

over," says Clarendon. And yet the best informed men in London, whether republican or royalist, could not penetrate the thick veil of Monk's real intentions. Aubrey, who lived a gossiping life in places of public resort, and had access to persons of influence, says of certain friends, "they were satisfied that he [Monk] no more intended or designed the king's restoration, when he came into England, or first came to London, than his horse did." Sir Henry Vane, after the menacing letter had been written to the Parliament, said to Ludlow, that "unless he were much mistaken, Monk had yet several masks to put off." Ludlow went to see him in the City, and after much discourse Monk exclaimed, "Yea, we must live and die together for a Commonwealth." Whatever were his real intentions, he maintained his ascendancy by the most earnest professions of fidelity to the republican party and their opinions. Yet his actions were more than doubtful. The House had twice resolved that the secluded Members should not be admitted. Monk had determined the contrary. The infusion of so many of these who had been originally thrust out of Parliament for the moderation of their opinions, was the surest way to neutralise the power of the republican faction, who clung to authority with a tenacity that indicated their real weakness. Monk, on the 21st of February, sent an escort of his soldiers to accompany a body of the secluded Members to the House of Commons, he having previously read them a speech, in which he formally declared for a Commonwealth. When they took their seats the greatest heats were exhibited; and some of the Republicans withdrew from the House. Seventeen of them went in a body to Monk, to demand his reasons for these proceedings. He protested his zeal to a Commonwealth Government; "and they then pressed him more home by demanding, if he would join with them against Charles Stuart and his party?" He took off his glove, and putting his hand within sir Arthur Haslerig's hand, he said, "I do here protest to you, in the presence of all these gentlemen, that I will oppose to the utmost the setting-up of Charles Stuart, a Single Person or a House of Peers." Ludlow, who records this, says that Monk then expostulated with them touching their suspicions, saying, "What is it that I have done in bringing these Members into the House? Are they not the same that brought the king to the block? though others cut off his head, and that justly." The Members thus restored by Monk were chiefly of that great Presbyterian body who had been ejected by the Independents; and who now expected that they

should be strong enough, in the event of the restoration of the monarchy, to make terms for the establishment of their form of Church government. They immediately became a majority in Parliament; appointed Monk general-in-chief; formed a new Council of State; and superseded sheriffs, justices of the peace, and militia officers, who were supporters of republican institutions. The Covenant was again to be promulgated; the Confession of Faith of the Assembly of Divines to be adopted; the penal laws against Catholics, which Cromwell rarely put in force, were to be called into full vigour. The tendencies of some of the members towards monarchy were still very feebly indicated. Uncertainty everywhere prevailed, whilst the man who had the power of the sword was well known to have no fixed principles of politics or religion—was more greedy of wealth than excited by any daring ambition—and would only declare himself by some irrevocable action when he had made up his mind as to the probable success and permanency of King or Commonwealth. On the 2nd of March, Pepys writes: "Great is the talk of a Single Person, and that it would now be Charles, George, or Richard. For the last of which, my lord St. John is said to speak high. Great also is the dispute now in the House, in whose name the writs shall run for the next Parliament; and it is said that Mr. Prynne, in open House, said, 'In king Charles's!'" Admiral Montague had been appointed "general at sea," the republican admiral Lawson being put aside. He was the patron of Pepys, and told him, on the 6th of March, that there were great endeavours to bring in the Protector again, but that he did not think it would last long if he were brought in. Montague added, "No, nor the king neither—though he seems to think he will come in—unless he carry himself very soberly and well." How Charles carried himself was perfectly well known to his most zealous friends—even to those who themselves lived "soberly and well." When a proposal was made to Oliver Cromwell that Charles should marry his daughter, the Protector objected his "debauched life" as an insuperable difficulty. The Royalists, Presbyterian or Episcopalian, saw no such objection in the marriage of Charles with the State of England. Very curious combinations of men long separated were now forming. Old faithful friends of his house were flocking to the king at Breda. Amongst them now and then appeared some country gentleman, whose clothes were of a soberer hue and a more English cut, than those of Charles's habitual courtiers. These had discarded the love-locks of the

Cavaliers, their slashed doublets and flowing mantles, for the hideous periwigs and embroidered surtouts of the Parisian fashion. The staid royalist, who for some twenty years had seen no court costume, wondered at the metamorphosis; and might fancy that there was more sympathy between himself and the Puritan in neat and decorous habit of plain black,—neat from the band to the shoe-tie,—than the men in the ugliest of laced liveries, who bent double when they approached their exiled prince, and then turned to Wilmot or Buckingham to laugh at the stalest jest or the newest scandal. Very tarnished were the gold and silver embroideries of the courtiers at Brussels, or Breda, or the Hague, in the early spring of 1660, when Englishmen from home gathered about them. "Their clothes were not worth forty shillings, the best of them," says Pepys. London soon sent money to the exiles, and Paris was ready to provide fineries of which the Louvre might have been proud. For there was a growing confidence that the Commonwealth was fast coming to an end. Men, by a sort of instinctive feeling, were setting up the King's arms; and drinking the King's health, though Monk and his bands were still dominating in the City and at Whitehall. The Long Parliament was to terminate its sittings on the 16th of March. On the 13th, that once formidable republican assembly voted that the oath of a Member of Parliament—to be "true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as the same is now established, without a King or House of Lords,"—should be abolished. On the 15th of March the popular sentiment was manifested at the Royal Exchange. A statute of Charles I. had been removed after the tragedy of the 30th January; and in the niche where it stood was written, "Exit tyrannus, regum ultimus, anno libertatis Angliæ restitutæ primo, annoque Domini 1648." For twelve years few had ventured to affirm that "tyrant and the last of kings" were words of offence; or had asserted that the year 1648 was not the first year of the restored liberty of England. On the evening of the 15th of March, a ladder was placed against this niche; soldiers stood around; a house painter mounted the ladder, painted out the inscription, and waving his cap, shouted "God bless King Charles the Second!" Again bonfires blazed in the streets. On the 16th of March, the Parliament met to vote their own dissolution, and England hoped that a long term of rest and security had been earned by the sufferings and changes of twenty years. Some few uplifted their voices against the inevitable event; and still clung

to their faith in a Commonwealth; to their assured belief that liberty and peace would be best maintained by the absolute authority of a "Grand or General Council of the Nation." This was Vane's opinion, having no misgivings for his past actions and no dread of his future lot, even though it were the hardest: "He had all possible satisfaction of mind as to those actions God had enabled him to do for the Commonwealth, and hoped the same God would fortify him in his sufferings, how sharp soever, to bear a faithful and constant testimony thereto."* This was also his friend Milton's opinion: "What I have spoken is the language of that which is not called amiss, the good old cause: if it seem strange to any, it will not seem more strange, I hope, than convincing to backsliders: thus much I should, perhaps, have said, though I were sure I should have spoken only to trees and stones, and had none to cry to but with the prophet, 'O earth, earth, earth!' to tell the very soil itself what her perverse inhabitants are deaf to. Nay, though what I have spoke should happen (which Thou suffer not who didst create mankind free! nor Thou next who didst redeem us from being servants of men!) to be the last words of our expiring liberty."†

The clouded determinations of Monk were very soon becoming more transparent. He had secretly received his cousin, sir John Grenville, who had long sought an interview in vain to deliver a letter from the king. He would write no letter in answer; but he entrusted Grenville to promise to Charles that he would be his devoted servant. Monk made no conditions, but he tendered some advice—that there should be a general amnesty, with only four exceptions; that the possessors of confiscated property should not be disturbed; that there should be liberty of conscience. Grenville repaired to the king at Brussels, where they met in secret. A more formal body of envoys from England now presented themselves to the king—a deputation of Presbyterians, who came to offer the same terms which had been proposed to his father in the Isle of Wight. The Parliament was to have the control of the army; the Civil War was to be declared lawful; new patents of nobility were to be annulled. Charles laughed in his sleeve. "Little do they think," he said, "that general Monk and I are upon such good terms." The Presbyterians believed that they alone had any chance of success. "Leave the game in our hands," they said to the Cavaliers. They probably thought cor-

* Ludlow, p. 828. † "Ready and Easy Way to establish a Free Commonwealth."

rectly that Charles was indifferent as to the form of worship under which England should be when he came to be king. But they knew that Hyde was devoted to the restoration of the Anglican Church, as a necessary consequence of the restoration of the monarchy. They wished that Hyde should be expelled from power or influence, and used the strongest arguments to induce the belief that the Restoration could not be accomplished whilst he was a royal counsellor. In spite of their conviction of Monk's adhesion to their cause, the few to whom Charles had entrusted the secret of his correspondence with him, still sometimes doubted. The French ambassador tried to obtain Monk's confidence. He would give no opinion as to the future Government of England. That must be settled by the next Parliament. Monk's real opinions were the less necessary to be disclosed; for all England was becoming impatient for the Restoration. Old servants of the Commonwealth—Broghill, and Thurloe, and Lenthall—offered to Charles their submission and their advice. The king, from mixed motives of indolence and prudence, suffered matters to proceed without committing himself to any party, or making any engagements for his future conduct. He yielded to Monk's advice in one particular. He left the Spanish Netherlands, and established himself at Breda.

In the midst of the apparent certainty of the Restoration being at hand, a new cause of alarm suddenly arose. Lambert had been committed to the Tower, when Monk's interest became predominant. He escaped on the 9th of April, and was speedily at the head of some soldiers, who had revolted; and, marching through the midland counties, he called upon all to join him who would preserve the Commonwealth. Monk sent Ingoldsby to encounter Lambert; and declared to Grenville that, if Lambert met with any success, he would no longer have any reservation, but act in the king's name and under his commission, to summon the Royalists arms. On the 22nd of April, Lambert and his men were met at Daventry by Ingoldsby's troops. A parley was proposed; but Ingoldsby refused any accommodation. The two armies had advanced close to each other, and the conflict seemed imminent, when Lambert's cavalry threw away their pistols; and their leader was quickly a prisoner. The last battle of the Commonwealth had now to be fought at the hustings. The elections took place. A few of the old republicans were returned. Some members were elected who believed that the restoration of the monarchy could

be effected, without losing any of the liberties which had been won since the days of Laud and Strafford. The greater number were men who were either led away by a fever of loyalty, or were indifferent to any re-action which would end the struggles and uncertainties of twenty years. It was impossible that a king thus restored amidst a conflict of passions and prejudices—of old hatreds and new ambitions—should be forward to make any professions of public duty, or cherish any deep affection for the people he was to govern. It was fortunate that Charles was only a heartless voluptuary, and was too selfish in his craving for ease and pleasure, to add the personal energy of the tyrant to the almost inevitable tyranny of those who believed that the king and the people could return to the same condition in which they were before Hampden refused to pay ship-money. The king's position with regard to the Church was, in a similar degree, under the control of the same spirit of indifference. Secretly a Papist, openly a scoffer, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, or Independent might harass each other, so that Charles was quiet. He fancied himself most safe with those who professed to believe that his authority was divine; and that "Render unto Cæsar" meant, if rightly interpreted, Let Cæsar's will be the one law.

Five hundred and fifty-six members had been elected to the House of Commons, the greater number of whom took their seats on the 26th of April. Ten Peers only met in the House of Lords on that day. Presbyterians and Cavaliers looked suspiciously at each other; but the Presbyterians, more accustomed to act in union, manœuvred that one of their party should be elected Speaker. The first business of both Houses was to return thanks to Monk for his services, and the Lords voted that a statue should be erected in his honour. Colonel Ingoldsby also received the thanks of the Commons for his prompt action against Lambert. The House was not yet in the humour to forget the sound advice of Monk to the Lords when he returned them his thanks—"to look forward and not backward in transacting affairs." The Cavaliers soon made the House and the nation understand that the day of a triumphant re-action was fast approaching. Their spirit spread amongst the moderate and independent: "Every one hoped in this change to change their condition, and disowned all things they had before advised. Every ballad singer sang up and down the streets ribald rhymes, made in reproach of the late Commonwealth."*

* Mrs. Hutchinson's "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 261.

after Parliament met, sir John Grenville went to the sitting of the Council of State, and asked to speak with the Lord General. To his hands he delivered a packet sealed with the royal arms. Monk affected surprise and alarm, and it was decided that Grenville should be called in. He said that the packet had been entrusted to him by the king, his master, at Breda. The Council resolved that the letters which Grenville brought should be delivered to the Parliament. On the first of May, Grenville appeared at the door of the Lower House, and being called to the bar presented a letter addressed "To our trusty and well beloved the Speaker of the House of Commons." He then went through the same formality at the House of Lords. With each letter was enclosed a document addressed to the whole nation—the Declaration from Breda.* Grenville then proceeded to the City, and presented a letter from the king addressed to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, which also contained the Declaration. In all these papers, the composition of Hyde, there was little to alarm, and much to propitiate, the prudent and peaceful. The Commons were assured "upon our royal word,—that none of our predecessors have had a greater esteem for Parliaments than we have ;"—Parliaments were "so vital a part of the constitution of the kingdom, and so necessary for the government of it, that, we well know, neither prince nor people can be, in any tolerable degree, happy without them." The Declaration professed the king's desire "that all our subjects may enjoy what by law is theirs, by a full and entire administration of justice throughout the land." It declared "a free and general Pardon to all our subjects,"—excepting only such persons "as shall hereafter be excepted by Act of Parliament." All are invited to a perfect union amongst themselves. Deploring the existence of religious animosities, "we do declare a liberty to tender consciences ; and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom." All matters relating to the possession of estates "shall be determined in Parliament." Both Houses immediately applied themselves to prepare answers to the royal letters ; declared that, "according to the ancient and fundamental laws of this kingdom, the government is, and ought to be, by King, Lords, and Commons ;"—voted fifty thousand pounds to the king as a gift ; † and presented Grenville with five hundred

* See Note at the end of this Chapter.

† "Of a tall stature, and of sable hue,
Much like the son of Kish, that lofty Jew ;

pounds to buy a jewel. Commissioners from both Houses were to convey their answers to the king. Grenville preceded them with the best proof of loyalty and affection—four thousand five hundred pounds in gold, and a bill of exchange for twenty-five thousand pounds. Pepys tells us that Charles, when Grenville brought him the money, was "so joyful, that he called the Princess Royal and Duke of York, to look upon it, as it lay in the portman-teau before it was taken out."

On the 8th of May the two Houses of Parliament proclaimed Charles the Second, King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, at Westminster, at Whitehall, and in the City. Although the king had not arrived, the Restoration of the Monarchy was completed. In a delirium of loyalty the Convention Parliament never thought of making conditions for the liberties of the country. Hale, the great judge, and Prynne, the learned lawyer, had ventured to propose a Committee for considering what propositions should be made to Charles, before the destinies of the country were irrevocably committed to his guidance. Monk opposed this : "I cannot answer for the peace either of the nation or of the army, if any delay is put to the sending for the king. What need is there of sending propositions to him ? Might we not as well prepare them, and offer them to him when he shall come over ? He will bring neither army nor treasure with him, either to fright or corrupt us." The House assented by acclamation. It rested the conservancy of all that the nation had won since the opening of the Long Parliament upon the flimsy foundation of the Declaration from Breda. Bills were prepared, which were to be presented for the acceptance of the king, "when he shall come over." Magna Charta and the Petition of Right ; Privilege of Parliament ; Pardon, Indemnity, and Oblivion,—were words glibly used as if they were things of course. Bills were prepared for confirming purchases of property during the times of trouble ; and for the abolition of Knight Service, the feudal tenure which was most obnoxious. But the real temper of this Parliament was to be subjected to a severer test—the question of Amnesty had yet to be settled. Monk had just

Twelve years complete he suffered in exile,
And kept his father's asses all the while.
At length, by wonderful impulse of fate,
The people call him home to help the State :
And, what is more, they send him money too,
And clothe him all, from head to foot, anew."

ANDREW MARVELL.

protested that if he were to suffer any one to be excluded from such Amnesty, he would be the arrantest rogue that ever lived. Ashley Cooper had said to Hutchinson, "If the violence of the people should bring the king upon us, let me be damned, body and soul, if ever I see a hair of any man's head touched, or a penny of any man's estate, upon this quarrel." Ingoldsby had received the thanks of the Commons for recent services. He, and others who had signed the warrant for the king's execution, were members of the Commons. On the 9th of May, the debate on the Amnesty Bill came on in both Houses. The earl of Northumberland said, that though he had no part in the death of the king, he was against questioning those concerned; "that the example may be more useful to posterity, and profitable to future kings, by deterring them from the like exorbitances." Fairfax, in a noble spirit of generosity, exclaimed, "If any man must be excepted, I know no man that deserves it more than myself; for I was General of the army at that time, and had power sufficient to prevent the proceedings against the king; but I did not think fit to make use of it to that end." Lenthall, the son of the famous Speaker, provoked the House to tumult by boldly saying, "He that first drew his sword against the king committed as high an offence as he that cut off the king's head." The house at last voted as to the number of regicides to be excluded from the Amnesty, and decided that seven should be excepted. But it also resolved that every one should be arrested who had sat upon the king's trial, and their property seized. Other arrests took place. Some who had laboured best with Cromwell to uphold the honour of England, such as Thurloe, were impeached. The titles bestowed by the two Protectors were annulled. Upon all great questions, political or religious, which affected the future safety and liberties of these nations, postponement was the ruling policy of the Cavaliers. The Presbyterians, who were the first to aim at religious supremacy, began clearly to see that the day was fast approaching, when they would regret the tranquillity they had enjoyed under the toleration of that ruler whom they had now agreed to declare a traitor.

The fortunes of Charles had so decidedly changed in the course of a little month, that the foreign Courts who had looked adversely or coldly upon him, now embarrassed him with their rival professions of friendship. He was wisely advised not to be too forward to receive such civilities from France or from Spain as might compromise him in the future policy of England. The States of

Holland invited him to take his departure from the Hague; and he arrived there from Breda on the 16th of May. Thither came the commissioners of the Parliament; the town-clerk of London, with aldermen and lesser dignitaries; deputations of the Presbyterian clergy; and a swarm of Englishmen of every variety of opinion, who wanted to prostrate themselves at the feet of power. Hollis, who had been one of the earliest leaders in the battle of the Long Parliament, was the orator on the part of the House of Commons. Their hearts, he said, were filled with veneration and confidence; their longings for their king, their desires to serve him, expressed the opinions of the whole nation—"lettings out of the soul, expressions of transported minds." Other lords had had dominion over them; but their hearts and souls did abhor such rulers, and ever continued faithful to their king. Anthony Ashley Cooper had civil words from Charles. Fairfax was received with kindness. The king made smooth speeches to the Presbyterians; but they obtained no satisfaction as to the future of England in the great question of religious union. No one, however, pressed hardly upon him. There were no strong words spoken, as the earlier race of Puritans would have spoken. Burnet, describing the general character of Charles, says, "He was affable and easy, and loved to be made so by all about him. The great art of keeping him long, was the being easy, and the making everything easy to him." The modern phrase is "to make things pleasant;" and both phrases mean that there should be a large ingredient of falsehood in human affairs. Admiral Montague, who was to have the honour of receiving the king on board his ship, had long been in communication with him. The ship which carried the admiral's flag had an ugly name, "The Naseby." On the 23rd, the king, with the dukes of York and Gloucester, and a large train, came on board. "After dinner," says Pepys, who was now Montague's secretary, "the king and duke altered the name of some of the ships, viz., the Naseby into Charles; the Richard, James; the Speaker, Mary; the Dunbar (which was not in company with us), the Henry." Lady Fanshawe, who was on board, is in ecstasies: "Who can express the joy and gallantry of that voyage; to see so many great ships, the best in the world; to hear the trumpets and all other music; to see near a hundred brave ships sail before the wind with vast cloths and streamers; the neatness and cleanness of the ships, the gallantry of the commanders, the vast plenty of all sorts of provisions; but, above all, the glorious majesties of the

king and his two brothers, were so beyond man's expectation and expression.* The sky was cloudless, the sea was calm, the moon was at the full. Charles walked up and down the quarter-deck, telling all the wonders of his escape from Worcester—his green coat and his country breeches—the miller stopping his night walk—the inn-keeper bidding God bless him. "He was an everlasting talker," writes Burnet; and his gossip amongst his new friends in this moonlight voyage gave some better promise than the cold dignity of his father, which many must have remembered. It was a merry trip,—and Pepys chuckles over "the brave discourse," and especially the stories of "Thomas Killigrew, a merry droll, but a gentleman of great esteem with the king." On the morning of the 25th they were close to land at Dover, and every one was preparing to go ashore. "The king and the two dukes did eat their breakfast before they went, and there being set some ship's diet, they ate of nothing else but pease and pork, and boiled beef"—a politic appetite, which no doubt won the favour of Blake's old sailors.

When Charles landed at Dover, Monk was at hand to kneel before him—"to receive his majesty as a malefactor would his pardon,"—says a biographer of the wary general. With a feeling that belonged to another time the mayor of Dover presented the king with a Bible. "It is the thing that I love above all things in the world," said the ready actor, who knew his part without much study. The royal train went on to Canterbury. There Monk ventured beyond his usual caution, by presenting the king a list of seventy persons that he recommended for employments—men whose names stank in the nostrils of all Cavaliers. Hyde, through Monk's confidential adviser, Morrice, made the general understand that such interference was unpleasant, and Monk quickly apologised after a very awkward attempt at explanation. Hyde was at Charles's side, and prevented him being too easy. Monk received a lesson; but he was consoled by the Order of the Garter being bestowed upon him.

On the 28th of May king Charles set out from Canterbury, and slept that night at Rochester. At Blackheath the royal cavalcade had to pass the Army of the Commonwealth. Thirty thousand men were there marshalled. Many of these veterans had fought against the family and the cause which was now triumphant. The name of Charles Stuart had been with them a name of hatred and contempt. They had assisted in building up and pulling down

* "Memoirs," p. 131.

governments, which had no unity but in their determination to resist him who was now called to command them, with no sympathy for their courage, no respect for their stern enthusiasm. The great soldier and prince who had led them to so many victories had now his memory profaned, by being proclaimed a traitor by a Parliament that when he was living would have been humbled at his slightest frown. The procession passed on in safety; for the old discipline, that no enemy was ever able to prevail against in the battle-field was still supreme in this pageant,—this last harmless exhibition of that might through which the liberties of England had been won; through whose misdirection they were now imperilled.

Charles went on in the sight of all London to Whitehall,—a wearisome procession, which lasted till nine at night, amidst streets strewed with flowers, past tapestried houses and wine-spouting fountains; with civic authorities wearing chains of gold, and nobles covered with embroidered velvets; trumpets braying, mobs huzzing. In this delirium of joy there was something beyond the idle shouts of popular intoxication. It was the expression of the nation's opinion that the government of England had at length a solid foundation upon which peace and security, liberty and religion, might be established.

NOTE. HIS MAJESTY'S DECLARATION FROM BREDA, TO ALL HIS LOVING SUBJECTS.

C. R.

CHARLES, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all our loving subjects, of what degree or quality soever, greeting: If the general distraction and confusion which is spread over the whole Kingdom, doth not awaken all men to a desire and longing that those wounds, which have so many years together been kept bleeding, may be bound up, all we can say will be to no purpose; however, after this long silence, we have thought it our duty to declare how much we desire to contribute thereunto; and that as we can never give over the hope, in good time, to obtain the possession of that right which God and nature hath made our due; so we do make it our daily suit to the Divine Providence, that he will, in compassion to us and our subjects, after so long misery and sufferings, remit, and put us into a quiet and peaceable possession of that our right, with as little blood and damage to our people as is possible; nor do we desire more to enjoy what is ours than that all our subjects may enjoy what by law is theirs, by a full and entire administration of justice throughout the land, and by extending our mercy where it is wanted and deserved. And to the end that the fear of punishment may not engage any, conscious to themselves of what is past, to a perseverance in guilt for the future, by opposing the quiet and happiness of their country, in the Restoration both of king, peers, and people, to their just, ancient, and fundamental rights, we do, by these presents, declare, That we do grant a free and general Pardon, which we are ready, upon demand, to pass under our Great Seal of England, to all our subjects, of what degree or quality soever, who, within forty days after the publishing hereof, shall lay hold upon this our grace and favour, and shall by any public act, declare their doing so, and that they return to the loyalty and obedience of good subjects; excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by parliament, those only to be excepted. Let all our subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the word of a king, solemnly given by this present Declaration, That no crime whatsoever, committed against us or our royal father before the publication of this, shall ever rise in judgment, or be brought in question, against any of them, to the least endamage of them, either in their lives, liberties, or estates, or (as far forth as lies in our power) so much as to the prejudice of their reputations, by any reproach or term of distinction from the rest of our best subjects; we desiring and ordaining, that henceforth all notes of discord, separation, and difference of parties be utterly abolished among all our subjects, whom we invite and conjure to a perfect union among themselves, under our protection, for the Resettlement of our just Rights and theirs, in a Free Parliament, by which, upon the word of a king, we will be advised. And because the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in Religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other, (which, when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conversation, will be composed, or better understood) we do declare a Liberty to tender Consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion in matters of Religion, which do not disturb the peace of the Kingdom; and that we shall be ready to

consent to such an act of parliament as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us, for the full granting that indulgence.—And because, in the continued distractions of so many years, and so many and great revolutions, many grants and purchases of estates have been made to, and by, many officers, soldiers, and others, who are now possessed of the same, and who may be liable to actions at law upon several titles, we are likewise willing that all such differences, and all things relating to such grants, sales, and purchases, shall be determined in parliament; which can best provide for the just satisfaction of all men who are concerned.—And we do further declare, That we will be ready to consent to any act or acts of parliament to the purposes aforesaid, and for the full satisfaction of all arrears due to the officers and soldiers of the army under the command of general Monk, and that they shall be received into our service upon as good pay and conditions as they now enjoy. Given under Our Sign Manual and Privy-Signet, at our Court at Breda, this 14th day of April, 1660, in the 12th year of our reign.