* been called *Gemoots*, and, by their *Latin* Writers, Common Councils, or General Assemblies of the Kingdom, tho' how composed, is left uncertain, and has raised much Argument and Dispute.

All these Considerations either moved or augmented at this Time, a Design or Inclination of this King to change the whole Frame of the *English* Government, to abolish their ancient Laws and Customs, and introduce those of

Normandy, by which he thought he should be more absolute, and too powerful to be again disturbed by any Insurrection at Home, or any Invasions from his Enemies Abroad.

So soon as he had digested, and began to discover this Resolution, 'tis not to be imagined what a universal Discontent, and, indeed, Consternation, it raised among all his *English* Subjects, who under so great a King, attended by his victorious *Norman* Forces, reckon'd upon no other Safety, but from the Preservation of their ancient Laws, whereof he had hitherto assured them. Whereupon the whole People, sad and aggrieved, as well as the Nobles, in an humble manner, but with universal Agreement, tendred an earnest Petition to the King : beseeching him, in regard of his Oath made at the Coronation, and by the Soul of St. *Edward*, from whom he had the Crown and Kingdom, under whose Laws they were born and bred, that he would not change them, and deliver them up to new and strange Laws, which they understood not.

Upon this humble, but earnest Application of the whole *English* Nation, united in their Desires upon this Occasion, the King, before he resolv'd, thought, at least, it was of Weight to deserve the best Deliberation, and thereupon fell into serious Consultations upon it with his Council, whom he found much divided in their Debates. The *Normans*, among them, were for his executing with Vigor what he had determin'd, for abolishing wholly the *English* Laws, introducing the *Norman*, and maintaining his Crown and Government by the same Means he had gained them, which was by Force and Arms. They were encourag'd in this Opinion, by presuming it agreed with the King's Inclination, and were confirm'd by the pressing Arguments and Advices of his Brother *Odon* Bishop of *Bayeux*, a Man of a violent Nature, arbitrary Humour and Will ; who, in the Time of the King's Absence, and his being left Vicegerent, had exercised many Oppressions and cruel Exactions upon the People, and had raised more Clamour and Hatred against the King's Government, than any Councils or Actions of his own.

This ambitious Prelate aspiring at the Papacy upon the next Election, and despairing to obtain it by any other Means, than the Force of Money, neglected or refrained no Ways of heaping up Treasure, though none so sure of increasing his own, as by advancing the King's, by an absolute Power over the Persons and Purses of his Subjects.

The *English* of the King's Council were of a different Opinion, but being Parties in the Case, had been little consider'd, without the Support of *Lanfranc* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who being born an *Italian*, was impartial to *English* and *Normans*, esteem'd much by both, and more by the King. He was a Man of sound natural Sense, and universal Goodness, of general Knowledge, known Virtue, long Experience, and approved Wisdom ; free and disinterested, and in all Counsels considering the King more than himself, and his true Service and Welfare of the Crown, more than his Humour, or his Inclination. The King ever advis'd with him in all the weighty Affairs of his Reign, allowed his Liberty, and encourag'd it, knowing him to be not only Wise and Good, but Faithful to his Interests, and Affectionate to his Person : Happy in the Choice or Fortune of such a Counsellor, and more in the Disposition of hearing and weighing such Advices, as were never so different from his own Opinions or Inclinations. Nor is any thing more dangerous for a Prince, than to consult only with Persons that he thinks are of his own Mind, or will be so when they know it ; nor more pernicious in a Counsellor, than to give only such Advices, as he thinks most agreeable to him that asks or receives them.

Lanfranc, upon this great and weighty Occasion, represented to the King, How much his Safety depended upon the general Satisfaction of his Subjects : That of these, the *English* were much the greater Part, both in Strength and Numbers ; That no People could be easie under any Laws, but such wherein they were born and bred : That all Innovations were odious ; but none could be more so, than this, as appear'd by so universal Agreement of the

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English, in their Petition : That the Humility and Calmness of it was more dangerous, than if any thing had been done in hot Blood, and the Refusal would be the more repented : That the Laws and Constitutions of this Realm had been digested by the wisest Councils, and confirmed by a long Succession of their Kings : That under them the *Saxons* had been good and loyal Subjects, and their Kings, who ruled by these Laws, never troubled with any Seditions or Insurrections of their People : That, besides Reason and Experience, Religion was concerned in this Resolution, since the King had already twice sworn solemnly, to observe them ; so as a Change of them now, would be taxed not only of Injustice, but Impiety : That nothing was of so much Moment to a Prince, as Reputation ; and none more, than that of being a Religious Observer of his Word and Promise ; but especially of his Oaths, without which, he could never be trusted by his Subjects, or his Neighbours.

The King heard and weigh'd all their Reasons, and by them form'd his own Judgment, which he ever trusted in the last Resort. Upon mature Deliberation, as the Case required, he at length resolved, not only to continue the Laws and Customs of the Realm, but to give the People new, and more evident Assurances of this Resolution : In pursuance whereof, he granted and confirm'd them by a publick and open Charter, and thereby purchased the Hearts, as well as Satisfaction of his *English* Subjects, whereof he reaped the Fruits in his succeeding Troubles in *Normandy*, and his Wars with *France*.

Yet he could not refrain shewing the Kindness he retained for his own Country and Language, introducing, by Connivance, or by Countenance, several *Norman* Customs, and endeavouring to introduce that Language to be general in the Kingdom. To this End, he caused many Schools to be set up for teaching that Tongue, which was a *Bastard French*, not well understood by the *French* themselves, and not at all by the *English*. He caused the Laws of the Kingdom, which had been anciently written in *Saxon*, and by *Edward the Confessor* published also in *Latin*, to be now translated into *Norman*. He ordered all Pleas in the several Courts to be made in the same Language, and all Petitions presented the King, and all Business of Court, to be likewise in *Norman*. This introduced new Terms, new Forms of Pleading and of Process, new Names of Offices and of Courts ; and with them, all the litigious Customs and Subtilties of the *Norman* Pleas and Conveyances (who were a witty but contentious People) instead of the old *English* Simplicity, in their common Suits, Pleas, or Conveyances, which were plain, brief, without Perplexities, made with good Meaning, kept with good Faith, and so followed by little Contention, and that determined by speedy Justice, and Decision of Monthly Courts, in every County.

Among the *Saxons*, it was usual to grant Lands and Houses by bare Words, and with the Delivery of some trivial Gift, as an Horn, a Sword, an Arrow, a Helmet, and yet the simple Honesty of those Times and People left such Grants little subject to any Disputes or Contentions. But the Conqueror reduced all Grants to Writing, to Signature, and to Witnesses, which brought in Cavils, and Actions grounded upon punctilious Errors in Writing, Mistakes in Expression, which in much Writing must sometimes happen, either by Haste, Weakness, or, perhaps, by Fraud of Conveyancers, and with Design to leave Matter of Contentions, by which they subsist, as Physicians by Diseases.

Notwithstanding all these Arts of the Prince, and Industry of his Ministers, to introduce the *Norman* Language in *England*, yet all was frustrated by the Over-balance of Numbers in the Nation, in proportion to the Strangers, and assisted by a general Aversion in the *English* to change their Language, which they thought would be succeeded by that of their Laws and Liberties : So that in this very Reign, instead of the *English* speaking *Norman*, the *Normans* began generally, by Force of Intermariages, ordinary Commerce and Conversation, to use the *English* Tongue, which has ever since continued and composed the main Body of our Language, tho' changed, like others, by Mixture

of many new Words and Phrases, not only introduced by this great Révolution, but by the Uses and Accidents of each succeeding Age.

It seems very remarkable, and very different, what happen'd in *Scotland* about this Time, and upon this Subject; for upon the great Recourse of *English* Nobles and Gentlemen into *Scotland*, seeking Refuge from the first Dangers and Terrors of the *Norman* Conquest; and afterwards of many more who fled there in Pursuit of *Edgar's* Pretensions, and joyned with the *Scots* in Two Invasions of *England*; but chiefly, upon *Malcolm's* fond Affection of his *English* Wife, Sister to Prince *Edgar*, his learning and commonly using or favouring her Language, the usual Compliance and Conformity of Courtiers to the Customs of their Prince, and the general Humour of Kindness in the *Scots*, at that Time, to the Person or Rights of *Edgar*, and to all his Adherents, that lost their own Country, to follow his Fortunes; the *English* Language grew in this King's Reign, to be generally spoken, not only in the Court of *Scotland*, but in several Counties thereunto adjacent, and among most of the Nobles in remoter Provinces; and so it has ever since remained, as have many *English* Families in those Parts, habituated, and, with Time, naturalized among them: And the antient barbarous *Scotch* Tongue has been left current only in the more Northern or North-West and Mountainous Parts of that Kingdom, and in the Islands that seem to have been first and most intirely possessed by the *Scyths* or *Scots*, who so long ago invaded and conquer'd the Northern Parts of *Britain* and *Ireland*.

The contrary of this unusual Change in Language, appears to have succeeded in *England*, since in a little Time nothing remained of the *Norman* Language in common Use, besides the Translation of our Common Law, which, though deduced from the ancient *Saxon* Streams, yet the Sound, and Forms, and Practice came to be *Norman*; like Rivers which still run from their Original Sources, but yet often change their Taste, from the Soils through which they take their Course, and sometimes from Accidents of great Inundations, which for the present change them, but leave them to return to their natural Streams. A singular and instructive Example, how strange a Difference there is in the Compliance of a Nation with the Humour of a Prince they love, or of one they fear.

Besides these Changes in the Language of our Laws, and the Forms of Pleas, which were generally disaffected by the *English* Subjects; this *Norman* King, either upon Pretence of Justice and Piety, or else of Necessity and Safety, abolished several ancient *Saxon* Institutions, and made several new; which, how reasonable, or how useful soever, yet bred ill Blood among the Nobles and Clergy of *England*; tho' the People contented themselves with the Continuance of their ancient Laws, and thought all they did or suffer'd for the King's Service, well rewarded, while they might preserve what they call'd the Laws of *Edward the Confessor*: And the King was so wise, as often to renew his Oath to maintain them, for the general Satisfaction of the People.

For the rest, he took all Jurisdiction and Judgment in Civil Causes wholly out of the Hands of the Bishops, where it had been plac'd in the whole *Saxon* Succession, after their Conversion to Christianity. And restrain'd the Clergy to the Exercise and Administration of their Ecclesiastical Power. He endeavoured to abolish Two ancient Forms of Tryal used among the *Saxons* with great Reverence, even during their Christian Worship, though they were but Remains of their old Pagan Superstition, but so rooted in the Opinion of the People, as not to be dispossessed by new Reason or Religion: These were the Tryals *Ordeal*, and of *Camp-fight*. The first was either by Fire or by Water, and used only in Criminal Cases, where the Accusation was strong, the Suspicions great, but no Proofs evident. In that of Fire, the Person accused was brought into an open Place, upon even Ground; several Plowshares heated red hot were laid before them, at unequal Distances, over which they were to walk blindfold, and if they escaped any Harm, were adjudged innocent; if their Feet were burned by treading upon the hot Irons, they were condemn'd as guilty. In the other of Water, the Accused were throw

thrown into the Water; if they sunk immediately, they were esteem'd innocent, and guilty if they swam; either because it seem'd against the Nature of heavy Bodies, or that the clear Element would not receive them, but reject'd them as polluted Persons. The first Tryal was for those of better Condition, and the other for those of inferior; and both were chiefly us'd upon Accusations of Unchastity, of Poysoning, or of Sorcery.

These Tryals, though ground'd upon no Reason, yet were thought approved by long Experience; and the rather, I suppose, because any succeeding Proofs of Innocence, were as difficult to find, as any precedent Evidence of Guilt. And they were commonly called, The Judgments of God, and performed with solemn Oraisons, and other Ceremonies, that amus'd, or rather enchanted the ignorant People into an Opinion of their being Sacred, as well as Just.

The Tryals of *Camp-fight* were performed by single Combat, in Lists appointed for that purpose, between the Accuser and Accused, and were usual in Actions both real and criminal, where no evident Proof of Fact appear'd from Witnesses, or other Circumstances: The Victor was acquitted, and the Vanquish'd, if not kill'd upon the Field, was condemn'd. These were perform'd with great Solemnities, and either in Presence of the King, who granted the Combat, or of certain Judges by him appointed for that particular Case.

Both these sorts of Tryals this King abolish'd, as unchristian and unjust, and reduced all Causes to the Judgment of Equals, or of a Jury of Twelve Neighbours, and by legal Forms: Yet the last was some few times used in succeeding Reigns.

In the Beginnings of his Reign, the Kingdom had been much infested by Outlaws and by Robbers, and many *Normans* were secretly murder'd by the Hatred of the *English*, as they pass'd alone upon the Ways or the Fields, especially in the Night. To remedy this last Mischief, he impos'd a heavy Fine upon the Hundred, where the Body of any *Norman* should be found slain, whether any Discovery were made or no of the Author or Complices of the Fact. For all Rapes and Robberies, he caus'd them to be punish'd so severely, by cruel Mutilations of Members, and Hardships of Labour, as left them miserable Spectacles, or Warnings of their Crimes, during the rest of their Lives. By the Rigor of these Courses, and cutting off the chief Cause of such Offences, which grow from Idleness and Expences, he reduc'd the whole Realm to such Security, that 'tis recorded in his Time, how a fair Maiden, with a Purse of Gold in her Hand, might have travell'd through the Realm, without any Danger offer'd to her Honour, or her Money.

Besides, to prevent any Crimes that might be committed by Favour or Encouragement of the Night, he order'd a Bell to be rung in each Parish, at Eight a Clock in the Winter, and Nine in the Summer; after which every Man was to cover his Fire, and stir no more abroad that Night: And this was for that Reason called, The *Corfew*, or *Couvresew* Bell.

For the Safety of his State, he erected several Castles in many Places most convenient of the Kingdom; among which was the *Tower of London*, and *New-Castle* upon *Tyne* (either built, or by this King much enlarged) and garrison'd them by *Norman* or *English* Soldiers; but all such as he most trusted, and who were ready in Arms upon all Occasions. Yet these Forts were look'd upon by the *English* as unnecessary in the Times of Peace, and as Bridles upon the Liberties of the People, rather than Preventions of Dangers to the Crown.

After these Institutions, he apply'd himself to the Increase, Order, and Establishment of his Revenue; and having (as he believ'd) satisfy'd the People in general, by the Confirmation of the ancient and beloved Laws, he thought he might be bolder with the Clergy, whom he knew to be generally his Enemies, and whose Clamours he the less feared, from his own known Piety, in frequenting Divine Worship, in building and endowing several Monasteries, in Presents to many Churches, both in *England* and *Normandy*; but especially,

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in great Treasures which he sent frequently to *Rome*. Therefore, upon Pretence of his Enemies in the Two last Revolts (and such as were design'd to be their Complices) having convey'd their Plate, Money, and Jewels into the several Monasteries throughout the Kingdom; he caus'd all the rich Abbies to be search'd, their Money, Plate, and Jewels, which were not necessary, or of common Use in Divine Service, to be seiz'd; and thereby brought at once a mighty Treasure into his Coffers, but an inveterate Hatred of the Clergy upon his Person and Reign: And this was the last of those Actions that by the envenom'd Pens of the Monkish Writers of that Age, left such a Charge upon the Memory of this Prince, by the Imputation of Cruelty, Oppression, Violence, Exaction, and the Breach or Change of Laws of the Kingdom, either Human or Divine; tho' the same Authors little consider, how ill this agrees with the high Characters they themselves give of his personal Qualities and Virtues. Nor is it probable, that so vicious Actions should proceed from so virtuous Dispositions, or that so noble and excellent Qualities of any Prince should be esteem'd by the present Age, or celebrated to Posterity, which had been accompany'd by cruel, infamous, or deprav'd Actions during his Life.

Having with these Spoils of the Clergy, as well as by the many Forfeitures of the revolted Nobles, replenish'd his Coffers for the present, he extended the Care of his Revenue not only to what might arrive in his own Life, but also in the Times of succeeding Kings. To this End, he sent Commissioners into all the several Counties of the whole Realm, who took an exact Survey, and describ'd in a Censual Roll or Book, all the Lands, Titles, and Tenures throughout the whole Kingdom. In this were distinctly set down not only every Barony, each Knight's Fee, every Plow-Land, but also what Owners, by what Tenures, at what Rents or Duties they held, and what Stock they were possess'd of, and how many *Villans* upon their respective Estates. All Lands that held anciently of the Crown, or were by this King disposed upon Forfeitures, he subjected to the usual Tenures of Baronies, or Knight's Fees, reserving in All the Dominion in chief to himself, some Quit-Rents, or Fines upon Death and Alienation; and likewise the Custody of all Heirs of such Lands as were left under Age, and the Disposal of their Fortunes, besides what was assign'd for their Maintenance, 'till they came to Years of disposing their Estates and Themselves.

This Book was compos'd after Two old Examples of the same kind, in the Times of *Ethelbert* and *Alfred*, and was laid up as Sacred in the Church of *Winchester*; and for that Reason, as graver Authors say, was called *Liber Domus Dei*, and by Abbreviation, *Domesday-Book*. The vulgar Account is, That the Name was derived from the Nature, and so called, because every Man was to receive his Doom by that Book, upon any Dispute about the Value, Tenure, Payments, or Services of his Lands, upon Collection of the King's ordinary Revenue, or the Raising of any extraordinary Taxes or Impositions. And to make a Precedent for the future, or to satisfy the great Expences the King had been at, for the compiling this great Roll of the Kingdom, Six Shillings was rais'd upon every Plow-Land, which made the Design of it less agreeable to the People; though every Man's Right thereby received a new Evidence, and no Injustice was complain'd of, in the Digestion of so difficult a Work, and of so various a Nature. By this means, the King came to an easy and exact Knowledge of his whole constant Revenue, and so proportion'd it to his Expences, and the necessary Cares of having always a Fond or Reserve of present Treasure in his Coffers, that after this Time we never find him plunged in any Difficulties for want of Money to supply many great Occasions that ensu'd in his Reign, nor tempted to impose any Taxes upon his Subjects, or other Duties, than what were common and known, and paid without Pressure or Discontent among the Commonalty of the Realm: So as after all these Institutions, he pass'd several Years in great Tranquility at Home, as well as Honour from all his Neighbour Princes.

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About the Thirteenth Year of his Reign, he went into *Normandy*, leaving his Brother *Odon* Bishop of *Bayeux*, and created Earl of *Kent*, his Vicegerent in *England*; and little apprehending any Storm after so long a Fit of fair Weather, or that he had left any ill Blood behind him, that was like to gather to a Head, with such an Inflammation, and so dangerous Symptoms, as soon after appeared. But no Condition of Humane Life is ever perfectly secure, nor any Force of Greatness, or of Prudence, beyond the Reach of Envy, and the Blows of Fortune. Princes, as well as private Men, are often in most Danger at those Times, and in those Parts, they think themselves the safest; as strong Towers are sometimes taken on those Sides that are thought impregnable, and so left undefended, or little regarded. This conquering King esteem'd himself now at Ease for the Remainder of his Life, and not only safe in his own Strength, but the Satisfaction of his Subjects. The *English* he had pleased in general, by the Preservation of their ancient Laws; the bravest and warmest Blood of their Nobles was drawn in the Battel of *Hastings*, or the Wars with *Scotland*; their Power was weaken'd by so many Confiscations, and the Retreat of many more into *Scotland* and *Ireland*. The *Normans* were strong and numerous in *England*, and were his own by Birth and by Interest; the Ballance of these Two Parties seem'd the Defence of the Whole; and it was not to be imagin'd, that both should combine in any Danger to the Crown. Besides, there was left no Pretension of any better Right or Title than his own, since *Edgar* had laid down his, not only in Shew, but with firm Resolutions never to resume them.

But many of the *English* Nobles still hated the Name of a Conquest, resented the Change of Forms and Language in their Laws, the Introduction of any new Customs; but especially the Rigor of the Forest Laws, which they knew to be arbitrary, and esteem'd not only a Restraint of their innocent Liberties, but an Indignity in particular to themselves. Some of the chief *Norman* Lords, who had obtained great Possessions by the King's Bounty, and the Confiscations of the *English*, being now invested in their Lands and their Titles, began to grow fond of their Laws, as the safest Tenure; and tho' they had gain'd their great Estates by the Favour of the King, yet they were not willing to hold them at his Pleasure; and so joyn'd with the *English* Nobles in the Complaints of too great Power exercis'd by the King, and the Jealousies of greater yet design'd, to the Prejudice of the ancient Constitutions of the Kingdom, and Diminution of the Authority or Dependances of the Nobles. Some of both Nations, and equally ambitious Spirits, who had been most favour'd and advanc'd by the King, yet valuing their own Merits too high, or their Rewards too low, thought they had nothing, because they had not all they pretended, esteem'd the King's Favour or Bounty to any others, as Injury to themselves, and were as unsatisfy'd with what they had gain'd, as others with what they had lost.

These Dispositions floating at first in the Minds of several great Nobles, both *English* and *Norman*, and inflam'd by such of the Ecclesiasticks, who had Credit in the great Families of both Nations, grew at length to downright Conspiracy of dispossessing the King of his Crown, and introducing the *Danes*, who were ally'd to many great Lords in *England*, and were esteem'd by the *Normans* of the same Race with their Ancestors. The chief of this Conspiracy were the Earls of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, of greatest Power among the *English* Nobility; *Fitz-Auber*, a *Norman*, of near Kindred to the King, and who had assist'd him with Forty Ships upon his *English* Expedition, and been recompenc'd with mighty Possessions in *England*, and created Earl of *Hereford*; the Earl *Waltheof*, who had been pardon'd his Revolt, upon the *Scotch* Invasion, marry'd to the King's Niece, and ever since intimately trusted, as well as favour'd by the King. These enter'd secretly into Intelligence with *Swane* King of *Denmark*, and with *Harold's* Sons, who were still refug'd in *Ireland*: The First engag'd to invade the Northern Parts with a Navy of Three hundred Sail; the Last, by the Assistance of *Drone* King of *Ireland*, to attempt the Western Coasts with Sixty Ships, and the discontented Lords, to make a
strong

strong Insurrection in some of the Northern Provinces, upon Approach of the *Danish* Fleet, which was concerted to be soon after the King's intended Journey into *Normandy*.

These Measures were laid with such Caution, and pursu'd with such Secrecy, that all was ready to be executed, before the King in *Normandy*, or his Ministers in *England*, had either Notice or Suspicion of any such Dangers, or Designs. *Fitz-Auber* had asked the King's Leave some Months before his *Norman* Journey, to marry his Sister to the Earl of *Norfolk*, and pretended some small Discontent at his Refusal. Not long after his Departure, he declared the Marriage, and the Day appointed to consummate it in *Norfolk* with great Solemnity, and the Recourse of the nearest Relations, and most intimate Friends on both sides, among whom were the Earl *Waltheof*, and *Eustace* Earl of *Bologne*, who came over on purpose to assist at the Consultations here design'd. At this Meeting all was agreed; in what Parts of the Kingdom, under what Leaders the several Insurrections should be made, upon what Pretences, and the Time appointed to be when the *Danish* Fleet should appear upon the Coast.

But some Delays intervening, which are fatal to all Conspiracies that are trusted into many Hands, this was discover'd some Days before the *Danes* arriv'd, but by whom of the Accomplices is left uncertain; tho' some write, that it was by Earl *Waltheof*, upon the Conscience of so great an Ingratitude to the King.

After the full and particular Discovery of the whole Plot, and all the chief Conspirators, *Odon* the Vicegerent, with the Assistance and Advice of the King's Council, immediately dispatch'd away several Parties of the King's best Troops, into the several Parts where the Insurrections were intended to begin, seized upon many of the Conspirators before others had Notice of the Discovery, broke the rest before they could draw to a Head; took Earl *Waltheof* and *Fitz-Auber* Prisoners, who were beheaded upon this Occasion, and many others imprison'd. Whether this Execution was by the King's Command out of *Normandy*, or by the Rigor of his Brother *Odon*, and upon Pretence of Necessity in so dangerous a Conjunction, is not recorded; but 'tis agreed, That these Two were the only Nobles that were executed in *England* during the Reign of *William the Conqueror*, notwithstanding so many Revolts, and so much Power to punish and revenge them; which serves to make up that Character of Clemency of Nature, that is allow'd this Prince, among his other Virtues, even by those Writers who are severest upon his Memory.

Both the *Danes* and the *Irish* Fleets were upon the *English* Coasts, when they first receiv'd the News of their Confederates Discovery and Disasters, upon which they return'd to *Denmark* and to *Ireland*; and after this Time, the *Danes* never again attempted any Invasion upon *England*, nor was this Conqueror any more infested or disturbed by any of his *English* Subjects, during the rest of his Reign; finding the Conspiracy wholly suppress'd, and the Kingdom in perfect Tranquility upon his Return, which he had yet hasten'd out of *Normandy*, upon the Intelligence of his Danger in *England*, and Ignorance how deep it was rooted, or where it might end.

Nor was it easy to conjecture, since it was believ'd by wise Men in that Age, that the Weakness and ill Success of this Conspiracy proceeded chiefly from the Want of some popular Pretension, that might have rais'd a Commotion of the People in Favour of the Lords; and, that if this had been design'd in Defence of *Edgar's* known Rights to the Crown, and spirited by that Prince at the Head of so many *English* and *Norman* Lords as were engaged in it, the Throne had been endanger'd by this last Shake. But the unfortunate Prince *Edgar* had made his first Pretensions too late, and his last Submissions too soon; and the *Danish* Title was hated by the Commons of *England*, though favour'd by many of the Nobles, and thereby wanted the Foundation proper and necessary to raise any firm Building. Thus the Infelicity of some Princes may be occasion'd only by ill-timing their Councils, when to attempt, and when to desist, in the justest Endeavours; and the Greatness of others may be

be raised and preserved by unforeseen Accidents, where the greatest Reach of Foresight and Conduct might have fail'd. For had *Edgar* been at Liberty to pursue his Rights, upon this Conjunction of the *English* and *Norman* Nobility, he might probably have gain'd the Crown; and had not some of the chief Complices discover'd the Conspiracy, the Conqueror might as probably have lost it.

However these Fortunes came to attend him thus far of his Reign, yet here the Curtain may be drawn over the happy Scenes of this Prince's Life: For the next that must open, will represent him in the Decline of his Age, imbroil'd in Domestick Quarrels, which could neither end in Glory nor in Gains; assaulted by his own Children; opposed by his Native Subjects; forced to use Strangers to reduce them to Duty and Obedience, after Two dangerous Revolts; and when these Troubles were appeased, after much Anguish of Mind, and many Dangers, engaged, by a trivial Accident, and without any Design, in a Foreign War, with a powerful Prince; which, tho' pursued with his usual Vigor and Fortune, it first cost him his Health, and at last his Life.

William the Conqueror had by his Wife *Matild*, Daughter to *Baldwin* Count of *Flanders*, Four Sons, *Robert*, *Richard*, *William*, and *Henry*, besides several Daughters. *Richard* was a Prince of the greatest Hopes, but unfortunately kill'd by a Stag, while he was hunting in the New Forest: His untimely Fall was much lamented by the King, but less by the People, who interpreted it as a Judgment upon him, for the mighty Wastes he had made, to extend the Bounds of that Forest, and for the Rigor and Oppression of the Forest Laws. The other Three surviv'd their Father; but with very different Fortunes, as well as Merits, and very unequally distributed.

The King, before his Expedition into *England*, had promis'd his eldest Son *Robert* the Dukedom of *Normandy*, in case he conquer'd the Kingdom he then pretended: This Promise was made before the King of *France*, and challeng'd by *Robert* after the King's first Establishment upon the *English* Throne. But the King, though he deny'd not the Promise he had made, yet long delay'd the Performance, upon Pretence of his unsettled State in *England*, from the Discontents of his Nobles, and the *Scotch* Invasions, which made it necessary for him to keep *Normandy* as a Retreat upon any great Misfortune, or Revolution in *England*. Duke *Robert* seem'd content with these Reasons, whilst they were justify'd by the Appearances of any Dangers in *England*; but perceiving they were ceased, and yet the Delays continu'd, he grew at length impatient, and about the Fourteenth Year of the King's Reign, assum'd the Government of *Normandy*, as Sovereign; and, in his own Right, caused the Barons to swear Fealty to him, as to the Duke, and not as his Father's Lieutenant, and was received and obeyed by the *Normans*; who grew weary of a subordinate Government, and thought they deserv'd the Presence of their Prince among them, which they had enjoy'd since the first Establishment of their Possessions in *France*.

Besides, *Robert* was generally beloved, as a Prince courteous, generous, and brave, tho' withal, ambitious, unquiet, and uncertain; yet these Dispositions, both of Prince and People, had not alone induc'd him to engage in so bold a Resolution, with such a Breach of his Duty and his Trust, without the Practices and Instigations of the King of *France*, who, grown jealous of King *William's* Greatness, and envious of his Felicity, found no better Way of lessening both, than to kindle this Fire in his own House; and thereby the most sensibly to disquiet his Mind, as well as to disjoynt his State, and divide his Power. He therefore not only encourag'd *Robert*, but combin'd with him in this Attempt, and engag'd to support him with his Forces, if his Father disputed longer the Justice of his Claim.

The King, tho' at first discomposed at the News of this Insolence in his Son, yet believing it had no deeper Root, but what would soon wither or be cut off, by his Presence in *Normandy*, gather'd immediately what Forces he could raise, and, with an Army of his *English* Subjects, sail'd over now to invade

Normandy, as he had done before to invade *England* with his *Normans*. A strange Revolution to befall one Prince, in so short a Period of Time, and which made as great a Change in his Dispositions, as his Fortunes ; for the great Alacrity and Faithfulness which the *English* expressed towards him in this Expedition, gain'd so far upon his Affections and Confidence, that in the rest of his Reign, and his succeeding Wars, he seem'd to place his chief Trust in the Courage and Loyalty of his *English* Subjects.

Duke *Robert*, inform'd of his Father's Preparations, neglected not his own, and though surpriz'd at the Suddenness of his Arrival, to which the Winds had conspir'd, he could not oppose his Landing ; yet soon after he was in the Field at the Head of a brave *Norman* Army, and of Two thousand Men at Arms which the King of *France* had sent to his Assistance. With these Forces he march'd against the King, fell upon his Vanguard, and by the Success of an Ambush he had laid in an advantageous Pass, he broke them, kill'd some, and put the rest to Flight ; then he advanc'd against the main Body, where the King commanded, and by an unnatural Chance, he charged his old Father with such Fury, that, by the Stroke of his Launce, he wounded him in the Arm, and overthrew him to the Ground. The King calling out upon his Fall, his Son immediately knew his Voice, and stung, upon the sudden, with the Conscience of his Crime and his Duty, he leap'd from his Horse, rais'd his Father up from the Ground, fell down upon his Knees, begg'd Pardon of his Offence, with Offers, upon it, to return to his Duty and Obedience. The King, mov'd by the same Force of Nature, receiv'd his Submissions, forgave him, and embracing him, ended an Adventure in Tears of Joy, which had begun in Blood. The Armies were as easily reconcil'd as their Leaders, and all together march'd to *Rouen*, where the King was receiv'd with all Demonstrations of Joy, and the Duke complimented upon his happy Reconcilement with his Father ; nor were those the last in this Croud of Rejoycers, who had been the chief in promoting the Quarrel between them.

The King made no long Stay in *Normandy*, dissembling the Knowledge or Resentment of what Part the *French* King had play'd in this Affair ; but after having re-establish'd the Quiet and Order of the Province, return'd with his whole Forces into *England*, left his Son in the Government of *Normandy*, trusting to his Duty, and the Loyalty of his Subjects there, as if nothing had pass'd to give him the least Suspicions of either. A true Strain of the noble and fearless Nature of this Prince, who was rather made to surmount all Dangers he encounter'd, by brave Actions and judicious Councils, than either to invite or anticipate his Misfortunes, by Distrust and vain Apprehensions, which are but the Distractions of weak and timorous Minds.

Yet this Sincereness and Confidence of the King, had not the Return they deserved ; for Duke *Robert* having once tasted the Sovereign Power, could not long digest any Dependence upon another Will, and lying still open to the Practices of *France* upon his Levity and Ambition, relaps'd the next Year into his former Distemper, and assum'd again the Sovereignty of *Normandy*, and as Duke thereof in his own Right ; which was again acknowledg'd and obey'd by the *Normans*.

The King, upon the News of this second Defection in his Son and his Subjects, fell into great Passion, and in it is said to have curs'd his Son, and the Hour wherein he begat him : But soon returning to himself, with his usual Judgment and Composure of Mind, gave present Orders for preparing a much greater Army and Navy, than he had us'd in last Year's Expedition ; and though both were shatter'd by great Storms he met with at Sea, yet, upon his Arrival in *Normandy*, either the Fame of his Forces, or the Lightness of his Son's Dispositions, or Remorse of his Duty, prevail'd with Duke *Robert* to offer again his Submissions, and Obedience to his Commands. The King again receiv'd them, pardon'd both his Son and his revolted Subjects ; but forced now to more Caution than he had us'd before, after having settl'd once more the Peace and Quiet of *Normandy*, and placed the Government in
safer

safer Hands, he took his Son with him into *England*, and imploy'd him in the hard rough Wars of *Scotland*, against *Malcolm*, who, upon the King's Absence, and Confidence of being long detain'd by the *Norman* Revolt, and Diverſion of *France*, had taken Occaſion to paſs the Borders with an Army, and ravage the Northern Provinces of *England*.

Though Duke *Robert* gain'd no great Honour by this Expedition, yet the King gain'd his End : For the *Scotch* diſheartned by his unexpected Return, and more by his perfect Reconcilement with his Son, return'd Home, upon the Approach of the *English* Army, and renew'd the Peace, which laſted the reſt of the Two Kings Lives.

About the ſame Time, incenſed againſt the *Welſh* for many Inroads and Spoils upon the Frontier Counties ; he ſent an Army againſt them, ſubdu'd the plain and acceſſible Parts of their Country, drove them to the ſafe Holds of their Mountains, forc'd them to ſue for a Peace, which he granted upon Homage done him by their Prince, and upon Hoſtages given for Performance of the other Conditions.

This fortunate and victorious King ſeem'd now to have paſſ'd all the tempeſtuous Seasons of his Life, and ſecure of Repoſe for what remained ; which was neceſſary or moſt agreeable to the great Decline of his Age. He was at Peace with all his Neighbours, obey'd and honour'd by his Subjects, fear'd by his Enemies, and the Troubles of his Family were wholly appeaſed ; ſo that it was hard for any Man to conjecture from what Side any new Storm ſhould ariſe. But the Decrees of Heaven are wrapp'd up in the Clouds, and the Events of future Things hidden in the Dark, from the Eyes of mortal Men. The wiſeſt Councils may be diſcompoſed by the ſmalleſt Accidents, and the ſecureſt Peace of States and Kingdoms may be diſturbed by the lighteſt Paſſions, as well as the deep Deſigns of thoſe who govern them : For, though the wiſe Reflections of the beſt Hiſtorians, as well as the common Reasonings of private Men, are apt to aſcribe the Actions and Councils of Princes to Interests or Reaſons of State ; yet, whoever can trace them to their true Spring, will be often forced to derive them from the ſame Paſſions and perſonal Diſpoſitions, which govern the Affairs of private Lives ; as will be evident in the Sequel of this King's Reign.

The *Normans* were deſirous to have a Prince of their Race reſide among them ; the King was unwilling to venture again the ill Conſequences of his Son *Robert*'s Ambition or Inconſtancy, and therefore ſent him over into *Normandy*, but joyn'd in Commiſſion with his youngeſt Son *Henry*, whoſe Duty and Affection he moſt rely'd on, both to obſerve the Actions, and temper the Levity of his Eldeſt Brother.

Theſe Two Princes agreed better than is uſual to Associates in Power, and governing the Province with Moderation and Prudence, reduced Affairs there to ſuch Order and Tranquility, that having little Buſineſs at Home, they went to ſeek ſome Diverſion Abroad, and made a Viſit to the King of *France* then at *Conſtance*, who receiv'd them with great Honour and Kindneſs ; and, as was thought, not without Deſign of renewing old Practices with Duke *Robert*, to his Father's Prejudice. Whatever Affairs might buſy the Thoughts of that King and the Duke, thoſe of *Lewis* the young *Dauphine*, and Prince *Henry*, were taken up with the common Entertainments of Youth and of Leiſure, Love, Hunting, Play, and other ſuch Divertiſements, wherein the Similitude of Age and of Customs, made them conſtant Companions. It happen'd one Evening, that the *Dauphine* playing at Cheſs, at the Prince's Lodging, loſt a great many Games, and much Money, to Prince *Henry*, and grew thereupon firſt into ill Humour, and at length into ill Language ; which being return'd by the Prince, the *Dauphine* fell into Paſſion, call'd him Son of a Baſtard, and threw ſome of the Cheſs-Men at his Head : Upon which Prince *Henry*, enraged, took up the Cheſs-Board, and ſtruck the *Dauphine* with ſuch Fury on the Head, that he laid him bleeding on the Ground, and had kill'd him, if his Brother *Robert* had not retain'd him, and made him ſenſible how much more it concern'd him to make his Escape, than purſue his Revenge ; and there-

upon they went down immediately, took Horse, and by the Help of their Speed, or their own good Fortune, got safe to *Pontoise* before they could be reach'd by the *French* that pursu'd them.

The King of *France*, exasperated by this Accident and Indignity to his Son, which reviv'd an inveterate Malice or Envy he had against King *William*, first demanded Satisfaction, but at the same time prepared for Revenge, both by raising an Army to invade *Normandy*, and taking private Measures with Duke *Robert*, to divest his Brother *Henry* of his Share in the Government, and leave the Dominion of that Dutchy to the Duke, according to his former Pretensions, grounded upon his Father's Promise; wherein the King of *France*, as a Witness, still pretended to be concerned.

The King of *England* seeing the War inevitable, enters upon it with his usual Vigor, and, with incredible Celerity, transporting a brave *English* Army, invades *France*, and takes several Towns in *Poitou*, whilst the *French* took the City of *Vernon*. By which Hostilities on both sides, the first War began between *England* and *France*, which seem'd afterwards to have been intail'd upon the Posterity and Successors of these Two Princes, for so many Generations, to have drawn more noble Blood, and been attended with more memorable Achievements, than any other National Quarrel we read of in any ancient or modern Story.

King *William*, after taking of several Towns, and spoiling much Country in *Poitou* and *Xantonge*, return'd to *Rouen*, where, by the Benignity of his own Nature, and Levity of his Son's, he was the Third Time reconcil'd to Duke *Robert*; and thereby disappointed those Hopes the King of *France* had conceived from his Practices with that Prince; (and, as some write, with his Brother *Henry* too) and defeated his Pretext of assisting his Right in the Dominion of *Normandy*.

But *Philip* bent upon this War by other Incentives, than those which appear'd from the Favour of Duke *Robert*'s Pretensions, or Revenge of the *Dauphine*'s Injury, and moved both with the Jealousy of the King's Greatness, and the Envy of his Glory and Felicity, resolved to prosecute obstinately the Quarrel he had rashly begun: And not esteeming the sudden, tho' violent Motions of a youthful Heat between the Two Princes, a Ground sufficient to bear the Weight of a formal and declared War; upon the News and Spight of Duke *Robert*'s Reconciliation with his Father, he sent to the King to demand Homage of him both for *Normandy* and *England*: King *William* answer'd, That he was ready to do him the Homage accustomed for *Normandy*, but would do him none for *England*, which he held only of God and his Sword. The *French* King hereupon declar'd open War against him, which was begun and pursu'd with great Heats and Animosities on both sides, with equal Forces, but unequal Fortune; which favour'd either the Justice of the King's Cause, the Valour of his Troops, or the Conduct of their Leader, upon all Encounters.

He marched into *France*, took *Nantes*, and burnt it, with many Villages about it, saying, That to destroy the Wasps, their Nests must be burnt. In the Heat of this Action, and by that of the Fires, which he too near approached, he fell into a Distemper, which forc'd him to retire his Army, and return to *Rouen*, where he lay sick for some time, with ill Symptoms, that gave his Friends Apprehension, and Hopes to his Enemies. During the Expectation of this Event, both sides were quiet, by a sort of tacite and voluntary Truce between them. The King of *France* talking of his Sickness, and mocking at the Corpulency to which he was grown of late Years, said, King *William* was gone only to lay his great Belly at *Rouen*, and that he doubted, he must be at Charge to set up Lights at his Up-rising. The King of *England* being told this Scoff, sent King *Philip* word, That he was ready to sit up after his Lying-in, and that when he was Church'd, he would save him the Charge of setting up Lights, and come himself, and light a Thousand Fires in *France*.

No Injuries are so sensible to Mankind in general, as those of Scorn, and no Quarrels pursu'd between Princes with so much Sharpness and Violence, as those which arise from personal Animosities or private Passions, to which they are subject, like other mortal Men. The King recover'd, gathers the greatest Forces he could raise, both of *English* and *Normans*, marches into the Isle of *France*, with Fire and Spoil where-ever he came, approaches within Sight of *Paris*, where that King was retir'd: There King *William* sent him word, That he was Up, and Abroad, and would be glad to see him Abroad too.

But the *French* King resolv'd to let this Fury pass, and appear'd not in the Field, which was left to the Mercy and Ravage of his Enemies. The King riding about to observe his Advantages, and give his Orders, and straining his Horse to leap a Ditch in his Way, bruised the Bottom of his Belly against the Pommel of his Saddle, with such a Weight, and so much Pain, as gave him a Relapse of his Illness so lately recover'd, forc'd him to march his Army back into *Normandy*, and to go himself to *Rouen*. Here his Bruise turn'd to a Rupture, and his Sickneſs increasing with the Anguish of his Wound, gave too soon and true Apprehensions of his Danger: Yet he languished for some time, which he made use of to do many Acts of great Charity, and give other Testimonies of Piety, and Resignation to the Will of God, as well as to dispose the Succession and Affairs of his State; leaving by his Testament the Dutchy of *Normandy* to his Eldest Son *Robert*, the Kingdom of *England* to *William* his Second Son, and all his Treasures, which were very great, to *Henry* his Third. After this he ended his Life in the full Career of Fortune and Victory, which attended him to his Grave, thro' the long Course of more than Threescore Years Reign. For he began that in *Normandy* about Ten Years old, and continued it above Forty Years before his *English* Expedition, after which he reigned above Twenty Years in *England*, and died in or about the Seventy second Year of his Age, and the Year of our Lord 1087.

Several Writers shew their ill Talent to this Prince, in making particular Remarks, How his Corps was immediately forsaken by all his Friends and Followers, as soon as he expir'd; How the Monks of an Abbey he had founded, were thereby induced to come of Charity, and take the Care of his Body and his Burial, which he had order'd to be at *Caen* in *Normandy*, and in a Church he had there built; How the Ground that was open'd to receive him, was claim'd at that Instant by a Knight of the Country, who alledged it had belong'd to his Ancestors and himself, and was violently or unjustly seized from them by the King, so that his Funeral was fain to be deferred 'till an Agreement was made, and the Value of the Ground paid to the Claimer: With other invidious Circumstances, which may argue the Ingratitude, Avarice, or other Vices of his Servants or Subjects then living, but not defame the Memory, or obscure the Glory of the Dead.

This ended all that was Mortal of this Noble King, and this Renowned Conqueror: for his Fame will never die, but remain for ever in the most lasting Records of Time, and Monuments of Glory, among the Princes most celebrated for their brave Atchievements in War, their wise Institutions in Peace, the Length and Prosperity of their Lives and their Reigns. In all which he must with Justice be confessed, not to have been equall'd by many, if, indeed, by any we read of in Story.

I have made no mention of any great Councils or Assemblies held in this King's Reign, because I find no clear Evidence of the Nature or Constitution, the Times or the Occasions of them, whether like those used in the *Saxon* Reigns, or like the Parliaments in *Normandy*; or whether that Style was introduc'd here in this King's Time, or that of his Son's, who succeeded him. It appears, that he often assembled the Nobles and Barons of the Realm, but whether upon the Solemnity of some great Festivals, or of some Occasions of more Importance, either for the Honour of his Court, or Consultation of his Affairs, I find not so well recorded, nor so easy to determine, as some will have it. It is agreed only, That there were Two General Assemblies of the
Clergy;

Clergy; one about the Sixth Year of his Reign, upon a Controversy between the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, about the Primacy, which was therein determin'd in favour of the first: The other about erecting some new Bishopricks, or translating their Sees from some decay'd and smaller Towns, to others grown in that Age more populous and opulent. The *Litchfield Chronicle* also relates, How in the Fourth Year of his Reign, he summon'd out of every County the Nobles, the Wise Men, and such as were Learned in their own Law, that he might from them learn what were their ancient Laws and Customs. After which the Laws of *St. Edward* were conserved, and by him confirmed throughout the whole Kingdom.

I have not been so particular as other Writers, in the Names of Places, or of Persons, or Distinction of Years; because in such Antiquity of Times and Variety of Authors, I find them very hard to be ascertain'd. Besides, the Disagreement among Writers is so great, in assigning the Years to the several Actions of this Prince, that so important an Affair as that of framing the *Doomsday-Book*, is by some refer'd to the Eighth, by others to the Thirteenth, and by some to the Nineteenth Year of his Reign: And many others are left in the same Uncertainty.

I have likewise omitted the Accounts and Remarks, wherein some Writers have busy'd their Pens, of strange Comets, Inclemencies of Seasons, raging Diseases, or deplorable Fires, that are said to have happen'd in this Age and Kingdom; and are represented by some as Judgments of God upon this King's Reign: Because I rather esteem them Accidents of Time or Chance, such as happen in one Part or other of the World, perhaps every Age, at some Periods of Time, or from some Influence of Stars, or by the Conspiring of some natural or casual Circumstances; and neither argue the Virtues or Vices of Princes, nor serve for Example or Instruction to Posterity, which are the great Ends of History, and ought to be the chief Care of all Historians.

For this Reason, as well as to comply with common Custom, it may not be improper or unnecessary to end the wise, politick, and prosperous Reign with the just Character of this renowned Prince. Since all great Actions in the World, and Revolutions of States, may be truly derived from the Genius of the Persons that conduct and govern them; so as by comparing both together, and observing the Causes as well as Events, it may be easy to discern, by what personal Qualities and Dispositions of Princes, the happy and glorious Successes of their own Fortunes, with the Greatness and Felicity of their States, are generally atchieved; for, to attribute such great Events to Time, or to Chance, were to destroy the Examples, and confound the Consequences of all Virtues and Vices among Men.

William, surnamed *The Conqueror*, was of the tallest Stature among those common in his Age and Country; his Size large, and his Body strong built, but well proportion'd: His Strength such, as few of his Court could draw his Bow: His Health was great and constant, which made him very active in his Business and his Pleasures, 'till about the Decline of his Age he grew something corpulent. From all which, I suppose, came the Story in some *Norman* Writers, that he was Eight Foot high, or the Size of *Hercules*.

As he was of goodly Personage, so his Face was lovely, but of a Masculine Beauty, the Lines being strong, rather than delicate: His Eyes were quick and lively, but when moved, something fierce: His Complexion Sanguine: His Countenance very pleasant, when he was gay and familiar; when he was serious, something severe.

His Pastimes were chiefly Hunting and Feasting: In the first he spent much Time, used great Exercise, and yet much Moderation of Dyet. In his Feasts, which were design'd for Magnificence or Conversation, to know or to be known among his Nobles, and not for Luxury; he was courteous, affable, familiar, and often pleasant, and which made him the more so to his Company, was easy at those Times in granting Suits and Pardons.

It is by All agreed, that he was Chaste and Temperate, which, with a happy Constitution, and much Exercise, preserv'd not only his Health, but Vigor, to the last Decline of his Age.

He was of sound natural Sense, and shew'd it not only in his own Conduct and Reasoning upon all great Occasions, but also in the Choice of his Ministers and Friends, where no Prince was happier or wiser than he.

He talk'd little, never vaunted, observ'd much, was very secret, and us'd only *Lanfranc* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with an universal Confidence, both as a Counsellor and a Friend; to whom he was ever meek and gentle, tho' to others something austere; as if this Conqueror had been himself subdu'd by the Wisdom and Virtue of that excellent Man.

In his Purposes he was steady, but not obstinate, and tho' constant to his Ends, yet applicable to Occasions; as appear'd by his favouring and trusting the *Normans* in his Troubles of *England*, and the *English* in those of *Normandy*; and was either very wise, or very happy, in the Arts of gaining Enemies, and retaining Friends, having never lost but one, which was *Fitz-Auber*.

He was a Prince deep in his Designs, bold in his Enterprizes, firm in his Prosecution, excelling in the Order and Discipline of his Armies, and Choice in his Officers, both of his Army and his State: But admirable in Expedition and Dispatch of Civil as well as Military Affairs, never deferring 'till to Morrow, what should be done to Day.

Above all, he was careful and prudent in the Management of his Treasure, and finding a Temper between the Bounty of his own Nature, and the Necessity of his Affairs, proportioning always the Expences of his Gifts, his Buildings, his Enterprizes, to the Treasure he was Master of, for defraying them, designing nothing out of his Compass, and thereby compassing all he seem'd to design.

He was Religious in frequenting Divine Service, giving much Alms, building Abbies, and endowing them, sending Presents of Crosses of Gold, rich Vestures and Plate to many other Churches, and much Treasure to *Rome*.

He was a great Lover of Learning, and tho' he despised the loose ignorant *Saxon* Clergy he found in *England*, yet he took Care and Pleasure to fill Ecclesiastical Dignities here with Persons of great Worth and Learning from Abroad, as *Lanfranc*, *Durand*, *Anselm*, with many more.

He was a Lover of Virtue in others, and a Hater of Vice; for being naturally very kind to his Half-Brother *Odon* Bishop of *Bayeux*, having made him Earl of *Kent*, given him great Revenues, intrusted him, in his Absence, with the Government of the Realm; yet finding him a Man of incurable Ambition, Avarice, Cruelty, Oppression, and Prophaneness, he at length wholly disgrac'd him, and kept him in Prison during all the rest of his Reign; which seems to have been a just Punishment of his Crimes, and Sacrifice to the *English*, he had cruelly oppressed in the King's Absence, rather than a Greediness of his Treasures, as some envious Writers would make it appear.

Yet by the Consent of them all, and the most partial or malicious to his Memory, as well as others; He is agreed to have been a Prince of great Strength, Wisdom, Courage, Clemency, Magnificence, Wit, Courtesy, Charity, Temperance, and Piety. This short Character, and by all agreed, is enough to vindicate the Memory of this noble Prince, and famous Conqueror, from the Aspersions or Detractions of several malicious or partial Authors, who have more unfaithfully represented his Reign, than any other Period of our *English* History.

Having taken a full View of this King in his Actions, and his Person, it remains only, that we consider the Consequences that both of them had upon the Condition of this Kingdom, which will be best discover'd by the Survey of what it lost, what it preserv'd, and what it gain'd by this famous Conquest.

England thereby must be confessed to have lost; first, Very great Numbers of brave *English* Men, who fell in the Battel of *Hastings*, and in Two Wars

Wars afterwards, by the Revolt of the Nobles, and Invasion of the *Scots* in Favour of *Edgar Atheling*. Likewise many Nobles and Gentlemen, who disdaining all Subjection to a Foreign and Conquering Power, retir'd into *Scotland*, *Ireland*, *Denmark*, and after the Extinction of their Hopes, by the Suppression of all Endeavours in Favour of *Edgar's* Right, never returned, but left their Families habituated in those Countries, choosing, if they must live under a Foreign Dominion, to do it rather Abroad, than at Home.

In the next place, *England* lost the true Line of their ancient *Saxon* Kings, who were a Race of just, good, and pious Princes, govern'd by such known Laws, and with such Moderation, and were so beloved of their People, as makes it observed by Writers, That no popular Insurrection ever happen'd in any of the *Saxon* Reigns.

Lastly, *England* by the Conquest lost, in a great measure, the old Plainness and Simplicity of the *Saxon* Times, and Customs of Life, who were generally a People of good Meaning, plain Dealing, contented with their own, little coveting or imitating their Neighbours, and living frugally upon the Product of their own fruitful Soil : For the Profusion of Meats at our *English* Tables, came in with the *Danes*, and the Luxury of them was introduc'd first by the *Normans*, and after increased by the more frequent Use of Wines, upon the Accession of *Guienne* to this Crown.

What we preserv'd, is remarkable in Three Particulars, not usual upon great Conquests; for, first, We preserv'd our Name, which was lost by the *Saxon* Invasions, but that of *England* then (succeeding the other of *Britain*) has ever since continu'd.

Next, We preserv'd our Language, or the Old *English* Tongue, which has made the Body and Substance of what still remains, tho' much enlarg'd and polish'd since those Times, by the transplanting many Words out of Foreign Languages, especially *Latin* and *French*.

In the last place, We preserv'd our Forms of Government, our Laws and Institutions, which have been so much celebrated by ancient Writers, and have been so obstinately defended by our Ancestors; and are by Chancellor *Fortescue*, who writ in the Time of *Henry* the Sixth, averr'd, to have been preserv'd thro' the Five several Governments in this Island, of *Normans*, *Danes*, *Saxons*, *Romans*, and *Britains*, and so to have continu'd for a longer Course of Time, than those of *Rome*, or *Venice*, or any other Nation known in Story. But this, I doubt, is not so easily proved, as affirmed, tho' it may be with more Certainty of the Three first, which is sufficient to illustrate the Antiquity of our Constitutions, without recourse to strain'd or uncertain Allegations.

For what we gain'd by our Loss in this Conquest, though it seems a Contradiction, yet it may be observed in many more Particulars than the other Two.

First, *England* grew much greater, both in Dominion and Power, Abroad; and also in Dignity and State at Home, by the Accession of so much Territory upon the Continent. For, tho' the *Normans* by the Conquest gain'd much of the *English* Lands and Riches, yet *England* gain'd *Normandy*, which by it became a Province to this Crown.

Next, It gain'd greater Strength by the great Numbers of *Normans* and *French*, that came over with the Conqueror, and after his Establishment here; and incorporated with the *English* Nation, joyning with them in the same Language, Laws, and Interests.

Then we gain'd much by the great Increase of our Naval Power, and Multitude of Ships, wherein *Normandy* then abounded, by the Advantage of more and better Havens, than in latter Ages. This, with the perpetual Intercourse between *England* and *Normandy*, and other Parts of the Continent, gave us a mighty Increase of Trade and Commerce, and thereby of Treasure to the Crown and Kingdom; which appear'd first in so great a Mass, as was left by the Conqueror to Prince *Henry* his younger Son.

England,

England, by the Conquest, gain'd likewise a natural Right to the Dominion of the Narrow Seas, which had been before acquir'd only by the great Naval Power of *Edgar*, and other *Saxon* Kings. But the Dominion of Narrow Seas, seems naturally to belong, like that of Rivers, to those who possess the Banks or Coasts on both Sides : And so to have strengthen'd the former Title, by so long a Coast, as that of *Normandy* of one Side, and of *England* on the other Side of the Channel.

Besides, By this Conquest we gain'd more Learning, more Civility, more Refinement of Language, Customs, and Manners, from the great Resort of other Strangers, as well as Mixture of *French* and *Normans*.

And, Lastly, We gain'd all our Consideration Abroad, by carrying our Arms so often, and so gloriously, as well as extending our Dominions, into Foreign Countries ; so that whereas our *Saxon* Kings were little known Abroad, farther than by the Fame of their Devotion and Piety, or their Journeys, Gifts and Oblations made to *Rome*. After the Conquest, the Crown of *England* grew first to be fear'd by our Neighbours, to have constant Intercourse with other Foreign Princes, to take Part and be consider'd in all the Affairs of *Christendom* ; and by the following Accessions of *Anjou* and *Guienne*, came, in a short Time, to be esteemed, without Controversy, while they possessed those Dominions, the greatest Power of any Kingdom then in *Christendom* ; as appears by so many glorious Adventures and Successes of their Arms in *France*, *Spain*, *Britany*, *Flanders*, *Sicily*, and the *Holy Land*.

From all these happy Circumstances of this famous Conquest, all the succeeding Kings of *England* seem justly to have done this Conqueror the Honour of dating from Him the first great Period of their Reigns : By which those of the *Saxons*, and other preceding Dominions or Governments here, are left us in Story, but like so many antique, broken, or defaced Pictures, which may still represent something of the Customs and Fashions of those Ages, tho' little of the true Lines, Proportions, or Resemblance. But all that has succeeded since this King's Reign, though not drawn by any one skilful Hand, or by the Life, yet is represented in so clear a Light, as leaves very little either obscure or uncertain in the History of our Kingdom, or the Succession of our Kings.

F I N I S.



