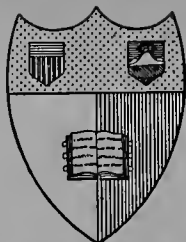




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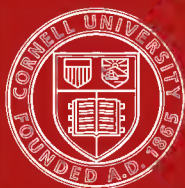
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A NARRATIVE  
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THE ATTEMPTED ESCAPES  
OF  
CHARLES THE FIRST  
FROM CARISBROOK CASTLE.



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A  
NARRATIVE  
of the Attempted Escapes  
OF  
CHARLES THE FIRST  
from *Carisbrook* Castle,

And of his Detention in the *Isle of Wight*, from  
November, 1647, to the seizure of his  
PERSON by the ARMY, at *Newport*,  
in November, 1648.

INCLUDING  
THE LETTERS OF THE KING  
TO  
COLONEL TITUS,

Now first Deciphered & Printed from the Originals.

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BY GEORGE HILLIER.

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TO

EDWARD S. DENDY, ESQ.,

ROUGE DRAGON PURSIVANT OF ARMS AND EARL MARSHAL'S  
SECRETARY,

THIS VOLUME IS INSCRIBED

BY

THE AUTHOR.





## INTRODUCTION.

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SILAS TITUS was born at Bushey, in Hertfordshire, in 1622, and entered Christchurch College, Oxford, in the year 1637; but after continuing about three years in that university, he removed to one of the inns of court, and upon the breaking out of the civil war engaged in the service of the Parliament, under whom he held a captain's commission.

He afterwards espoused the royal cause, being found in attendance upon King Charles the First, at Carisbrook, in the year 1648, where the remarkable correspondence it is the especial object of this volume to elucidate, was contrived. At the Treaty of Newport, he was again in waiting upon the king, after whose execution

he attended Charles the Second into Scotland, whence, in 1651, he was despatched to the queen-mother with secret instructions\* respecting a proposed marriage of the king with a daughter of the Marquis of Argyle.

At the battle of Worcester he was likewise with his majesty, and continued a correspondence with him during the time of his exile; whilst at the Treaty of Breda he represented the English party, in conjunction with Lord Willoughby of Parham, Major-General Massie, Colonel Richard Graves, and Alderman Bunce.

Captain, ultimately Colonel Titus, is however better known to the public as the author of the celebrated pamphlet, "Killing no Murder," which he published in 1657, under the fictitious name of William Allen; and in it endeavoured to prove that killing the Protector would be both a legal and meritorious act. Cromwell is said to have been so powerfully affected by the perusal of this publication, as to cause him ever afterwards to become gloomy and suspicious, seldom sleeping two nights in the same bed, and invariably carrying fire-arms. Having by some secret intelligence discovered the real author, he

\* See Appendix.

made the following attempt to secure his person. Understanding the royalists were in the habit of holding meetings at a certain tavern in London, he sent an officer, in whose attachment and fidelity he placed great confidence, to seize Colonel Titus and Firebrace. The officer ordered his men to halt at the door until he went into the house for further information. He there privately asked the landlord whether Titus and Firebrace were within, assuring him that his purpose was to save, and not to take away their lives; and going into the room where they were, threw his red cloak over his head, and exclaimed, "if Titus or Firebrace be in the room, let them escape for their lives this instant." He then returned, and called in the soldiers to take them; but they, heeding his advice, had in the meantime escaped through the window, and mounting their horses, proceeded into Scotland, where they joined General Monk.\*

After the Restoration, in consideration of the many important services he had rendered, Titus was appointed one of the grooms of the

\* Additions to "Camden's Britannia," by Gough; article "Huntingdon."

bedchamber, and his wife, Catherine Titus, lady of the queen's privy chamber; whilst as a further recognition, he received an augmentation of his arms, viz. or, upon a chief embattled gu. a lion of England, passant-guardant or, to be borne by him and his descendants, quarterly, together with the arms of his family.

The grant expressed that this mark of favour was rendered in consideration, "that in the years 1646, 1647, and 1648, he was by our royal father intrusted in his affairs of the greatest importance, both in relation to his restitution and in order to his escape out of the captivity in which he was held by the rebels, for which he was by them charged with high treason, and forced to fly beyond the seas. After which, as the highest testimony of our royal father's justice and confidence, he did, even at the time of his execrable murder, and upon the accursed scaffold, recommend him, the said Silas Titus and his singular fidelity, unto us, by the late Archbishop of Canterbury then assisting, who happily lived to declare the same; since when, even unto our happy restoration, we being as highly satisfied with his great prudence, loyalty, and zeal to our service, have entrusted and employed him

•

in our most private affairs and designs, whereby he was exposed to the greatest dangers, had his estate confiscated by the rebels, and was, by an act of theirs, condemned of high treason; notwithstanding which he crossed the seas in order to our service about twenty times; and by his pen and practices against the then usurper Oliver, vigorously endeavoured the destruction of that tyrant and his government. And after our restoration (being then a member of Parliament), he did as vigorously pursue to justice the accursed regicides; and by his motion, the carcases of Oliver Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton, were taken up out of our royal chapel at Westminster, drawn to Tyburn, there hanged, then burned under the gallows, and the heads set upon Westminster Hall; for which, and other his services and sufferings, he has three thousand pounds voted him by the two Houses of Parliament, in such terms as the honour thereof was equal to the gift."

After the preparation of the draft from which this extract is copied, an alteration in the intended grant seems however to have been made by the heralds, as the chief in his coat is not embattled.

In 1678 he was elected member of Parliament for the county of Hertford; and in the following year, by opposing the prerogative on the occasion of Oates' Plot, he lost his place at court.

In the year 1681 he was elected for Huntingdon, and showed great zeal in favour of the Bill of Exclusion. The following extempore lines, which formed part of his speech in opposition to the Duke of York's claims, have since been oftentimes quoted :

“ I hear a lion in the lobby roar,  
Say, Mr. Speaker, shall we shut the door?  
Or, do you rather choose to let him in?  
But how then shall we get him out again ?”

In November 1687, notwithstanding the prominent part he thus played, he procured an introduction to James the Second, after his accession, by William Penn the quaker, and was the following year sworn of the Privy Council, but retired on the abdication of the king.

Soon after the revolution, he was elected to serve for the borough of Ludlow, in Shropshire; and having lived to the age of eighty-four, died in December, 1704, leaving three daughters, who were never married.



The letters and papers of Colonel Titus, together with his residence in Bushey, were inherited by his descendant Mrs. Shorte, and as part of her fortune, conveyed by marriage to the Rev. Dr. James Ibbetson, formerly rector of Bushey, by whose representative they have been recently sold to the trustees of the British Museum.

As descriptive of that remarkable epoch in the life of Charles the First, his incarceration at Carisbrook, the series of fifteen letters written there by the king to Captain Titus, are invaluable; and it having appeared, upon consideration, that many portions of England's history which were of less interest to the general reader than the events to which these letters refer, had been more fully chronicled, it was resolved, in connection with their publication, to collect into one perfect whole the many scattered illustrations of the singular incidents attendant on the residence of Charles in the Isle of Wight.

From this determination originated the following pages;\* and in offering them to the

\* I would here acknowledge the valuable advice and kindly co-operation I have received in furtherance of the design, from John Henry Hearn, Esq. of Newport.

public, I would only wish to remark, that my endeavour has been the rather to present an interesting summary of all the recorded facts I could discover bearing on the subject, than to produce a self-opinionated effusion, perhaps satisfactory neither to myself nor my reader.

Under these circumstances the work has been compiled; and my only hope is, that the immensity of interest which is attached to all retrospections of this memorable time, will create for it the little attention which, in a literary point of view, it could not claim, and I have no pretension to ask.

GEORGE HILLIER.

LONDON, *August* 1852.

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NARRATIVE  
OF THE  
*DETENTION OF CHARLES I.*  
IN THE  
*ISLE OF WIGHT.*

---

CHAPTER I.

The King comes to the Isle of Wight.

THE details of the flight of King Charles the First to the Isle of Wight, in the month of November, 1647, gave rise to so much theoretical speculation, as well as variety of representations, on the part of nearly all contemporary writers and after commentators, that an endeavour was made by the late Lord Ashburnham, in the attempted vindication of his ancestor's reputation in the affair, to unveil much of the obscurity in which the history of the transaction had been concealed; and the interest which is

attached to every occurrence connected with that disturbed unhappy period of our history, especially in connection with those who were in immediate attendance upon the unfortunate monarch, must serve therefore as the reason for bringing the following pages before the public.\*

The king, having a suspicion that his life would be endangered if he remained at Hampton Court, where he was then residing, resolved, after a conference with Sir John Berkeley, and Mr. Ashburnham and Mr. Legg, grooms of his chambers, to retire from thence to the Isle of Wight, where he would have an opportunity of sojourning with his tried and right loyal adherent Sir John Oglander,† until the feeling of Colonel Robert Hammond, who was then governor of the island, could be ascertained. Early on the evening of the 11th of

\* The principal published authorities from which information can be derived relative to the king's residence in the Isle of Wight are, Ashburnham's "Narrative," Berkeley's "Memoirs," Herbert's "Memoirs," Firebrace's "Narrative," Warwick's "Memoirs," Cook's "Narrative;" all attendants on his majesty. Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion," the various Histories of England, Journals of the Houses of Parliament, Wagstaffe's "Vindication," Rushworth's "Collections," Masere's "Tracts,"—collection of cotemporary pamphlets, Lingard's "History," Peck's "Defiderata," Clarendon's "State Papers," &c. &c. &c.

† Of Nunwell House, near Brading.

November, 1647, after leaving three letters on his bed-room table, addressed to the Parliament, Colonel Whalley, and Lord Montague, wherein he stated his reasons for privately withdrawing from the palace, the king accordingly made his way from his apartments, through a door where no guard was set, into the park unperceived, at once crossed the Thames by means of a boat ready to convey him, and landed at Ditton, where Ashburnham had been previously residing, and where his majesty was received by him, Sir John Berkeley, and Mr. Legg. In their company, he immediately directed his course into Hampshire; but on arriving within twenty miles of the coast, Charles ordered Mr. Ashburnham and Sir John Berkeley to proceed to the island, and ascertain how the Governor would receive him—a command they were reluctantly compelled to observe; whilst he at the same time, accompanied only by Mr. Legg, progressed towards Tichfield House, the residence of the Earl of Southampton, where, in the absence of her son, he was entertained by the old Countess of that name, during the time his adherents were prosecuting their mission in the Isle of Wight.

Colonel Hammond, at this time Governor of the island, was the second son of Robert Hammond of Chertsey, in Surrey, Esq., elder brother of Dr. Henry Hammond, the eminent divine, and chaplain to the king, and son of the physician to Prince Henry, Dr. John Hammond, whose daughter Jane married Sir John Dingley, of the Isle of Wight. Colonel Hammond was born in the year 1621, entered a commoner of Magdalen Hall, in the University of Oxford, in the year 1632,\* and having continued there three years, left the University without the honour of a degree. Upon the breaking out of the war in 1642, he engaged in arms on the side of the Parliament, by the persuasion of his uncle, Thomas Hammond, then captain of horse, and afterwards lieutenant-general of the ordnance, by whose interest his nephew was made a captain, and then major, under Colonel Edward Maffey, during the siege of Gloucester. In the course of this siege he killed a Major Gray for giving him the lie, when he was ordered to be tried by the Council of War in the Lord-General's army,† by whom, however, he appears to have been

\* Dr. Birch, in a note to Hammond's "Letters."

† Whitelock, page 106, ed. 1732.



acquitted. He was afterwards raised to the rank of colonel of a regiment of foot, in which he continued until the end of the war; and on the 6th September, 1647, by an ordinance of both Houses of Parliament,\* was appointed "Captain and Governor of the Isle of Wight, and of all ports, forts, towers, and places of strength therein, until the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled shall otherwise order;" and, on the 9th of the same month, it was likewise ordered that Mr. Bulkeley and Mr. Lisle, and the rest of the gentlemen that serve for the Isle of Wight, do go down with the Governor, for the better settling him in the government of the said isle: it being also worthy of remark, that the ordinance contained a clause, wherein it was stated that "the said Colonel Robert Hammond be subject to the commands of Sir Thomas Fairfax, Knight, Commander-in-chief of all the land forces in the kingdom of England, and in the pay of the Parliament," showing that, although subordinate in matters strictly military, in the civil appointment of Governor he was dependent on the Parliament alone,—a fact which enables a positive inference

\* Commons' and Lords' "Journals."

to be drawn of the jealousy which existed in the Presbyterian party of that time relative to the power to which the organisation of the army was then rapidly tending.

The king's parting instructions to Ashburnham and Berkeley were, that they should carry to Hammond a copy of the letter his majesty had left at Hampton Court, and of two letters sent to him—one by Cromwell,\* and the other with only the initials E. R. attached—which last-named communication contained great apprehension and fears of the ill intentions of the levelling party in the army and the city against his majesty, and stated that Mr. Dell and Mr. Peters, two of the preachers of the army, would willingly bear company in the design; for they had often said to these agitators, "Your majesty is but as a dead dog;" Cromwell's especially adding, that in prosecution thereof a new guard was the next day to be put upon his majesty of that party. The king's letter expressed his distrust of the disorderly part of the army, and his necessity thereupon to provide for his own safety, which he would do so as not to desert the

\* See Whalley's Letter to Lenthall, in Peck's "Defiderata Curiosa."

interests of the army ; whilst he verbally desired them, at the same time, to intimate to Hammond, that he made choice of him as one in whom he imagined he could confide, on account of his being a person of good extraction ; and that, although he had declared against him in the war, he had still never shown any animosity, but, on the contrary, had spoken in terms of respect towards his person. His majesty's purpose in sending to him being, that he might not surprize him, and to request a promise of protection to the best of his power for himself and his servants ; and if it should happen he had neither the ability nor inclination to forward his desires, that he should suffer those by whom he was addressed to depart freely and unmolested. Berkeley, however, making rejoinder that he knew nothing of Hammond, and, therefore, could not tell whether he might not detain them in the island ; and should they not return by the next day, his majesty had better secure his own escape, without looking to their safety. Berkeley also states in his memoirs, that on his afterwards interrogating Ashburnham concerning his acquaintance with the governor, he elicited that " he knew but little, yet had lately some dif-

course with him upon the highways near Kingston (*upon Thames*), and found him not averſe to his majeſty ; but that which made him conceive the beſt hope of him was, the character Mr. Denham (*The Cavalier Poet*) and the commendations my Lady Ifabella Thynn gave him.”

On reaching Lymington, the inclemency of the weather prevented them croſſing the Solent until the next morning, when they made their way from thence to Carisbrook, arriving there between ten and eleven o'clock ; and having learned that Hammond had gone to Newport, to meet ſome gentlemen and officers connected with the iſland, followed and overtook him ; Berkeley, apparently in a moſt unſkilful and abrupt manner, at once telling him the king had left Hampton Court, under dread of aſſaſſination, and was then in the neighbourhood : to which Hammond made answer, “ that he knew not what courſe to take ;” \* but having, upon ſerious conſideration, weighed the great concernment that the perſon of the king was of, on this junction of affairs, to the ſettlement of the peace of the kingdom, reſolved it his duty to the king, to the Parliament, and the kingdom,

\* Hammond's "Letter" in *Ruſhworth*.

to use the utmost of his endeavours to preserve his person from any such horrid attempt, and to bring him to a place of safety, where he might also be in a capacity of answering the expectations of Parliament and the kingdom, in agreeing to such things as might extend to the settlement of those great divisions and distractions which abound in every corner thereof." On this much controversy ensued, and distrust as to Hammond's character evidently sprung up in the minds of both Ashburnham and Berkeley; it being, however, ultimately agreed, that Berkeley should remain at the castle, whilst Ashburnham took horse and returned to the king, with the vague intimation from Hammond, "that he believed his majesty had made choice of him as a person of honour and honesty, to lay this great trust upon, and, therefore, he would not deceive his majesty's expectations." Berkeley, hereupon, to use his own language, "embraced the motion most readily, and immediately went over the bridge into the castle, though I had the image of the gallows very perfectly before me. Mr. Ashburnham, I believe, went with a better heart to horse; but before he was gone half a flight-shot, the governor (being before the castle-gate)

called to him, and had a conference of at least a quarter of an hour with him; to what purpose I never knew, until I came into Holland, where a gentleman of good worth and quality told me that the governor affirmed afterwards in London, and in many places, that he then offered Mr. Ashburnham that I should go, and he should stay, as believing his majesty to be less willing to expose him than me, but that Mr. Ashburnham absolutely refused. Whatever passed between them, I am sure they both came back to me: and the governor, putting himself between us, said, that he would say which he was sure ought to content any reasonable man, which was, that he did believe his majesty relied on him as on a person of honour and honesty, and, therefore, he did engage himself to us to perform whatever could be expected from a person of honour and honesty. Before I could make any, Mr. Ashburnham made this reply, '*I will ask no more.*' The governor then added, 'Let us then all go to the king and acquaint him with it.' Mr. Ashburnham answered, '*With all my heart.*' I then broke from the governor, who held me in his hand, and went to Mr. Ashburnham and said, 'What, do you mean to

carry this man to the king, before you know whether his majesty will approve of this undertaking, or no? Undoubtedly you will surprize him.' Mr. Ashburnham said nothing, but '*I'll warrant you.*' 'And so you shall,' said I; 'for you know the king much better than I do; and, therefore, when we shall come where the king is, I assure you I will not see him before you have satisfied his majesty concerning your proceeding.' Well, he would take that upon him. I then desired he would not let the governor carry any other person with him, that in all events we might the more easily secure him, which he consented to."

This, as I have already stated, is Sir John Berkeley's narrative of this remarkable interview; to which Ashburnham's version differs in many respects, but, evidently, so far only as to endeavour to exculpate himself from any blame which might be attributed to the prominent part he certainly played in the extraordinary measure of Hammond's accompanying them to the king, which proposition, if it did not originate with him, undoubtedly received his first and full concurrence.

Sir Philip Warwick, in his Memoirs,\* writes: "I never had occasion, but once at the Isle of Wight, to speak with the king upon this affair, and it was by an accident, or the king's letting himself into that discourse; and he did but touch upon it, nor durst I seem to be more inquisitive. But when I mentioned that the world had an ill opinion of my friend Mr. Ashburnham's guiding him thither, I remember he freely replied, '*I do no way believe he was unfaithful to me; but I think he wanted courage at that time,*' (which I interpreted his majesty meant, his not staying with the governor,) '*whom I never knew wanted it before.*'"

On the completion of the arrangement just related, Ashburnham and Berkeley, accompanied by the governor, at once proceeded to Cowes; where Hammond, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his companions, was joined by Captain Baskett, who held the command of the castle there, and two servants, and from thence crossed the channel to Tichfield, when Ashburnham alone went upstairs to the king, and astounded him by announcing the governor's

\* Page 306.



presence, who, he said, had come with them to make good what he had promised. The king, striking himself on his breast, exclaimed, "What, have you brought Hammond with you? O Jack, you have undone me; for I am by this means made fast from stirring." To which Mr. Ashburnham replied, "that if he mistrusted Hammond, he would undertake to remove him;" a proposition the king most disdainfully rejected by saying, "I understand you well enough; but the world would not excuse me. For if I should follow that counsel, it would be said and believed that he (Hammond) had ventured his life for me, and that I had unworthily taken it from him. No, it is now too late to think of anything but going through the way you have forced upon me, and to leave the issue with God;" and as if Fortune had set herself to confound his plans and frustrate his hopes, he was not allowed even a few moments to think calmly over his fate and let resolution fix itself, for Hammond and Baskett grew so impatient, a servant belonging to Lord Southampton was obligated to remind his majesty they were in attendance; consequently, in about half an hour their presence was desired, and after

kissing the king's hand were received cheerfully by him, the king addressing the governor to this effect:—"Hammond, after an intolerable restraint to my person at Hampton Court, I found there was a further design against my person, by some which insinuated themselves into divers regiments of the army; and having an earnest desire of the settling of the kingdom in such sort as might best conduce to a lasting peace throughout my dominions, and not to be an instrument of stirring up a new war, I have thought good to come in this place, with confidence of your fidelity in protecting my person from danger, until, by such addresses as shall be made unto us by the Parliament, there be a mutual agreement concluded, and our kingdom settled." \*

To which Hammond declared "that he tendered his majesty's person above his own life, and would not fail in doing his utmost in fulfilling his majesty's just desires (in relation to the orders and directions which he should receive from the Parliament):" thus promising more unreservedly than he had done to Ashburnham and Berkeley at Carisbrook. His majesty, how-

\* Tracey's Letter from Cowes Castle, November 17, 1647.

ever, taking Berkeley aside, said to him, "Sir John Berkeley, I hope you are not so passionate as Jack Ashburnham?" pathetically adding, "Do you think you have followed my instructions?" Answer was made by Berkeley:—"No, indeed, sir; but it is none of my fault, as Mr. Ashburnham can tell you if he pleases: I have exposed my life to prevent it;" repeating the substance of what had passed, particularly of his being a prisoner in the castle, and of Ashburnham's first leaving without him, facts, it appears, he in his statement had omitted.

Further temporising being now useless, the king, attended by Hammond, Basket, Ashburnham, Sir John Berkeley, and Mr. Legg, left Tichfield House for Cowes, where they remained during the night, the king sojourning at an ale-house,\* as the castle was then appropriated for a prison, and the next morning saw the unfortunate Charles quietly conducted to the castle of Carisbrook. In his progress thither "a gentlewoman, as he passed through Newport, presented him with a damask rose, which grew in her garden at that cold season of the year, and prayed for him, which his majesty heartily

\* Oglander MSS.

thanked her for;”\* an incident singularly and interestingly illustrated in the following communication. The writer says, “When visiting Paris some years since, in looking over the catalogue of the gallery of the Luxembourg,† the name of “Newport, l’Ile de Wight,” caught my eye when curiously scanning its pages, and on examination I found the subject of the picture to be the supposed voluntary surrender of King Charles to Moses Read the mayor, and a young girl, ‘Frances Trattle,’ presenting the king at the time with a rose. This description was interesting to me, and the inspection of the picture equally so, as I found the corn-market place most accurately portrayed; the small houses standing in the angles of the church, the butchers’ shambles, and the old corn-market house, drawn in exact accordance with the description afforded

\* Herbert’s “Memoirs.”

† In the succeeding editions of this Catalogue the picture still appears, but thus described:—

“82. Sujet tiré de la vie de Charles 1<sup>er</sup>.

“‘Charles 1<sup>er</sup>, apres s’être échappé d’Hampton-Court, vint se livrer au gouverneur de Newport, qui, apres de longues hésitations, le fit arreter et conduire prisonnier au château de Carisbrook. Au moment ou il traversait la place, une jeune fille, touchée de son abattement et de ses malheurs, s’approcha de lui et lui offrit une rose.’”

by our muniments; it being also equally correct that Moses Read was mayor of Newport at this time."

In thus proceeding to the Isle of Wight, the king had probably settled on no particular place in preference to another, his flight having been so sudden; although it is believed he had originally intended to sail for Jersey, and had still some hopes to procure a vessel. The ship was mentioned, but there was no time to procure one, and the result was as I have described.

There can, however, be little, if any, doubt but that Charles was unthinkingly pursuing the course which Cromwell's machinations had been devised to drive him upon; it being also evident that the circumstance of Cromwell's informing Colonel Whalley, the officer who commanded at Hampton Court, of the design of the agitators to seize the king's person, was done with the sole intent of instigating Charles to remove from thence: but to believe that Hammond had been placed in the Isle of Wight in readiness to receive the king is morally impossible, there having been no visible cause to direct his majesty's flight in that direction—the one circumstance fortuitously and casually led to the other.

Hammond's first care was to despatch information of the king's arrival in the island to Cromwell, who, almost immediately after the receipt of the intelligence, began to direct his energies against those proceedings in the regiments which had been first introduced into the army by his connivance, and fomented for his own ambitious ends, making Fairfax the dupe of himself and his coadjutors, Ireton and Skipton. Ludlow, Ashburnham, Berkeley, Hobbes in his *Behemoth*, and others, speak of the institution to which I am now alluding as "adjutators," although the correct appellation was the significant one of *agitators*; Mr. Godwin, in his history of the commonwealth, explaining their office as one devised to aid the regular councils of war, and to *agitate* such questions as the interests of the army required to have considered. At first two persons were chosen, by the private soldiers of each troop or company, to form a kind of subordinate council, whilst the superior officers arrayed a general assembly of themselves; but this body being found too numerous, the elective principle was adopted, and two or more representatives, either soldiers or subalterns, were chosen for each regi-

ment,—a council of agitators : a captain of horse in Fairfax's regiment, named Berry, who had formerly been a gardener, but was now a confidential ally of Cromwell's, being chosen as the president soon after its institution. At this juncture three of the principals were tried, and one summarily executed at the rendezvous at Ware ; a procedure which, having partially restored the necessary discipline, Cromwell, under the advice of Ireton, assembled a council of officers at Windsor, to deliberate on the settlement of the nation and the future disposition of the king's person. In this conference, says Hume, following Clarendon, "which commenced with devout prayers, poured forth by Cromwell himself and other inspired persons, was first opened the daring, cruel, and unheard-of counsel of bringing the king to justice, and of punishing by a judicial sentence their sovereign for his pretended tyranny and mal-administration."\* Cromwell well knowing that while the king lived, whether in prison or at large, he must be the rallying point for the efforts of those large bodies of his subjects who were sincerely attached to the monarchy and to his

\* See Hallam's "Constitutional History," vol. ii. p. 303.

person, and of all those other numerous classes who were now disgusted with the oppressive domination and immense pecuniary levies of the army and the Parliament.\* “To murder him privately,” says Hume, “was exposed to the imputation of injustice and cruelty, aggravated by the baseness of such a crime. Some unexpected procedure must, therefore, be attempted, which would astonish the world by its novelty, would bear the semblance of justice, and would cover its barbarity by the audaciousness of the enterprise.” And towards such a consummation, events from this memorable surrender of the king to Colonel Hammond quickly progressed.

“ And Hampton shows what part  
 He had of wiser art,  
 Where, twining subtle fears with hope,  
 He wove a net of such a scope,  
 That Charles himself might chafe  
 To Carisbrook’s narrow case.” †

\* Trial of Charles the First.

† Andrew Marvell’s “Ode on Cromwell’s Return from Ireland.”





## CHAPTER II.

Hammond's Proceedings after the King's Arrival—Reception of the Warrants for the Arrest of Ashburnham, Berkeley, and Legg—Interviews of the Parliamentarian and Scottish Commissioners with the King, and his Rejection of the four Bills—Passing of the Ordinance of no further Communications with the King—Extracts from contemporary Pamphlets—First proposed Escape, and dismissal of Ashburnham, Berkeley, Legg, and other attendants

THE history of the Castle of Carisbrook may be said to commence with the burial of Withgar, and conclude with the imprisonment of Charles, and although amongst the thousands who annually make their pilgrimage to this hallowed relic, which seems to exist but as a mere phantom of past scenes—one of those refreshing tombstones which tell of the mailed power of the baronial times and the conflict between civilization and feudalism, there are

doubtless but few who have heard of the Saxon chieftain, yet none look on the moss-woven tapestry of its walls without bestowing some pitying ejaculation on the sorrows of the monarch who was so long immured within them, or fail to ponder on the sad but too true a tale of the endeavours of a few faithful adherents to release him from the keeping of men whose sympathies were none of his.

Carisbrook was at this time, 1647, a structure of successive eras, and consequently incongruous design, ranging from the reigns of the first Plantagenets to that of Elizabeth, when the old castle had been surrounded by a counter-scarp, and many of the internal buildings reconstructed under the superintendence of Genebella, an Italian engineer of considerable eminence; but although scarcely a century had elapsed since these repairs were effected, its strength had already become considerably impaired. The governor's house then consisted of a portion of the habitation of the early lords, and of the more lofty elevation erected by Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, who held the lordship of the island in the reign of Richard the Second, which still

remains nearly in its pristine state, having his arms sculptured on one of the buttresses, and was appropriated as the royal lodging on the king's arrival,—a fact easily deducible from the evidence which exists, of there having been three rooms immediately over each other, an arrangement no other part of the fortress then presented.

Having secured the person of the king, Hammond's first care was, to convey an intimation of the incident to Cromwell, in priority to a letter he dispatched to both Houses of Parliament, containing the like information, but using in addition this remarkable expression, "found the king near the water-side (at Tichfield), and conceiving myself no way able to secure him there, I chose (he desiring it) to bring him over into this island, where he now is. My lord (Manchester), my endeavour (as for my life) shall be to preserve and secure his person." A second letter was at the same time received couched in similar terms from Captain Baskett, governor of Cowes Castle,\* and a debate arising upon the subject-matter of their

\* Rushworth, p. 847, vol. iv., part 2.

contents, it was referred to a committee of both Houses further to consider the business, and draw up instructions for Colonel Hammond respecting the disposal of his majesty's person during his stay there. Captain Rolph, the bearer of Hammond's communication, having 20*l.* given him by the Commons, and the person who conveyed Baskett's, 10*l.* Whilst on the 17th November, Wednesday, a letter of thanks to Colonel Hammond was reported and passed, and the instructions concerning his majesty passed both houses, the Lords the same day sending a message to the Commons, with a list of such persons as might attend his majesty in the Isle of Wight, which they referred to the committee of revenue.

These instructions (called the first or old instructions) are set forth in several cotemporary pamphlets, but are still worth transcribing :

“ Die Martis, 16 Nov. 1647.

“ Resolved by the Lords and Commons in  
Parliament assembled :

“ 1. That the securest place, during the time

the houses shall think fit to continue him in the Isle of Wight, be Carisbrook Castle.

“ 2. That no person who hath been in arms, or assisted in this unnatural war against the Parliament, be permitted to come or remain in the said isle during the king's residence there, unless they be inhabitants of the isle, and have compounded with the Parliament.

“ 3. That no person who hath been in arms, &c., shall be permitted to come into the king's presence, or into any fort or castle in the said isle during the king's residence there, although he be an inhabitant, and hath compounded with the Parliament.

“ 4. That no stranger or person of a foreign nation shall be permitted to come into the king's presence without (the) directions of both houses: except such as have warrant from the Parliament of Scotland, or from the committee of that Parliament, thereunto authorized, and are not disabled by the propositions agreed on by both kingdoms.

“ 5. That a sufficient guard be appointed by Colonel Hammond, governor of the said isle, for security of the king's person from any

violence, and (for) preventing his departing the said isle without the directions of both houses."

The popular opinion throughout the island had, however, set in greatly favourable for the king after his arrival, whilst the garrison of the Castle of Carisbrook consisted but of twelve old men who had served under the Earl of Portland; and as no restraint was perceptibly put upon the king's movements, it was considered he might choose his own time of leaving the island—a feeling of security which was, however, too soon to be dispelled; for on the receipt of these instructions, Hammond instantly issued orders commanding "all masters of boats belonging to Hampshire or the Isle of Wight, that they should land neither persons nor goods, in any part of the island, but at Yarmouth Castle, Cowes Castle, and Ryde, where also a guard was placed with directions as at the two first-named castles, to examine all persons landing, and to detain and secure those who could not give a very good account of themselves or their business;"\* it being, however,

\* Hammond's Letter to the Speaker of the House of Lords, Nov. 19.

likewise incumbent on me to state that at his first coming Hammond endeavoured, by every outward appearance, to make the king's lodgement in the castle partake more of the nature of the entertainment of a guest than a prisoner,\* accompanying him whilst hunting in the forest of Parkhurst, which was at that time plentifully stocked with deer; and believing his house to be badly ordered for his majesty's comfort, he being a bachelor, sent for his mother, who was then residing at Chertsey,† to superintend his domestic arrangements, whilst on a representation to the House of Commons of the insufficiency of his household appointments,‡ it was ordered on the 24th of November, "that the seals should be removed from his majesty's bedchamber at Hampton Court, and the furniture therein transmitted and employed for his present service." The gentry of the island were also allowed freely to visit the court, and many of them admitted to kiss the king's

\* On the Thursday after his arrival, he visited and dined with Sir John Oglander at Nunwell.—Oglander MSS.

† Tracey's Letter from Cowes Castle.

‡ Hammond's Letter, 16th Nov.

hand, the inhabitants of Newport further declaring themselves as promising security to his majesty's person, and to preserve and defend him from all danger whatsoever.

The sudden and unexpected escape of the king made a great impression upon the minds of most of his subjects, every man's predilections imagining he would act the part he wished him to perform; and although Charles at this time was undoubtedly insincere with all parties, excepting the old and devoted royalists, now headed by the Marquis of Ormond, who, after making terms with the Parliament in Ireland, had been permitted to come over to England, it is a question, considering the peculiarity of his position, if the charge of perfidy can with any degree of justice be urged against the vanquished and more than half-dethroned monarch, for receiving the overtures of the three prominent parties, and for being willing to close either with the Scots, the army, or the Parliament, accordingly as the offers of the one or the other were based on the greatest probability of ultimate advantage.

On the 17th of November the king addressed



a letter to both Houses of Parliament, containing propofals for a personal treaty in London, which was read in the House of Commons on the 19th of the fame month without comment, and on the fame day a communication was transmitted by Hammond from Carisbrook, wherein he states, "that yesterday there came to me an officer belonging to the ferjeant of the House of Commons, with particular warrants for the apprehending and bringing up in safe custody the persons of Mr. John Ashburnham, Mr. William Legg, and Sir John Berkeley, who came hither with the king, the said warrants requiring my assistance to and aid here in the execution of them, but with no order to me from either or both houses for that purpose; and finding the matter to be of very great importance, I have desired the messenger to forbear the execution of his warrants till I have given the houses to understand that in case the said warrants should be served and put in execution, it would be impossible for me to answer the expectations of Parliament in preserving the person of the king in security to be disposed (of) by them, unless I should keep him close prisoner, which is a business of that nature, that it is

neither fit nor safe for me to do, especially of myself."

Further adding, that the king intimates "in case these gentlemen be taken from him, and punished as evil doers, for counselling him not to go out of the kingdom, but rather to come to the place where he now is, and for their endeavouring accordingly in attending him hither, he cannot but himself expect to be dealt with accordingly, his case being the same; and from such apprehensions, your lordship may easily judge what he will do by his former actings, he having that liberty which hath ever been allowed him since hath he been disposed (of) by the Parliament.

"My lord, I shall further let you know, that besides the care I shall always have of these gentlemen, they have engaged their honours not to depart from me, so that I am most confident of their security.

"And truly, were not their ends the same with their pretences (in relation to the peace of this kingdom), I am confident they would never have advised nor conducted the king to this place.

"Besides, were they at this time removed

from the king, there would be none left for his attendance, which (besides the offence) how great the inconvenience would be to him your lordship cannot be ignorant.

“ And further, give me leave to add (if so unworthy a servant of your lordship as I am, and that which concerns my honour, were at all worthy your consideration) whether it would not much reflect upon me, in case these gentlemen should be thus removed from hence, the king and themselves having freely thrown themselves upon me for safety upon confidence (as they please to say) of my honour and honesty, and the satisfaction they expect it would have given the Parliament, the king being necessitated to remove.”\*

In addition to the serjeant's messenger, there was also a command forwarded to Hammond by Sir Thomas Fairfax, “ that he should with all speed and conveniency send up Sir John Berkeley, Mr. John Ashburnham, and Mr. Legg, and the gentlemen that went with his majesty from Hampton now residing in the Isle of Wight, that they may give an account

\* Hammond's Letter, published by R. Ibbitson, Smithfield, 1647.

to the Parliament of his majesty's proceedings and carriage in his journey from Hampton to the Isle of Wight, and in case he should stand in need of men to guard them up or the like, his excellency hath ordered Captain Peck's troop to Redbridge, near Southampton," a private injunction to the same effect being likewise found in a letter from Ireton of the 21st November, 1647; but notwithstanding these representations, Hammond's intercession seems to have prevailed with the house, as no ulterior measures were adopted against them, and the warrants issued by the speaker for this purpose were called in on a motion of Cromwell's the 2nd of December. The king had, therefore, as yet little apparent reason to repent his confidence; but the governor, whilst he granted every indulgence to his captive, had evidently no intention of separating his own lot from that of the army. He consulted the officers at head-quarters, and secretly resolved to adhere to their instructions.\*

In No. 6 of the *Mercurius Anti-pragmaticus* of the 25th November, 1647, there appears so quaint and strangely prophetic a paragraph in connection with the foregoing matter, that I

\* Lingard, vol. viii. p. 191.

cannot forbear quoting it, believing it not altogether foreign to the subject before me. "But the king being gone, it is good to fear the children's shoes be made of the same running leather, and therefore the houses have sent a message to the Earl of Northumberland, their guardian, to have a strict eye over them, that they be not stolen away, and have also ordered that Sir John Berkeley and Mr. Ashburnham be examined, as, concerning the matter of the king's departure, it is good policy to keep them from residing near his majesty, he loving the one (Ashburnham) as well as ever the Second Edward did his *Piers* (Pierce) *Gaveston*, and who is likely to bring as many inconveniences upon his majesty as ever that fantastical minion did upon his deluded lord. This fire-drake led his majesty out of the way cleane when he forsook Oxford in disguise, and should have come to London, and not into the Scottish camp; but his majesty will have better guides when he forsakes the Isle of Wight; he forsook paradise for this isle, and when he leaves it and comes to his palace at Westminster, it's but a step to heaven."

On the 14th December following, the Parlia-

ment passed four resolutions drawn up in the form of four Acts, which, when the king had signed, he was to be admitted to a personal treaty in London. The first of these propositions enacted, after vesting the command of the army in the Parliament for twenty years, it might, at the expiration of that time, be restored to the crown, but not without the previous consent of the Lords and Commons, and that still whenever they should declare the safety of the kingdom to be concerned, all bills passed by them respecting the sea or land forces should be deemed Acts of Parliament, even though the king, for the time being, should refuse his assent—the second declared all oaths, proclamations and proceedings against the Parliament during the war void and of no effect—the third annulled all titles of honour granted since the 20th of May, 1642, and deprived all peers to be created hereafter of the right of sitting in Parliament without the consent of the two houses, and the last gave to the houses themselves the power of adjourning from place to place at their discretion.\*

The Scottish commissioners who had possibly been acted on by Lauderdale, Lanark, and

\* Journals, vol. ix. p. 575.

Berkeley, and who had received several communications from the king himself, through the agency of Dr. Gough, one of the queen's chaplains, protested against sending these bills to Charles before he should be treated with in London, nevertheless the Commissioners appointed by the two houses—the Earls of Digby, Northumberland, Kent, Rutland, Pembroke, Salisbury, Warwick, and Mulgrave, on the part of the Lords; and Mr. Bulkeley, Mr. Lisle, Mr. Robert Goodwin, and Mr. Kemp, on the part of the Commons, together with their chaplains Mr. Marshall and Mr. Rye, proceeded to the Isle of Wight; and on the 24th of December, at two o'clock in the afternoon, presented these bills to the king at Carisbrook, his majesty returning for answer “he was assured that they could not expect a present reply, but he would take the same into consideration, and give his answer in a few days.” Consequently four days were allowed for a reply, in obedience to the orders of the house. The next day, however, there came the Scottish Commission in all appearance to protest against them, but covertly with the more important design of making such concessions to Charles as would enable him to

conclude and sign the treaty that had been so long agitated between them, and which was now done. The parliamentary commissioners returned to London at the time appointed with the answers to the two houses from the king, "that neither his present sufferings, nor the apprehension of worse treatment, should ever induce him to give his assent to any bill as a part of the agreement before the whole was concluded;" but he sent immediately afterwards sundry propositions of his own not much less advantageous to the Parliament than their own Acts, and desired a personal treaty for the purpose of settling the peace of the kingdom. The Parliament denied them to be sufficient for the purpose, and on the 3rd of January, having sat from morning until night on the question, "*whether any addresses should be made hereafter to his majesty,*" resolved,

1<sup>st</sup>. That no more addresses be made from the Parliament to the king, nor any letters or messages received from him. 2<sup>nd</sup>. That it shall be treason for any person whatsoever to deliver any message to the king, or to receive any letter or message from him, without leave from both Houses of Parliament. 3<sup>rd</sup>. That the members of both houses of the committees of both king-



doms have power to sit and act alone (as formerly the committees of both kingdoms had) for the safety of the kingdom. *4th.* That the Earl of Kent be added to this committee in the place of the Earl of Essex, deceased; and Sir John Evelyn and Mr. Fiennes in the place of Sir Philip Stapleton, deceased; and Mr. Glyn, recorder (now in the Tower). *5th.* That a committee be nominated to draw up a declaration to be published, to satisfy the kingdom of the reason of passing these votes. *Lastly.* That the concurrence of the lords be desired to these votes;\* votes extorted principally by the speeches and menaces of the army-faction then present in the House of Commons, *Sir Thomas Wroth* advising these three points: † *1st.* To secure the king in some inland castle with guards. *2nd.* To draw up articles of impeachment against him. *3rd.* To lay him by and settle the kingdom without him.

*Ireton* saying that his denying the four bills was refusing protection to his subjects, and that therefore they might deny him subjection, also adding that till the Parliament forsook the

\* Rushworth, vol. iv. pl. 2, p. 952.

† Parl. Hist., vol. xvi. p. 491.

army, the army would never forsake the Parliament.

And last of all *Cromwell* himself telling them it was now expected that the Parliament should govern and defend the kingdom, and not any longer let the people expect their safety from a man whose heart God had hardened, nor let those that had so well defended the Parliament be left hereafter to the rage of an irreconcilable enemy, lest they should seek their safety in some other way, laying his hand upon his sword as he spake it.

Hereupon the vote of non-addresses was made an ordinance, which the house would afterwards have recalled, but was forced by *Cromwell* to keep their word,\* who in the joy of his heart immediately returned to Lord Wharton's, and the same night penned the following letter to Hammond, announcing the successful termination of the question.

Superscribed—"For Colonel Robert Hammond, Governor of the Isle of Wight, these for the service of the kingdom, haste, post haste.

\* Hobbes' "Behemoth," in Maseres' tracts, p. 596.

“DEAREST ROBIN,

“Now (blessed be God) I can write and thou receive freely, I never in my life saw more deep sense and less will to show it unchristianly than in that which thou didst write to us when we were at Windsor, and thou in the midst of thy temptation, which indeed (by what we understood of it) was a great one, and occasioned thee greater by the letter the general sent thee, of which thou wast not mistaken when thou didst challenge me to be the penner.

“How good has God been to dispose all to mercy! and although it was trouble for the present yet glory is come out of it, for which we praise the Lord with thee and for thee; and truly thy carriage has been such as occasions much honour to the name of God and to religion. Go on in the strength of the Lord, and the Lord be still with thee. But, dear *Robin*, this business hath been (I trust) a mighty providence to this poor kingdom and to us all. The House of Commons is very sensible of the king's dealings and of our brethren's in this late transaction. You should do well, if you have anything that may discover juggling to search it out, and let us know it. It may be of admir-

able use at this time, because we shall (I hope) instantly go upon business in relation to them, tending to prevent danger. The House of Commons has this day voted as follows: *1st.* They will make no more addresses to the king. *2ndly.* None shall apply to him without leave of the two houses, upon pain of being guilty of high treason. *3rdly.* They will receive nothing from the king, nor shall any other bring anything to them from him, nor receive anything from the king. *Lastly.* The members of both houses who were of the committee of both kingdoms are established in all that power in themselves for England and Ireland which they had to act with both kingdoms; and Sir John Evelyn of Wilts\* is added in the room of Mr. Recorder,† and Nath. Fiennes in the room of Sir

\* Evelyn was afterwards appointed one of the Council of the State, with General Monk. at the head of it, on the 23rd February, 1659-60.—Kennett's "Register," p. 66.

† The Recorder was John Glynn, Esq., educated at Hart Hall, Oxford. He had been one of the managers of the House of Commons at the trial of the Earl of Strafford, and was himself one of the eleven members impeached of high treason by the army on the 16th June, 1647, and in January following deprived of his place of the Recorder of London, but in October, 1648, made Serjeant-at-law. In June, 1665, he was appointed by the Protector Cromwell, Lord Chief Justice of the Upper Bench, and afterwards one of the lords of the other house. He

Philip Stapleton,\* and my Lord of Kent† in the room of the Earl of Essex. I think it good you take notice of this, the sooner the better. Let us know how it is with you in point of strength, and what you need from us. Some of us think the king well with you, and that it concerns us to keep the island in great security, because of the *French*, &c., and if so, where can the king be better? If you have more force you will be sure of full provision for them; the Lord bless thee: pray for

“Thy dear friend and servant,

“OLIVER CROMWELL.”

“My Lord Wharton's, near ten at night,  
January 3rd, 1647.”

The diminutive Mercuries, and many with

was chosen knight of the shire for county of Carnarvon in the parliament which began at Westminster, 25th April, 1660; and after the Restoration made, on the 8th November, 1660, the king's oldest serjeant-at-law, and on the 16th of that month had the honour of knighthood. He died at his house in Portugal Row, Lincoln's Inn Fields, November 15th, 1666.—Dr. Birch.

\* Sir Philip Stapleton had distinguished himself at the battle of Newbury, but was afterwards one of the eleven members impeached by the army in June, 1647, upon which he retired to Calais, where he soon after died.—Whitelock.

† Henry, Earl of Kent, who was appointed by the Parliament one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal on the 15th March, 1647, and died in April, 1649.

strange designations to our ears there were, True Informers, and Daily Journals of the year 1647—48, seem to have been as equally alive to the importance of early intelligence as their more imposing successors of the present day; no sooner, therefore, was Charles located in the Isle of Wight than the services of a series of correspondents appear to have been instantly enlisted for the purpose of detailing the minutest occurrences connected with his detention there—most valuable records of matters which were then perchance considered of only passing interest, but in our generation of considerable moment, in rendering a perfect knowledge of the real state and position of the unfortunate monarch in his latter days; for although the first reports were of somewhat a cheerful description, each succeeding statement became more and more tinged with such gloom as evidently foreboded the part it was the intention of the ascendant party hereafter to perform. On the 9th December, I find it stated: “His majesty is very strictly looked to, his lodgings being locked up every night and the keys carried to the governor, and this is done because they now know his majesty’s design was not for that place. On the 10th

January, "Here is a melancholy court, walking the round is the daily recreation, for other there is none. Horſe are ſuperfluous. His majeſty is cheerful, notwithstanding his knowledge of the reſult at Weſtminſter. The vigilancy and induſtry of the governor, Colonel Hammond, is admirable; ſuch is his faithfulneſs and care, he deſerves much honour and reward;" and on the 12th, "The king is now kept from deſtructive counſels; the governor of the Iſle of Wight finds no miſcarriage in thoſe courtiers ſent by the Parliament. His majeſty is ſad, and ſpends much time in writing and at his books, and for reſreſhment takes air about the caſtle (Colonel Hammond waiting upon him) but paſſeth not the works, and becauſe he may not have epiſcopal men to preach to him hears none at all; but the Houſe of Commons reſolving to uſe what means they can to convince his majeſty, (this day) appointed ſome of their members to conſider of ſome able divines to be ſpeedily ſent thither."

To ſuch an extent, however, had the publication of theſe pamphlets at this time reached, and in ſuch unmeaſured terms did the majority of them reflect upon the conduct of the Parlia-

ment in their treatment of the king, that a special committee was appointed by the house, on the 6th January, 1648,\* to suppress all "unlicensed and scandalous pamphlets," with power to meet daily and reward those who made known either the authors or publishers thereof to the authorities; but, notwithstanding such ordinance, they apparently daily increased both in number and freedom of expression. No. 13 of the *Mercurius Melancholicus*, or news from Westminster and other parts, of the 29th November, 1647, (anonymous) writes: "I pray you who was it that ordered his majesty to have not so much as a man to wait upon him, left his three servants, Mr. Ashburnham, Major Legg, and Sir John Berkeley, without sword or spear, should conquer the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland? Who was it that refused a personal treaty with his majesty for fear the people should take a surfeit in the enjoyment of too sudden a peace? Who was it that sent the malapert and saucy agents or agitators to the several gaols of Newgate and the Gate-house, for demanding things destructive to the being of parliaments and the fundamental government of

\* Rushworth, vol. iv. pt. 2, p. 957.



this kingdom? and all this within the compass of one week, besides what they have done for the space of seven years before; was it not the Parliament? I hope the kingdom will take these worthy acts into consideration, and for the future speak better of them than ever they did deserve."

"Colonel Hammond, stand to your tacklings, for I know not how you can come off with credit; there is such antipathy between the king and the Parliament that all the eyes and spectacles that I have cannot see how you can well serve two masters: you have hitherto gained the reputation of a good subject and an honest man; it requires policy to continue so, though there I must confess my faith staggers. I do not like that clause in your letter, dated November 19, 1647: '*That whatever is commanded by authority, especially that of Parliament, though never so contrary to your sense of honour, you will never disobey!*' How now, Mr. Hammond! Should the Parliament authority command you to do that in the *Isle of Wight* which should have been done at *Hampton Court* (you know my meaning), would you do it? Truly by this you

have dulled the good opinions which many thousands besides myself had of you."

Whilst in a curious stage-play issued about the same time, entitled "Crafty Cromwell; or Oliver ordering our new state; a Tragical Comedy, wherein is discovered the traiterous undertakings and proceedings of this said Nol and his levelling crew," (an anonymous pamphlet), occurs the following scene :

"ACTUS QUARTUS.

"Enter Colonel Hammond, his majesty's jailor, with a bunch of keys at his girdle; a fervant.

"*Hammond.*—Is the guard placed about the privy chamber, and are the castle gates barred sure?

"*Servant.*—They are, sir.

"*Hammond.*—On what a ticklish point I stand; and like a man walkes a ridged battlement, if he digresse to the right hand or the left, hazards the bruising of his fleshly tenement, and forfeiture of his soul; so I, betwixt the fealtie I owe unto my rightful king and the commands of an all-powerful *state*, am doubly plunged: the one

desires me shew a *subject's duty*, the other doth command a *traitor's hate*; if I obey the one, then I accrue my soveraign's displeasure; if I satisfie the other, then be I liable to *imprisonment*, or if they please, to *death*. O *Fear*, how potent art thou! the man possessest with thee cares not to sell his *country* and his *king*, to act the worst of crimes that hell ere hatched, so he secure himself.

“I am resolv'd, though LOYALTY dissent,  
To act even as 't shall please the Parliament.”

[*Exit.*

And in the “Cavalier's Litany, lately composed by a well-wisher to his majesty's person and all his most loyal subjects; very fitting to be observed and made use of by all those who desire deliverance from the damnable, execrable, unparalleled, and not before heard of detestable actions, proceedings, designs, humours, conditions, votes, and ordinances, now fully and most exactly practised, delivered, and divulged, by the only (yet illegal) governors of these our sad, desperate, distracted times” (anonymous).

“ From being like the army hated,  
 From the throne\* in which *Charles* they've re-infated,  
 From by the committee to be sequestrated,  
*Libranos.*

“ From the treacherous votes of the House of Commons,  
 From the Parliament's accursed summons,  
 From every one's ire, especially a woman's,  
*Libranos.*”

By the aid of the press also the king himself, soon after the passing of the vote of non-addresses, personally endeavoured to appeal to the good sense of the people—putting it to them to judge between him and his opponents, whether by his answer to the four bills he had given any reasonable cause for their violent and unconstitutional vote, and whether they by the obstinate refusal of a conference did not betray their resolve not to come to any personal accommodation;† and in consequence of the great impression thus made in the public mind, a long and laborious answer, in which they endeavoured to vindicate their proceedings, was prepared by the House of Commons, copies of which were allotted to the members to circulate among their constituents

\* The Prison.

† The King's Works, and Parl. Hifty.

as well as sent to the curates to be read by them to their parishioners; but having inserted much questionable matter, and made numerous statements easily open to refutation, the advantage was eagerly seized by the royalists, several answers most convincingly written being likewise circulated in many parts of the kingdom, and with the aid rendered by the less eloquent, but still with many classes equally persuasive, publications from which I have quoted, the king's cause made an unexpectedly rapid progress among the people, although it must also be acknowledged that in the army itself the principles of the levellers were certainly getting an ascendancy, making a great parade of a fact they had recently discovered in the Bible, 1st Kings, viii. 8, that the government of kings was odious in the sight of God, and contending therefore, after so direct an assertion, that Charles had no right to the sceptre.

Such was the feverish state of the public mind in England during the king's early residence at Carisbrook, which I have briefly narrated, to the intent that my readers may be enabled fully to comprehend the bearings such proceedings would

be likely to have on his present and subsequent conduct there.

For some little time, as related by Sir Thos. Herbert and Sir J. Oglander, after his majesty's arrival in the Isle of Wight, there was no prohibition as to access by any one desirous of seeing him, and thither, as soon as his place of residence was rumoured, repaired several of his old servants, and such men as his majesty thought fit to nominate; whilst, in about ten days, at the instigation of Hammond, Sir Thos. Berkeley,\* with a pass from the captain of Cowes Castle, accompanied by his cousin, Mr. Henry Berkeley, left the island, charged with two communications from the king to the general (Fairfax), the one expressing his desire for a personal treaty, and the other acquainting him that three of his chaplains, Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Holdsworth, and Dr. Heywood, had come to the island, for whom he asked protection.†

Berkeley was likewise intrusted with letters both from his majesty and Hammond to Cromwell and Ireton; but by whom, to use his own

\* Berkeley's "Memoirs."

† Rushworth.

words, "he was saluted very coldly, having their countenances quite changed towards him;" and thereupon seeing it was no place for him, on coming to his lodging he despatched his cousin to Carisbrook with two letters, the one containing a general relation and doubtful judgment of things in the army, which he intended to be shown to the governor; and the other in cipher, wherein he gave a particular account of the interview above narrated, concluding with a most energetic supplication to the king to meditate nothing but his immediate escape, which he presumed he could easily do in a few days, the wind serving; as the queen had sent a ship for that purpose, and pressed it earnestly by her letters. The next morning he sent Colonel Cooke to Cromwell, to inform him he had letters to him and instructions from his majesty, from whom in return he received word that he could not give him an interview, "but he was willing to serve his majesty as long as he could do it without his own ruin," desiring, at the same time, that Berkeley should not expect he would peril his life for the king's sake. On hearing this Berkeley took horse for London, where he had several conferences on his majesty's behalf

with the Scottish commissioners, and on the following Saturday he received a letter from Mr. Ashburnham, requiring, in the king's name, his immediate presence, which as he believed it intended for a summons to assist in the projected escape, remarking, "that though Mr. Ashburnham were willing enough to appropriate employments of honour and profit, yet he was contented to communicate those of danger to his friends," was the next morning again with Charles at Carisbrook, by whom he was thanked for his despatch from Windsor. Sir John Berkeley, however, asked the king in return, "if his majesty so highly approved his advice, why he did not follow it?" and "why he was still in the island, where he could not long promise himself the liberty he then had?" Questions to which his majesty replied, "he would have a care of that time enough, and that he wished to conclude with the Scots before he left the kingdom."

Several consultations are likewise described as having been held before the arrival of the Parliamentarian and Scottish commissioners, and as many injunctions given to the king to attempt the escape whilst yet there was the opportunity of doing so; but all endeavours were in vain



until the day of the delivery of his refusal to accede to the four bills of the commissioners, a scene of intense excitement, as when the time came for the king to render his answer, he sent for the English commissioners, and on their entering his apartment, asked Lord Denbigh, the chief commissioner, whether they had received the power to alter any substantial part of the message with which they were entrusted, who answered they had not, whereupon his majesty handed his reply sealed, and they withdrew; but on returning after a short lapse of time, Lord Denbigh told the king, that though they had no authority to treat or do anything but receive his answer, yet they were not to be looked on as common messengers to carry back an answer they had not seen; and that unless they might see what was entrusted to them, they would not receive the answer, but depart without any. Charles fearing the consequences that would result if the commissioners returned without any reply, after a long controversy was persuaded to remove the seal, but so far from this procedure on the part of the king sufficing to allay the storm, it materially assisted to augment it, the governor enlisting himself on the side of the

commissioners, who by the opening of the despatch, became aware that the king had waved the interests of both the Parliament and the army to close with the Scots; and then, on the termination of the audience, apparently reflecting on the consequences to be apprehended from such refusal, he resolved to anticipate the vengeance of Parliament by flying the same evening, or early the next morning, to the ship sent by the queen, which still remained in the Southampton Water.

It, however, now unfortunately happened that not only did the wind, which had hitherto remained favourable for his purpose, suddenly change to an opposite quarter, but that Hammond, on the departure of the commissioners, accompanied them to Newport, where he in all probability became aware of the inconsiderate orders and counter-orders which had just emanated from Ashburnham in relation to the movement of some horses on the opposite coast, as on his return, he ordered the gates of the castle to be instantly closed, and the king to be confined to his chamber, the next afternoon dismissing his chaplains, not excepting even his own kinsman, Dr. Hammond, with some other attendants,

including Ashburnham, Berkeley, and Legg, who on taking leave of his majesty, managed, to inform him “that they would leave the captain of the vessel, and two honest and trusty gentlemen of the isle to assist him, whilst they should prepare everything on the opposite side of the water.”

Sir Thos. Herbert, in his Memoirs, erroneously records this occurrence as taking place on the 8th of February, instead of at the time here set down. In his description of it, he states that Hammond soon after the king's dinner came into the presence chamber, and with a short preamble, addressed himself to his majesty, by saying he was very sorry to acquaint him that the orders he had the night before received from his superiors, were to forbid Mr. Ashburnham, Mr. Legg, and the rest of his servants who were with him at Oxford, any longer to remain in attendance on him, and that the jealousies and apprehensions of the time rendered it incumbent on him to discharge them from the castle.

On hearing this, the king was not only surprised, but his countenance evinced a considerable degree of trouble; and after a short interval, beckoning Mr. Ashburnham and some others

with his hand to approach him, he told them what the governor had communicated to him, and said that it was an announcement that he certainly did not expect.

Remonstrance on the part of these gentlemen was, of course, useless; therefore, the next day after the king rose from his dinner, they all came together, and prostrating themselves at his majesty's feet, prayed God for his preservation, then kissing his hand departed, their affliction being only alleviated by the knowledge that they could not be excluded from their royal master's affection.

After this parting, the king, feeling the bitter pang and fearful apprehension in his heart, sent for Colonel Hammond, between whom the following conversation is recorded to have occurred,\* "a dramatic piece, full of natural touches, and perfectly characteristic of Charles the First."

*King Charles.*—Why do you use me thus? Where are your orders for it? Was it the spirit that moved you to it?

Hammond, who had no orders from the Parliament, but likely some advice from the com-

\* See Clarendon's "State Papers," Appendix, vol. ii.

miffioners, faid nothing at firft, but afterwards laid it upon his majefty's anfwer.

*King Charles.*—Did you not engage your honour you would take no advantage from thence againft me?

*Hammond.*—I faid nothing.

*King Charles.*—You are an equivocating gentleman; will you allow me any chaplains? You pretend for liberty of confcience—fhall I have none?

*Hammond.*—I cannot allow you any chaplain.

*King Charles.*—You ufe me neither like a gentleman nor a Christian.

*Hammond.*—I'll fpeak to you when you are in better temper.

*King Charles.*—I have fleep't well to-night.

*Hammond.*—I have ufed you very civilly.

*King Charles.*—Why do you not fo now, then?

*Hammond.*—Sir, you are too high.

*King Charles.*—My fhoe-maker's fault,\* then; my fhoes are of the fame laft, &c. (*twice or thrice to this purpofe.*)

\* Sir John Oglander relates this expreffion of the king's, but as having occurred on another occafion.

*King Charles.*— Shall I have liberty to go about to take the air?

*Hammond.*—No; I cannot grant it.

His majesty then charged him with his allegiance, and told him he must answer this.

A conversation of dark and stern significance, as from this time most of the courtly fashions were laid aside, the whole of the island beyond the castle prohibited to the king's footsteps, and previous privileges of communication annulled, all those arguments which faction can bring forth to colour treason being urged in justification of such unprecedented measures; whilst Charles, thus made fully sensible by the breaking up of old associations, that mere words were but a frail security for protection, immediately commenced directing his own energies, and enlisting the sympathies of others, towards his enlargement, now well knowing that if he inertly remained, he remained only to destruction.



### CHAPTER III.

Mutiny at Newport—Apprehension, Trial, and Execution of Captain Burley—Arrangements of the Royal Household, and Habits of the King.

THESE were busy days in the Isle of Wight, so manifold the rumours, so frequent the changes, and so rapid the events; and notwithstanding the belief of Hammond that his orders would be vigorously supported, if requisite, by the majority of the islanders, the faith of the superior authorities in the integrity of those who there professed attachment to the Parliament, appears to have been more than doubtful, as an intimation was sent him by Ireton not to confide wholly in the affections of the islanders; and in order that a sufficient force might be at his command, detachments were sent over from Southampton, and immediately afterwards from

the head-quarters of Sir Thomas Fairfax, including Hammond's and Captain Rolph's own companies of foot, as well as Sir William Conftable, Lieutenant-Colonel Salmon, and Lieutenant-Colonel Goffe, to affift the governor, whilst provisions were ordered to be laid in at Carisbrook, and all the forts in the ifland; and as an additional measure of precaution, a fleet under the command of Vice-Admiral Rainsborough, after fome little controverfy between the Lords and Commons, was fent to watch the entire coaft of the ifland, a ftate of things very different to the circumftances in this locality at the king's firft arrival.

I have already ftated, that on the morning after the departure of the Parliamentary commiffioners, amongst others of the king's attendants, Afhburnham, Berkeley, and Legg were difmiffed the caftle, whence they, during fome portion of the fame day, proceeded to Newport, Afhburnham remaining at an inn, whilst Berkeley and Legg vifited an acquaintance of theirs in fome other part of the town. After about an hour's ftay, they heard a drum beat confufedly, and becoming aware that one Captain Burley, and divers others, had rifen to



rescue the king, at once returned to the inn, finding Mr. Ashburnham making speeches to the people, advising them to desist from their vain enterprise; but on the remonstrance of Sir John Berkeley, who deemed it exceedingly dangerous in their position to be found in communication with the populace, not knowing what interpretation might be put upon language so addressed, however amicably intended, he gave over—advice, it was soon shown, to have been most opportune, as many of the persons seized are represented to have had promises of pardon and liberty made them on their implicating these three gentlemen in the transaction; but as such a procedure was totally impossible, an order was transmitted by Hammond to the captain of Cowes Castle to put them immediately on ship-board, and transport them to the coast of Hampshire, where, it appears they remained some weeks, in daily expectation of the accomplishment of his majesty's desired escape, and consequent arrival there.

Although Ashburnham preserved his reputation and his credit among the most eminent of the loyalists, much opprobrium has been showered on him for his share of the action in conducting

the king to the Isle of Wight, it being more than insinuated that his honour in the transaction was not so pure as he would have it considered, and that if not actually corrupted, he had been outwitted by Cromwell and Ireton. It would, of course, be an impossibility now to unravel the motives which then innately guided him, and his own narrative, in connection with the more candid statement of Sir John Berkeley, shows him to be open to reproach, and liable to just censure, for the fatally persuasive influence he exercised, perchance with integrity, but certainly with indiscretion, over his majesty, on many occasions, when it is not improbable that contrary reasoning would have been better fitted to the position in which he was placed.

Captain Burley, the instigator of this mutiny, (as it was designated in the letter despatched by Hammond to announce the incident to the House of Commons,) was of a good family in the island, his father having held the command of Yarmouth Castle there, and Captain Burley himself a captaincy in the Royal Navy, from which he was discharged on the occasion of the fleet rebelling against the king, when he joined the army, and continued an officer of good account,

until finding the king's affairs irremediably ruined, he retired to the Isle of Wight, where many of his kinsfolk were resident, and chancing to be at Newport on the day the dismissal of the king's attendants had created a considerable commotion, the people seemingly feeling the indignity with so great a degree of asperity, as to induce him to believe their resentment had deeper root than the mere effervescence of otherwise inconsiderate language, caused a drum to be beaten, and urged the inhabitants with the rallying cry of "for God, King Charles, and the people!" to seize upon Carisbrook Castle and rescue the king, an attempt, as the result proved, to be short-sighted and utterly impracticable, he being joined but by few of the towns-people,\* except women and children, the entire muster having only one musket among them. On the summons of the mayor, the military were sent from Carisbrook, the most prominent parties arrested, and Burley himself committed to a dungeon in the castle he had proposed to attack,

\* Perhaps, remembering the prominent part they had taken in originally securing the castle for the Parliament in 1643—44.

for safe keeping, until the pleasure of the Parliament could be ascertained respecting him.

On the receipt of Hammond's communication by the House of Commons, an order was made "that the general, Sir Thomas Fairfax, be required to grant a commission to the governor of the Isle of Wight, to try by martial law the chief actors in this mutiny, or that shall make any further disturbance; and such as are not triable by martial law, are to be tried by a commission of oyer and terminer, to be forthwith sent down for that purpose," a letter of thanks being the same day voted to the mayor of Newport, in the Isle of Wight, and to the well-affected persons there for their care and good affections expressed in the late mutiny in the town by Captain Burley and others. Thus was this ill-judged and unfortunate, but well-meant tumult easily allayed—the inhabitants of Newport, although most liberal in pitying and indignant expressions, evidently considered the step taken by Burley to be too dangerous an enterprize for them single-handed to embark in, opposed as they would be by men who were then doing a foul wrong, capable

of anything, and restrained by no personal considerations; whilst he, himself, after raising the cry, and having no time to revolve the actual possibility of the achievement in his mind, was, probably like many others who do daring actions, forced on because he had not the opportunity given him to think of retreating.

The trial of Captain Burley, which took place at Winchester, is, with the exception of the king's, which so soon followed, one of the most peculiar in English history, although a perfect record of it has hitherto remained unpublished; for there was a judge, without any legal commission, acting against the law—a king's attorney, without the royal designation, acting in the king's name, against the king, in pursuing a loyal subject to death, for undertaking what he believed to be the faithful defence of his majesty—and charging him with treason, because he opposed those who were committing it.

Sergeant Wild, a man of infamous character, who was made chief baron of the Exchequer for such services, presided; and every other counsellor refusing to act, Steele, who was immediately after the trial made recorder of London,

conducted the prosecution; the indictment charging Burley with high treason, for levying war against the king, and endeavouring to engage the kingdom in a new war.

Some little difficulty was at first experienced in procuring a jury; but by enforcing the attendance of many of the county sequestrators and others in the pay of the Parliament, the task was ultimately accomplished, the roll of their names being thus commented on in No. 4 of the *Mercurius Dogmaticus*:

“EDWARD HEIGHES—such another knave (I warrant you) as Heighes, the bookfeller, at Fleet-bridge. ROBERT COOPER—let every tub stand upon its own bottom. JOHN KNIGHT—noble only by name. WILLIAM DOLEING—let him know sorrow. THOMAS COLES—Oh! what a price might he have been sold for for a Christmas block, when coals were kept from London. PETER PERCIVAL—what kin to Percival, once minister of Basingstoke? WILLIAM FISHER—no swearer, I’ll warrant, tho’ he assisted to give up a lying verdict with the rest. ARTHUR LIPSCOMB—of Bradley, coxcomb. WILLIAM HILOKER—there’s a stoole. JOHN ELLIOT—not allied to Tom Elliot, I’ll warrant him.

WILLIAM HUNT—Acteon's kinsman. JOHN BIDLECOMB—two coxcombs in one jury. ANTHONY CASBERT—a sharp man, sure. THEOPHILUS SMITH—Mulciber be thy protector.”

A curious and significant compilation; but one, of course, only applicable to the feelings and comprehension of the public at the time of its publication.

On the 22nd of January, 1648, the grand jury, so named, assembled at the place of trial, and after hearing a most violent and accusatory sermon against the prisoner, delivered by one Ellis, an Antinomian, the following charge was read by Steele: “That the said Captain Burley was the chief cause, or incendiary, for causing a drum to be beat up for God and King Charles, at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, and causing a mutiny there, contrary to divers ordinances of Parliament made in that behalf;” which he undertook to show the jury was treason, under the statute of 25th Edward the Third, and other statutes; but on their retiring, the question was agitated, even among men so selected, as to the legal evidence on which they were urged to find a bill of treason against the captain, and they returned into court, requiring further in-

formation on the subject; because the statutes which Mr. Steele had quoted were found to be repealed, and consequently of no effect; whilst the 25th of Edward the Third did not appear to them to touch the matter in question, since the only high treasons there set down, were—

1st. The compassing or imagining the king's death or the queen's, or their eldest son and heir.

2nd. The violating of the king's companion, or the king's eldest daughter unmarried, or the wife of the eldest son and heir.

3rd. The levying of war against our sovereign lord the king in his realm, or to be adherent to the king's enemies in his realm, giving to them aid or comfort in the realm or elsewhere.

4th. The counterfeiting the king's great seal, or his privy seal, or his money.

5th. The bringing of false money into the realm.

6th. The slaying the chancellor, treasurer, or the king's justices, being in their places doing their offices.

If any of the treasons therein mentioned were applicable, it could be only the first or third, and they did not understand that Captain Burley had any thought of compassing or imagining the death of the king, the queen, or their eldest



fon and heir, or of levying war against the king, or of adhering to his enemies.

Steele replied, that the statutes to which his attention had been called by the jury, were indeed repealed, *but that he had forgotten to tell them so*, for which he requested their pardon, and that the 25th Edward the Third was the statute on which he relied, asking them *whether they did not believe that the king was virtually in the Parliament*, a course of argument which seems to have removed all scruples, as a true bill was thereupon found. Burley pleaded "Not Guilty," asserted his right to challenge the jury who were to try him, and address himself to the court, both of which requests were denied by the judge, who said in answer to the latter demand, "Captain Burley, you shall be sure to have a fair trial, and be heard to speak at full; but now the king's evidence is to be heard, and therefore you must forbear."

The witnesses produced against him were a boy, a woman, and a man.

*The Boy.*—Said he was 14 years of age, and that Captain Burley wished him to go for the (town) drum, which he accordingly did, and that it was afterwards taken from him.

*The Woman.*—Said she heard Captain Burley say he would be the first that should enter.

*The Man.*—That the mayor of Newport came to the drummer to demand the drum, who gave him ill language, and that therefore Captain Burley reproved him for so doing, asking him whether he knew who it was he was speaking to, and telling him it was the mayor of the town who demanded the drum, which was accordingly then delivered to him.

This was the evidence for the prosecution; and on the jury's retiring, Burley desired the performance of the promise the judge had made him of a fair hearing for himself, but to little purpose; he being told that all he could say would be only for the information of the jury, who were gone, and it was therefore too late for him now to speak. As might have been expected, after such an almost incredible mockery of justice, the verdict of guilty was returned, and a sentence passed in every way worthy of the man who delivered it—"That his body was to be drawn upon an hurdle to the gallows and there hanged, and afterwards cut down and quartered, and the quarters hung upon stakes and pikes. *Non pœna, sed causa, facit martyram*—it is not

the punishment, but the cause, which makes a martyr.”

The other persons taken with Burley being only indicted for a riot, were punished by fine and imprisonment.

On the 23rd of January, the day before that appointed for his execution, the result of the trial was reported to the House of Commons, but upon some consideration the sentence was for the present reprieved; and it having pleased the grand jury, ere they separated, to address the Parliament on the then existing state of things, there was the same day a paper read in the house, purporting to be the “Humble and thankful acknowledgment and declaration of the County of Southampton, presented by the grand jury of the said county, at the sitting of a commission of oyer and terminer, to be presented by the knights and burgeses that serve for the county.

“To the Right Honourable the House of Commons assembled in Parliament.

“As we detest with horror the levying of a new war, so we desire with our hearts the firm settlement of a lasting peace. After so many

applications to the king made by the Parliament, and especially after the last address, wherein the houses (as we humbly conceive) demand nothing but what is most essential to the safety of the people; and after the king's absolute negative to the last message of the honourable houses, we exceedingly doubt of any settlement by future application to the king; and therefore we do most humbly acknowledge the wisdom and goodness of the Parliament in resolving to settle the peace of this poor, miserable, distracted nation; and by the blessing of God (as in duty we are bound) we shall not only most willingly and cheerfully submit and acquiesce in such settlement as they, in their grave judgment, shall find to be most conducive to our peace; but also, in our several placings and callings, shall heartily endeavour to promote the same.

“Signed by the jury as before rendered.”

For this address the thanks of the house were ordered, and Sir H. Mildmay received a similar vote for the services he had rendered at the time of the trial.

After Burley's condemnation, a vain endeavour was made to obtain a commutation of his sen-

tence into a banishment for life; and his wife petitioned the judge that his estate should not be subjected to forfeiture, but divided between her and her children, and also that the body of her husband might be delivered over to her for burial. Wild replied, that as her husband was a traitor, the estate was not in his power, but in that of the Parliament; and if he granted her other request, "he thought he should be doing her a discourtesy in it—for if his body was suffered to hang—the cavaliers that came by would say, 'There hangs honest Captain Burley, that was true to his king.' "\*

The reprieve was, however, but of short duration, as the execution is recorded to have taken place on the 3rd February; and because no one in Hampshire could be prevailed on to undertake the executioner's functions, Gregory, the London official, was taken to Winchester to perform his hateful duty. Burley took leave of his wife and children at the door of the prison; and on entering the cart, requested to be driven speedily to his journey's end, in order that he might obtain endless peace and rest.

\* Relation of the proceedings against Captain Burley at Winchester, 1648.

On coming to the place of execution, where were already the faggots to consume his bowels and the cleaver to divide his body, Burley requested the 12th chapter of Ifaiah to be read to him, together with the 8th chapter of the Romans, and the 69th Pfalm; and having taken leave of the world, and repeated a prayer he had written for the occasion, which he presented to the fheriff, and which was afterwards published, afcended the gallows, where he was again moved by a minifter to be humbled, that the Lord might have mercy upon him, and to confefs his fins to God, particularly the treafon for which he was to die. Burley faid he was a finner, but no traitor; and on being told what a fair trial he had, and how legally he was condemned, answered, it was true the judge condemned him upon the bench, the minifters in their pulpits, and the gentlemen of the county in their verdicts, but ftill he was no traitor; whereupon he was urged how bloody an act he had agitated in seeking to take away the king through blood; to which he replied, he was happy to die fo, and hoped his blood might be the laft that fhould be fo fhed; when he again prayed fervently, and, concluding with the Lord's Prayer,

proclaimed, with undaunted courage, *Fear God and honour the King*. The hangman thereupon pulled the cap over his face, and the unfortunate man, as he was turned off, called out, "Lord, preserve my soul—Lord Jesus, receive my soul!"

Such are the particulars of this remarkable trial, the first precedent of a man being brought to a formal arraignment, found guilty of high treason, and deprived of life for adhering to the king; a procedure which, as Clarendon justly remarks, made a deeper impression upon the hearts of all men than the cruelties which had been already exercised in the courts of war; for, though they took the lives of many innocent men, their estates were allowed to descend to their families; but when it was seen that the condemnation of high treason before a judge of the land might accrue for serving the king, and their estates be thereby confiscated, many began to think they would be justified in keeping their hearts entire, without involving themselves by their actions in a capital transgression.

Scarcely a day now passed that was not marked by some new occurrence indicative of the restraint Charles would ultimately have to endure, al-

though, as the new designs of his opponents were gradually developed, he derived the satisfaction of finding many who had formerly aided the contrivers of those machinations which had resulted in the unforeseen thralldom of their king, solicitous to wipe off the inadvertencies into which they had been so led, by a proportionate zeal in any notable service that could now be rendered him. It being a singular but truthful assertion, that the most energetic and faithful of his adherents, and those who preserved their reputations most unspotted in the transactions connected with his attempted escapes from Carisbrook, were the men who thus voluntarily proffered their allegiance from the ranks of the Parliament for that especial purpose.

Charles was, in fact, now a close prisoner; although such was the vigilance and ingenuity of his confidants that an active correspondence was immediately commenced and secretly carried on between the royal captive and his friends in London, Scotland, and France, in defiance of the endeavours of a committee sitting daily at Derby House, composed of seven peers, viz., the Earls of Manchester, Northumberland, Kent, and Warwick, and the Lords Say and Seale, Wharton



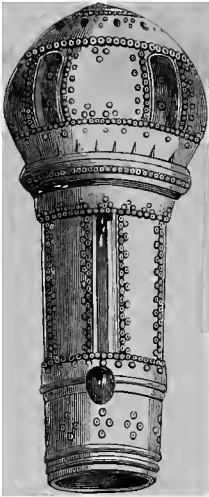
and Roberts, together with thirteen members of the House of Commons, Mr. Pierrepont, Mr. Fiennes, Sir Harry Vane, Harry Vane, junior, Sir William Armine, Sir Arthur Heselrig, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Sir John Evelyn, Lieut.-General Cromwell, Mr. St. John, Mr. Wallop, Mr. Crew, and Mr. Brown, who held power to repress tumults and insurrections, to raise forces as they saw occasion, and to whom those having the custody of the king were for the future to be responsible. The power to place and displace any attendant, or to use any measures in relation to the safety and security of his majesty's person, had been already deputed to Colonel Hammond and Sir William Constable by vote of the House of Commons, on the 5th January, 1648; but on Sir William Constable's receiving another appointment, a few days afterwards, at the supposed instigation of Cromwell, the sole responsibility devolved on Hammond, by whom an intimation from the above-named committee was received on the 21st of the same month, informing him that as they were under an oath of secrecy,\* he might safely communicate any intelligence to them, and that for its

\* Letter to Hammond.

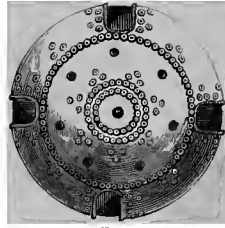
better concealment a cipher should be transmitted to him ; whilst so subtle were their precautions, and well-devised their espionage, that there was scarcely a movement of the king, or of those in correspondence with him, but was henceforward known to them ; the first information of many of the intrigues necessarily entered into for the purpose of accomplishing the escape of Charles, being actually communicated to Hammond from Derby House, although contrived in his own residence, and almost in his immediate presence.

The death of Captain Burley, which had at first materially affected the king, was, in the pressure of other matters, in the present position of his affairs, quickly forgotten ; the principal private griefs now affecting him being the loss of his chaplains (his majesty's wish for the return of whom, or at least Dr. Hammond and Dr. Sheldon, had been represented to the Parliament) ; as he was firm in his purpose of abstaining from hearing those who ministered according to the directory then practised ; and the restriction of his usual out-of-door exercise. This determination, however, did not prevent his private devotions, which he daily and care-





A



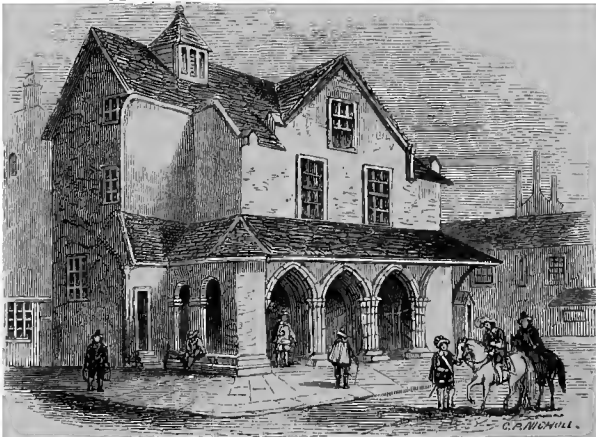
B



C

A. B. Cane Head, and top of Cane Head, used by Charles the First at Carisbrook ; now in the possession of Thomas Cooke, Esq., of Newport.

C. Ring worn by King Charles at Carisbrook ; now in the possession of George Wallace, Esq., of Southssa.



The Hall in which the Treaty of Newport was held in 1648.

fully attended to, especially observing the Lord's-day by reading the Bible and other books fitting him for prayer and meditation in his closet. The cessation of his accustomed exercise, which was always more violent than moderate, as when he walked on foot he rather trotted than paced, he went so fast, and invariably used a cane or staff, as was the custom of the time,\* involved him, however, in frequent bickerings with the governor; and

\* An ancestor, of the name of Howe, of Mr. Thomas Cooke, now resident at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, was at this time master gunner at the castle of Carisbrook, and as a mark of the king's sense of the attention paid him by that officer, he on one occasion presented him with the staff he was so using. The ivory head of this relic is still in the possession of Mr. Cooke; it is inlaid with silver, and unscrews, the top forming a scent-box. Mr. Howe had also a son, a little boy who was a great favourite of Charles: one day, seeing him with a child's sword by his side, the king asked him what he intended doing with it? "To defend your majesty from your majesty's enemies," was the reply; an answer which so pleased the king, that he gave the child the signet ring he was in the habit of wearing upon his finger. The ring has descended to a Mr. Wallace, a kinsman of Mr. Cooke.

It is also recorded that Mr. Worsley, of Gatcombe, received his majesty's watch (still preserved in the family) as a gift, the morning he was leaving the island; but this supposition must be erroneous, as Mr. Worsley was at that time not only proscribed from the precincts, but the removal of the king so secret that none were aware of the procedure. The probability therefore is that Mr. Worsley saw him in his route from Hurst Castle to London, and then received this interesting memorial.

on the 4th of February, he pointedly told him, that that was the last "argumentation" he would hold with him about it, and he might yet ere long be beholden to one of his sons for his life. But little were his appeals heeded, and no shadow of hope appeared by which he could discern the probability of any relief, as not only were one thousand pounds granted for repairing the castle, but on the following day, the 5th of February, Hammond was expressly ordered to remove such attendants about his majesty as he could not implicitly trust in, and power at the same time deputed him "to appoint eight such persons as he can repose confidence in to serve the king until the family arrangements now in progress should be settled by the general," who demanded a list from Hammond of "those who were then about his majesty, as well as gentlemen in the island fit to be confided in, and that if he could not fill up the number of thirty, to which they were to be restricted, including gentlemen, their servants, cooks, butlers, &c., the quality of those he could not supply was to be stated, in order that they might be sent from London." Ten pounds were allowed for the expenses of the king's table, nine pounds for the pay of a guard of two hundred

men and their officers, and thirty shillings for the governor's table daily, and Hammond also received a gratuity of one thousand pounds, with an annuity of five hundred pounds per annum to be settled on him and his heirs.

Of the habits of the king at this period of his imprisonment, a very perfect account may be rendered by following the statements of Herbert and Rushworth, wherein it appears that it was his usual practice, the weather being fair, in the morning and afternoon, to walk round the castle walls, accompanied by Hammond, who, as a farther means of recreation, converted the place of arms without the castle wall, but within the counter-scarp, into a bowling-green, with a summer-house, where, as the spring advanced, the king was in the practice of spending many vacant hours. At his dinner-table his majesty conversed with his attendants, principally respecting the occurrences transpiring in the other parts of the kingdom; and after dinner soon retired to his chamber, where he remained secluded, but invariably observed his allotted hours for devotion and writing. The unpleasant altercations with the governor, for a short time, apparently ceased; and, notwithstanding his restraint, it was the

custom of diseased persons, troubled with the evil, to resort to the island from all parts of the kingdom, and to stay in Newport and the surrounding villages, until they could find means of access within the castle, there to watch the opportunity of the king's going to the bowling-green, to present themselves before him and be touched for their distemper.

The chaplain to the governor and the garrison was a Mr. Troughton, a young man, a graduate in one of the universities. He seldom failed being in the presence-chamber when the king dined, as, before his majesty retired to his chamber, he would usually take several turns in the room, and pleasantly enter into a disputation with him, he being capable of arguing pretty well in defence of the tenets he held in opposition to some of the ceremonies of the church, and on the discipline of the episcopacy. On these occasions Mr. Troughton was generally very earnest in maintaining his assertions, which were never discouraged by Charles, because, as he was the better logician, and possessed a superior knowledge of historic and controversial points, his majesty always had the advantage, and their partings were consequently invariably amicable.



But it occurred, on one occasion, during their discourse, when the young disputant was standing between a lieutenant of foot (who had his sword in his hand, intently listening to their conversation) and a Mr. Duncomb, a gentleman well known to those who were present, that the king, in the heat of the moment, seized the sword so unexpectedly, as not only to astonish the officer but frighten the chaplain, who did not comprehend the reason, until Mr. Duncomb falling upon his knee, his majesty laid the sword upon his shoulder, and thereby conferred the honour of knighthood, saying it was done in pursuance of a promise he had made to his relations.

About the same period, a Mr. Sedgwick, who had been a preacher in the Parliamentary army, came to Carisbrook for the purpose of discoursing with the king on his spiritual concerns, and presenting a work he had written, entitled "Leaves of the Tree of Life," an explication of the 22nd chapter of the Revelation of St. John, in the belief that his majesty would derive much benefit as well as comfort, in his present position, from its perusal. He desired the governor's intercession to procure him an audience of the king, as well as permission to address him, a request to which

Charles readily acceded, when he was informed that the applicant had journeyed from London with that especial design.

Mr. Sedgwick offered his book in a respectful manner; but the king, after reading some small portion, returned it with the remark, that by what he had read, he thought the author stood in need of sleep; an observation the minister received with much satisfaction, and departed.

The next day there likewise arrived a Mr. Harrington, a gentleman of property, near Bath, upon the same charitable errand. The king, however, having previously heard something concerning him, proffered his thanks for such good intentions, but said he had then no desire to enter into a disputation on controversial points; whereupon Mr. Harrington wished the king much happiness, and returned homewards.

By the middle of the month of February, Fairfax completed his dispositions for the future governance of the royal household, and the minor arrangements were left to the discretion of Hammond, who, by command of the Parliament, issued strict orders that no greater number than thirty persons should be allowed within the walls of the castle as servants of the

king, on any pretence whatever; whilst a second regulation provided for an unceasing surveillance on his majesty's movements, by the selection of four gentlemen to wait and watch by turns, two and two, at the door of his apartment by day, when he was within it, and at the entrance of his chamber by night, against which their beds were to be so closely drawn as to prevent all means of ingress or egress, until removed in the morning, or by the wish of the governor. Those selected for this service, and approved by the committee at Derby House and the House of Commons, were Mr. Thomas Herbert, Mr. Mildmay, Mr. Preston, and Captain Silas Titus.

A biography of Captain Titus is rendered in the introduction to this work; and as, among the other persons approved by the governor and the general, whose names appear in the progress of it, Osborn, Dowcett, and Firebrace, will be recognised as the most prominent, it becomes necessary here to observe that Osborn, by extraction a gentleman, was ostensibly recommended to Colonel Hammond by Lord Wharton, to be placed in some near attendance about the king as a spy, an introduction which procured him

the occupation of gentleman-usher to his majesty; Dowcett had been formerly in the service of the Earl of Holland; and Firebrace, a former dependent of the king, on receiving an order soon after the coming of Charles to the Isle of Wight, to hasten to him with what intelligence he could procure, went to Carisbrook by permission of the speaker, was made one of the pages of his majesty's bedchamber, and for some time managed to escape suspicion, although continually engaged in furthering the king's clandestine correspondence.

“His first endeavour,” (he writes,) after his arrival, was “to give his majesty an account of business, and to safely put into his hands the letters he had for him—a difficult proceeding, as there were spies perpetually upon him;” but for his purpose he found a very convenient and private place in the king's bedchamber, where he deposited the papers, and intimated their secretion there to the king the same night, by putting a note into his hand as he was preparing to go to bed; whereupon the next morning, he found an answer in the appointed place, in which his majesty was pleased to express his satisfaction at what he had done, and directed a continuance of the adopted mode of conversation,—an arrange-

ment which proved so available for some time, that Charles never wanted good intelligence from the queen, the prince, and many of his friends, several despatches being every week so conveyed, not one of which miscarried.





## CHAPTER IV.

Condition of the King—Arrangements for the Transmission of his Correspondence—Overtures and Services of Captain Titus and others—First attempted Escape—Change of Lodging—And Arrangement for the Reception of Charles in the Quarters of the Chief Officer.

**H**AD any effort been made by Hammond to console the unfortunate monarch in his calamity, there would be honour due to his memory; but it does not appear that any personal desire to alleviate the king's misfortunes was ever manifested, as in all his communications with the committee at Derby House, as well as with Fairfax, Cromwell, Ireton, and others, he rather evinced a stern, vindictive show of satisfaction at "the special service" on which he was employed, than such consideration as majesty demanded, humbled as it was before him. The captivity of Charles

is therefore a tale of unvaried sorrow, for day glided away after day, and week succeeded week, whilst his adversaries were not only abusing their advantage over him, but at this very time meditating the terrible consummation of the artful game of their ambition, which so soon followed.

The surprising secret intercourse which Charles kept up with his friends in his various captivities, is no ordinary evidence of the strong personal attachments this unhappy prince, when destitute of means to bribe the sordid, or to flatter the ambitious, inspired in many of his enemies. He was rarely deserted or betrayed, although it is certain that some underlings took advantage of their knowledge of his clandestine transactions, as well as correspondence.

Witherings, of the Post-office, and one Lowe, a merchant, are supposed to have been of this description of agent during the king's imprisonment at Carisbrook, and the persons alluded to by Lord Clarendon, as some of the "many who did undertake to perform these offices, and did not make good what they promised."

Firebrace, in one of his notes to Charles, observes, "You keep intelligence with somebody

that betrays you, for there is a letter of yours sent to the governor (Hammond) from Derby House;" to which the king's reply is, "Is it possible that the rogue Witherings hath discovered those I superscribe to my wife, and hath sent one of my letters to the committee? Enquire and see if I have not guessed right. Do not send that letter of mine to the post-house, but either to Dr. Fraiser or my Lady Carlisle, with a caution not to trust the post-masters."

In all accounts of the king's sojourn at Holmby, mention is made of a Major Bosville, as the person intrusted with the task of conducting his majesty's secret correspondence, and who seems to have effected his purpose by occasionally transforming himself into a variety of personages, sometimes a mariner, sometimes a countryman or mendicant.

For these treasonable manœuvres, as they were termed, Bosville was several times committed to prison, but as he also excelled in the singular art of escaping from his keepers, he invariably soon recovered his liberty.

Ashburnham, Berkeley, and Legg, on their summary ejection from the Isle of Wight, had



stationed themselves at Netley Castle, near Southampton, which thenceforward became one of the principal rendezvous for those royalists who enjoyed the more immediate confidence of the king. One of the most prominent of these personages was Major Bosville, who here again, in conjunction with Mrs. Wheeler, the royal laundress at Carisbrook, and her assistant Mary, voluntarily undertook his old employment.

This arrangement, however, soon came to the knowledge of the committee at Derby House, and such speedy intimation of the important fact was transmitted to Hammond, that he was materially enabled to counteract the efficiency of their plans. A discovery took place on one occasion, in consequence of the stupidity of the messenger dispatched from Bosville's vessel to the castle, where he himself was afraid to venture. This man, getting partly tipsy at Newport, so far forgot his instructions, that on reaching Carisbrook, instead of asking for Mrs. Wheeler or her maid Mary, to either of whom he was authorised to deliver his charge, remembered only that he was to see a woman of the name of Mary; and although he was admitted within the walls, his conduct was so suspicious that he was watched by the guard,

and seized on their observing that he made directly for the king's apartment, instead of shaping his course to the portion of the castle allotted to the royal domestics. In his pocket was found a packet addressed to Captain Mildmay, a procedure adopted to escape suspicion; and on admitting he was ordered to deliver it into the king's hands, he, as well as Mary the assistant laundress, were committed to safe-keeping, whilst Bosville, who quickly received intelligence of the miscarriage of his trust, quietly effected his escape.

The packet, on being opened by Hammond, was found to contain two letters from one J. Darley, two from N. D.; one from the queen, another from the princess, and one from the Duke of York, who, with the Duke of Gloucester and their sister the Princess Elizabeth, (then detained at York House, under the care of the Duke of Northumberland,) had remained in ignorance of their parent's imprisonment, until informed by a servant of the duke that such was the case. On receiving permission from Northumberland to write to his sister the Princess of Orange, the duke seized the same opportunity to indite a letter in cipher to the king,

which was handed to Bosville by Mr. Oudart, but unluckily failed in delivery, from the cause just mentioned.

These letters were of course immediately transmitted by Hammond to London, and the queen's epistle was found to state, that during the sad condition he (Charles) was in, nothing could bring more comfort to her than hearing from him, and wondered that on the last return of the despatch she had heard nothing from him, but supposes the letters were intercepted. A considerable portion then followed in cipher, and the conclusion implored the mercy of God for the preservation of his majesty, and his power for the destruction of his enemies.

The princess humbly represented her duty to her father, and craved she might be so honoured by him, and made so happy as to understand by a line or two under his royal hand, the good news of his health, for which she daily prayed.

A committee of the house was appointed to examine the duke,\* who would acknow-

\* On the 21st of the month of April following, the Duke of York effected his escape by one of those romantic series of adventures which seem almost allied to the name of Stuart. It was an adventure to which he was urged by the queen, with the approval of the king. Consequently the opportunity for securing his

ledge nothing except he had written to his father to let him know the queen and his brothers

freedom was eagerly fought for by the prince, and an immediate advantage taken when the probability of a successful termination to his endeavours presented itself. By the report rendered to the House of Commons, it appears the manner was in this wise:—  
“The duke, with his brother and sister were, after their supper, playing in a room by themselves, when he privately stepped down stairs without either coat, cloak, shoes or stockings, and by means of a door communicating from the garden to the park, whereof he had obtained a key, made his escape from his imprisonment.” The Duke of Gloucester with the Princess Elizabeth, however, still remained prisoners, and were soon after consigned to the care of the infamous Lady Carlisle at St. James's, who had a grant of 3000*l.* per annum for their maintenance, with a strict injunction that they were to be deprived of all princely distinction. From St. James', however, they were ultimately consigned to the saddest of all sad places to them, the castle of Carisbrook, the scene of their father's cruelest imprisonment, and from whence he was dragged to die. It is well known that the princess died in this castle on the 8th of September, 1650, of a fever brought on by anguish and despair, despite of all the medicine and remedies tried by Sir Theodore Mayerne, her father's faithful physician, who, on becoming aware of her prostrate condition, came to Carisbrook to prescribe for her. She is said to have expired alone, whilst sitting in the apartment allotted to her, with her cheek reclining on her parent's last gift—his Bible. Her interment took place in the church of St. Thomas's, at Newport, on the 24th of the same month, attended by the corporate authorities of Newport, with such little show of state as was then permitted. Crawford says she was a lady of incomparable abilities and admirable virtues; but being by order of the regicides sent to the tedious prison of her royal father, and more sensible of his murder than the loss of her own liberty, she wasted away, and expired with the extremity of melancholy and grief, in the 15th year of her age. The Duke of Gloucester remained at Carisbrook, with no

and sisters were in good health, and that he had burnt the cipher; but on his becoming aware it was likely he would be committed to the Tower, he sent a letter of submission, inclosing the cipher; a result which probably explains the medium through which the committee were afterwards enabled to decipher much of the king's intercepted correspondence.

Queen Henrietta Maria, who was most unpopular with the principal among the English cavaliers, was at this era residing either at the Louvre, or St. Germain; and although much calumny has been heaped upon her by most historians for her alleged neglect of the king during his imprisonment at Carisbrook, an impartial examination of the facts goes very far to dispel such an opinion. Her own situation was deplorable; and on the return of the ship she had with great difficulty raised the means to despatch to Southampton, she well knew the impolicy and danger of advising Charles to betake himself to the French capital during the alarming juncture which then prevailed there. The troubles and deprivations of Henrietta Maria, in the year

other style than "Mr. Harry," till 1652, when Cromwell permitted him to embark for Holland.

1648, were, in truth, in some particulars more enduring than even those of the king, and as the fortunes of her royal consort grew darker and darker, her own lowered dark enough.

The Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles the Second, was also resident in Paris at the commencement of that year, engaged, until he departed to take the command of the English ships which had forsaken Cromwell and taken refuge at Helvoetsluys, in devising and counselling measures for the relief of his father. A touching memorial of the prince's sollicitude being deducible from "the litany and prayers compiled by order of the prince for the king of Great Britain in his sad condition, and constantly used in his highness's chapel, at eight in the morning and at five in the afternoon, daily."\*

"O most gracious Lord God, the ruler of princes when they are on their thrones, and their protection when they are in peril, look down mercifully from Heaven, we most humbly pray thee, upon the low estate of thine anointed our king: comfort him in his troubles; defend him in his dangers; strengthen him in his good resolution; and command thine angels to pitch their

\* Printed at Paris, 1648.

tents round about him, that he may be defended from the hands of all those that desire his hurt, and may speedily be re-established in the just rights of his throne, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

Charles was now a king without a kingly power, but not without kingly influence; for, as writes Disraeli,\* the captive of Carisbrook Castle was still awefully remembered by the people. He dwelt in their thoughts, and sometimes in their hearts. He had long ceased to be an object of fear, and in their despairs he had now become mingled with their last hopes, because, pressed by monthly contributions (on the 16th February the Isle of Wight had been assessed to a monthly contribution of 69*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* on account of an ordinance for 20,000*l.* for the relief of Ireland) for the arrears of the soldiery, and vexed by taxations disguised under forms and names unheard of, the ship-money seemed but a light grievance.

The labourers of the harvest found no gleanings at the evening hour. The giddy multitude in the capital burst into a commotion, and called for "God and the king." The spon-

\* Commentary.

taneous cry was re-echoed by the populace of distant cities. The royal standard was unfurled in Wales, the Kentish men flocked to the trumpet of Goring, and the men of Essex had the sad glory of suffering the last in the miseries of the civil war by the memorable siege of Colchester. The fleet revolted to the prince. The cloud of an army was gathered in the north, where the English royalists here and there were awaiting for the army of Scotland led by the Duke of Hamilton. The cavaliers appeared in almost every county in England, and all rose in opposite directions, but too distant to communicate, too early to be joined by the tardy, and too late to unite with the dispersed.

These various actions had called away from their seat of power in Westminster the chief commanders of the army; and in the absence of their authority and their complicated intrigues, the Presbyterian party gradually recovered their power of pre-eminence; the late exiled members returned to their seats; and Holles, the great orator of the Presbyterians, once more resumed his preponderance, whilst the Independents, without their chiefs, lurked in a minority. This was a state of things most favourable to the vanquished



monarch, who, however, in the mean time was subjected to the most rigid and desolate imprisonment: even the tone of the governor again changed to insolence and reprimand, though the persons that had been placed about the king, and heretofore strangers, soon formed a deep personal attachment for him; and thus gave rise to the extraordinary incidents and guileless stratagems which have rendered so romantic all relations (imperfect as they are) of the captivity of Charles within the walls of Carisbrook, and the castle itself a habitation of melancholy memories. At this time friends devoted to his service nightly hovered on the sea-shores, watched about his dwelling, and held an invisible intercourse with the lonely monarch, who could not openly command a single messenger. Harrington, one of the persons sent by the Parliament, and a zealous republican, became so forcibly affected by the ability and dignity of the king as to be removed from his attendance. Osborn, who had been fixed as a spy near his person under the title of his gentleman-usher, and whose office was consequently to hold the king's glove during his dinner, soon slid a note with an offer of his devoted services in the finger of it, which thus became the recep-

tacle of an uninterrupted correspondence between them, whilst Firebrace by ingratiating himself into the favour of one of the king's conservators, so far obtained his confidence as to be permitted to assume his duty of waiting at the door opening into the backstairs, whilst he absented himself at supper, and by so doing, obtained a series of uninterrupted interviews with the king, who invariably retired to his chamber after he had supped; but as danger might be apprehended during these stealthy interviews from the intrusion of the principal guardian, the expedient was adopted of perforating a chink in the waincoat behind the hangings, which, Firebrace writes, "served as well as the opening of the door; and was more safe, for upon the least noise, by letting fall the hanging all was safe;" and by this means Charles received and delivered many an important despatch, and devised the arrangements for attempting his escape from an imprisonment which was now become intolerable.

So early as the 7th of February in this year, Lord Kent, on the part of the committee, wrote to Hammond informing him they have received some intelligence from a very good hand which

has never failed, that there was then a design in agitation through the medium of one *Napier*, and a fervant of David Murray (believed to be his majesty's tailor), to effect the enlargement of the king, by breaking the floor and ceiling of the room over the royal chamber, and drawing him up through the aperture so formed, from whence he was to be conveyed from one apartment to another, until all the rooms were passed where there was a guard at either door or window.\*

On the 13th of March, the governor was again apprised by the same authority that two of those in attendance on the king were engaged in a similar enterprize, although they could not discover their names, nor "the grounds they have to expect their service in it," but desired him to exercise increased vigilance over the actions of his majesty's household.

So ingenious, however, were the artifices which were practised by those engaged in these perilous undertakings, and so multifarious the manœuvres adopted to evade Hammond's precautions, that his determination and authority were equally at fault in discovering and suppressing the intrigues insti-

\* Letter to Hammond.

tuted by the contrivers of this dreaded proceeding. Five hundred additional men were sent over and quartered throughout the island, "two pieces of six-pound bullets, two sakers, and eight three-pounds brass ordnance," were sent thither from Poole in Dorsetshire, and planted about the out-works of the castle, as well as two hundred demi-culverin shot from Arundel Castle;\* and an assessment on the island for three months was granted at the request of the governor for the payment of the soldiery there.†

In the Appendix to the second volume of Clarendon's "State Papers," it is stated that about this time (March, 1648) there was "a flying report" (Lord Clarendon, however, remarks, "which seems to me somewhat improbable,") that Hammond came in to the king "suddenly at two o'clock in the night, and the king suspecting some treachery [from his] coming at that unseasonable hour, slipped on his clothes; and Hammond went readily to his cabinet and searched it, but found not such papers as he looked for, and then endeavoured to search the king's pocket; but his majesty resisted and gave him a box on the ear; and it is said he struck the king again. Upon

\* Rushworth.

† Hammond's Letter.

this violence offered, the king took the papers out of his pocket and thrust them into the fire, which Hammond attempted to pull out again; but the king so well guarded them that they were all burned, though in this scuffle it is said the king got a hurt on his face by a knock against the edge of the table." Mr. Secretary Nicholas adds as his opinion, that this statement is confirmed by other relations; and that some such belief was at the time generally entertained, is evidenced by Ashburnham's statement, as well as by reference to a pamphlet, published (April 12th) immediately after the implied assault, and entitled "The Fatal Blow, or the most impious and treasonable fact of Hammond in offering force unto and hurting his Sacred Majesty, discussed;" wherein the writer says, "notwithstanding gaoler Hammond's most solemn protestation unto his majesty to treat him well, promiseth this Parliament that he will obey all their commands, although never so contrary to his sense of honour, *id est*, his former engagements to his majesty, so absolutely is he their creature. And to show us how true he is unto his last engagement, in his majesty's late resistance to him, in the search of some papers, *he hath most im-*

*piouſly and traitorouſly wounded his moſt ſacred majeſty."*

Many ſurmifes might be entertained, and all with ſome ſhow of truthfulneſs, as to the contents of the papers the Parliament, by the aid of Hammond, (perhaps at the inſtigation of Cromwell and Ireton, for if the remarkable correſpondence at this very time carried between theſe perſonages and Hammond had come to the knowledge of the two Houſes, it is more than probable a ſtrange diſcloſure would have been the reſult) were ſo eager to obtain. As great aſtoniſhment was openly expreſſed at the king's knowledge of the Votes of the Houſe of Commons, and other matters of a more extended import, no doubt ſome anxiety would be manifeſted to diſcover the means whereby his information was obtained; but the moſt probable conjecture ſeems to be, that it was an endeavour to ſecure the record of the tranſactions between Charles and [the] Scottiſh commiſſioners, which was reaſonably, although erroneouſly, ſuppoſed to be ſtill in the king's poſſeſſion. Luckily, however, on the departure of Aſhburnham and Berkeley from the iſland, they had taken the precaution to induce his majeſty to provide for

the safe-keeping of so important and dangerous a document, by allowing them to encase it in lead, and afterwards temporarily deposit it in a garden belonging to Sir Charles Berkley.

In the meantime, the king appeared to submit with patience to the restraints put upon his freedom, and even affected an air of cheerfulness in order to disguise the design for making his escape, which he still cherished, and was now perfecting; whilst the almost daily written injunctions to Firebrace, "if you can let me speak with you this night at the chink," interestingly show the generous devotion of those who were seeking to serve him in this endeavour, persons to whom when in the presence he hardly dared to direct a silent look, or a meaning gesture, as in one of Firebrace's notes, he writes, "I hope this day at dinner you understood my looks, for the soldier I told you of, whose looks I like, was then there in a white nightcap, and as I thought you took notice, I hope to find something from you when I come in from walking;" thus forcibly showing the prompt sagacity of the king, and the romantic course of that remarkable secret correspondence which caused a general suspicion to be excited, and every obstacle adopted in the way of that personal

deprivation which could be safely devised to counteract its effect. "The superstition" of the majesty of his "grey, discrowned head," as Mr. Godwin expresses it, was however gradually exciting the sympathies and receiving the trust of those who had been placed about him as men of approved fidelity, but whose judgments and affections, then of an opposite character, were now connected with, and eager in assisting, several of the principal inhabitants of the island, in fomenting the ferment by which the exactions for the support of the military and other obnoxious imposts were agitating the entire mass of the community there.

Mr. Edward Worsley, connected with one of the most reputable families in the island, and Mr. John Newland, a member of the corporation of Newport, ventured to intimate to Charles, through the agency of Firebrace and Captain Titus, their desire to aid in an attempt to restore him to liberty; whilst others within the castle, probably Burroughs and Cresset, professing themselves true penitents, and anxious to redeem past errors by present and future services, made a similar proffer through the same medium, a procedure which gave rise to a portion



of that correspondence with Captain Titus it is the intent of this volume to place before the public; a most interesting and curious memento of the memorable occurrences which immediately followed, in which Captain Titus became so prominent a leader, and so trusted a confidant of the king's. These letters are written on pieces of paper of various sizes and shapes; some on the full size of half a sheet of foolscap, others on merely scraps of little more than an inch in breadth, and with the exception of the first, in a feigned hand, having the most important portions in cipher.

This secret is a valuable and authentic illustration of the very plans arranged for the escape of the king by himself and his confederates, and renders it evident that the adherence of these parties to the service of his majesty soon imparted a new tone to the proceedings which had been before rather hopelessly than hopefully arranged; whilst Charles hastened to convey his acceptance of their overtures in the following communication:—

## Number I.

“CAPT. TITUS,

“Let those officers, you told me of, know that as my necessity is now greater than euer, so what seruice shall be done me now, must haue the first place in my thoughts, when euer I shall be in a condition to requite my friends and pittie my Eennemies: I comānd you (when you can do it, without hazard either to yourfelse or them) that you fend me, in particular, the names of those who you thus finde sensible of their duty, and resolued to discharge the parts of true Englishmen; lastly, assure euery one, that, with me, present seruices wipes out former falts; so I rest,

“Your assured friend,  
“CHARLES R.”

From this time the new partisans proceeded without dissimulation in any of the negotiations or dangerous endeavours their exertions for the king's welfare prompted them to undertake, and only earnestly fought to extricate him from his most trying situation; whilst so well was the secret of the great change meditated by the king kept,

and so discreet and sagacious was the proposed course of action, that it is more than probable if Charles had been less sanguine of the part he himself was to play in his desperate resolve, that the escape first contemplated, under the auspices of Firebrace, Titus, and others, on the 20th March, 1648, would have been successful.

Firebrace says, "Amongst other ways I proposed his coming out of his bedchamber window, which he said he could do, there being room enough.

"I told him I fancied it was too narrow. He said he had tried with his head and he was sure, where that would pass the body would follow: yet, still I doubted, and proposed a way to make it a little wider, by cutting the plate the casement shut to at the bottom, which then might easily have been put by.

"He objected, that might make a discovery, and commanded me to prepare all things else; and that, he was confident, would not impede him.

"I had made for this escape Mr. Worsley (now Sir Edward Worsley), a very worthy gentleman now living in the island, Mr. Richard

Osburn, a gentleman put in by the Parliament to attend the king, and Mr. John Newland \* of Newport, who all proved very faithful: and thus we were to proceed: I should tofs something against the window, which was the sign to put himself out, and to let himself down by a cord which I for that purpose had given him.

“ Being down, and in the dark night, I was to conduct him across the court (no sentinel being in the way) to the great wall of the castle, where I was to have let him down by a long cord, a stick being fastened across the end for him to sit on.

“ Beyond this wall was the counterscarp, which was low: beyond that, and quite out of the castle, waited Mr. Worsley and Mr. Osburn on horseback, with a good horse, saddle, pistols, boots, &c., for the king. They were to help his majesty from the counterscarp, which they could easily do from their horses.

“ At the sea-side, in a convenient place, was

\* On reference to the corporate books of the Borough of Newport, for the year 1648-9, it is found as a corroborative and singular coincidence, that although generally most punctual in his attendance at the meetings of the corporation, Mr. Newland was absent during the whole of the time the king's affairs engaged his attention.

Mr. John Newland with a lusty boat, which might have carried his majesty to what part he had thought fit: all things were thus prepared, and every one well instructed in his part. The king, as he walked, had been often shewed the place by me where he was to be let down, and where he was to get over the counterfcarp, which his majesty well approved of.

“In the middle of these hopes, I gave the sign at the appointed time; his majesty put himself forward, but then too late found himself mistaken, he sticking fast between his breast and shoulders, and not able to get forward or backward, but that, at the instant before he endeavoured to come out, he mistrusted and tied a piece of his cord to a bar of the window within, by means whereof he forced himself back.

“Whilst he stuck I heard him groan, but could not come to help him, which (you may imagine) was no small affliction to me. So soon as he was in again, to let me see (as I had to my grief heard) the design was broken, he set a candle in the window. If this unfortunate impediment had not happened, his majesty had certainly then made a good escape.

“Now I was in pain how to give notice to

those without; which I could find no better way to do, than by flinging stones from the high wall, where I should have let down the king to the place where they staid, which proved so effectual, that they went off, and never any discovery was made of this.\*

In a note, passed by the chink; from the king to Firebrace, immediately after this unfortunate failure, he says: "The narrowness of the window was the only impediment of my escape, and therefore some instrument must be had to remove that bar, which I believe is not hard to get: for I have seen many, and so portable, that a man might put them in his pocket. I think it is called the endless screw, or the great force. I have now made a perfect trial, and find it impossible to be done, for my body is much too thick for the breadth of the window, so that unless the middle bar be taken away I cannot get through. It is absolutely impossible to do anything to-morrow night, but I command you, heartily and particularly, to thank in my name, A. (*Cresset*), C. (*Col. Legge*), F. (*Dowcett*), Z. (*Mr. Worfle*), and him who staid for me beyond the

\* Letter written by Mr. Henry Firebrace to Sir George Lane, Knt., Secretary to the Duke of Ormond, July 21st, 1675.

works (*Mr. Newland*), for their hearty and industrious endeavours in this my service; the which I shall always remember, being likewise confident that they will not fail in so good a work."

Lord Clarendon, in his "History of the Rebellion," relates this incident as if it were only a tale which the "idle jade, Rumour," had spread abroad, and expresses it as his opinion that it was a mere fiction, a conjecture which perhaps should not create much surprise when one of the principal instigators and actors in the affair is found, after a lapse of nearly thirty years, stating it as his belief, "that never any discovery was made of it;" and that Mr. Ashburnham, to whom the result was immediately communicated, also writes in his Narrative, "Hee got back again without anie certaine notice taken by anie man but by him (Firebrace) who waited to have served him when he had come downe."

These suppositions, however, by reference to a letter addressed to Hammond by Cromwell, on the 6th of April following, are seen to have been most fallacious, although it may be assumed as a matter of certainty, that until the receipt of this epistle, the authorities at Carisbrook were as equally ignorant of the near consummation of

the king's design, as of the untoward result which had attended his friends' endeavours.

Cromwell says, "Intelligence came to the hands of a very considerable person, that the king attempted to get out of his window, and that he had a cord of silk with him, whereby to slip down; but his breast was so big, the bar would not give him passage. This was done in one of the dark nights about a fortnight ago. A gentleman with you led him the way and slipped down. The guard that night had some quantity of wine with them. The same party assures that there is aquafortis gone down from London to remove that obstacle which hindered, and that the same design is to be put in execution in the next dark nights.

"He saith that Captain Titus and some others about the king are not to be trusted. He is a very considerable person of the parliament, who gave this intelligence, and desired it should be speeded to you. The gentleman that came out of the window was Master Firebrace; the gentlemen doubted are Cresset, Burroughs, and Titus: the time when this attempt at escape was . . . . the 20th of March."

From this time, Firebrace intimates in his



Narrative, "there ensued a general suspicion, but they could point at nobody. Hammond set his engines at work, and did pump me; so I heard he did others: but at last he took me into examination, and when he could make no discovery he told me the reason.

"I acquainted the king with all passages, at which he was much troubled, and told me, if they had a suspicion of me, they would never leave till they had ruined me; and would have had me gone with his letters to the prince his son (now our sovereign lord and master), but I told his majesty I was confident they could prove nothing against me, and therefore begged I might stay to see the issue; and that if the worst happened, they could but put me away, and then I did not doubt but that I should be able some way or other to serve his majesty.

"After this Hammond sent for me again, and told me he had received other letters, and that he must dismiss me as he should do others, but that I might stay, if I would, three or four days. This I looked upon as a trap; however, I accepted of it, but carried myself cautiously. I acquainted the king, and settled such a way of correspondence that his majesty did not want

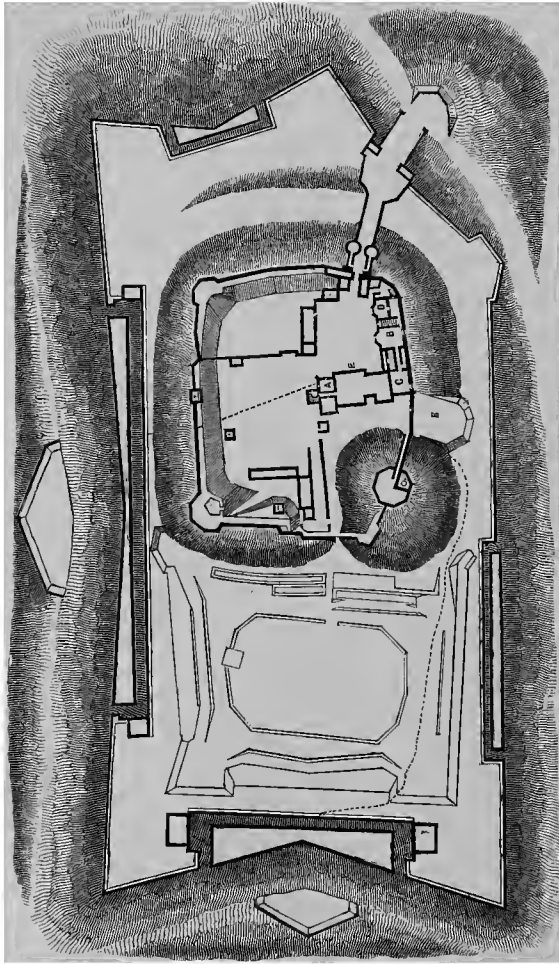
constant intelligence from his friends, as before, and had his despatches brought carefully to me, and sent them away with the like good success as formerly, during the whole time I was from him."

On or about the 21st of April, as announced in the "Every Day Journal" of the 27th of that month, Captain Titus, Burroughs, and Cresset were sent from the castle by order of the governor, under the authority he had received from the Derby House committee on the 18th of February, wherein he was empowered "to place and displace such persons as were to attend the king as he should see occasion;" although, if any credibility can be attached to the report which reached the committee, these personages had conceived the idea "of setting fire to the castle by firing a great heap of charcoal that lies near the king's lodging, and upon that tumult he to make his escape"\* before they left.

The royal lodging, from the first coming of the king to Carisbrook until the month of May, 1648, consisted of the most lofty portion of the governor's residence; an elevation, as will have been perceived in the progress of this

\* Letter to Hammond, 15th April.





**PLAN OF CARISBROOK CASTLE IN 1648.**

- A. Rooms occupied by the King on his first arrival.
- B. The Presence Chamber, after first attempt at escape.
- C. The Bedroom from which the second attempt was made.
- D. Rooms of the Chief Officer.
- E. Residence of the Governor.
- E. New Platform thrown up to guard the King's windows.

narrative, of three rooms: a presence-chamber, a retiring apartment on the first floor, and above both of these the room in which the floor was to have been broken through, as spoken of in the relation of the designed escape by Napier and others, at page 101; a detail which enables the identity of their position to be most satisfactorily determined.

In the accompanying plan of the castle of Carisbrook, prepared after a recent investigation, carefully made for the purposes of this work, and in accordance with the remaining fragmental evidences of its internal adaptation at the period of the king's imprisonment there, the site of these rooms—the Salisbury Tower—is easily distinguished by the dotted line drawn from it indicative of the route intended to have been taken by Charles and Firebrace, had they succeeded in regaining his anticipated freedom; but on Hammond's becoming aware of the circumstances appertaining to this abortive attempt, he resolved at once to remove the king from these apartments to a suite of rooms appended to the quarters of the chief officer, then a building composed of a series of gable frontages of the era of Elizabeth,

placed on the left side of the first court of the castle after passing the great gate-way, and directly opposite the chapel; as he deemed the position to be one entirely free from many of the facilities the king and his counsellors had hitherto been enabled to avail themselves of.

The castle of Carisbrook marks the situation of one of those rude and almost primeval fortresses consisting of a raised earthen ballium and fosse still to be studied in many parts of the kingdom; afterwards occupied by the Romans, and, on their retirement, successively by the Saxons and Danes, as their varied successes gave them possession of the island. With the coming of the Normans, however, dates that first permanent stone erection, which, after being more than once re-modelled in accordance with the fashion of the age in which the improvements were effected, eventually assumed the elevation which, grey and time-worn, has descended to our day. Amidst all these re-edifications, the pristine earth-work, as the substructure of its more important successor, still remained intact, a formation which caused the entire outline of the area within the castle at the base of the walls

to present an almost precipitous bank of earth, which descended to the natural level, whilst on its summit was upreared the fabric which has long rested within the embrace of the terrific conqueror of all things, but even amidst the ruin and deposit of centuries is vast and venerably grand. The retention of the work of the olden time would of course materially diminish the size of the chambers on the ground floor of those buildings approximating to it, although the rooms immediately over, by embracing the additional space the formation of the earthwork consumed, were well-proportioned and convenient. The apartments now to be occupied by the king were on the upper floor of a building to which such a description is incident, and consisted of a presence and bed-chamber, having communication by a passage that directly connected them; whilst to the principal door of the presence-chamber there was appended a staircase, which descended to the court-yard through the dwelling of the chief officer.

In the year 1719, as appears by a rude sketch still extant, this division of the fortress was even then in a state of great dilapidation, if not of absolute ruin; a decay principally attributable to

the fact that but little cost had been incurred in reparation from the time of the Restoration, as, when the office of the governor of the island rapidly merged into a sinecure, the expenditure was naturally limited to his own habitation. For a long series of years, therefore, the thistle has bloomed amidst their desolation, and the winds have moaned over the ruined walls, little heeding the sad review which an inspection of the precinct conjures up. The site of the king's presence-chamber is still easily distinguishable, as to it appertained the window which has been long looked on with a feeling of curiosity from the allusions made to it in all narratives of the king's projected escapes. It has thereby been made memorable; but incorrectly so, as the first attempt was made, as already shown, from the residence appropriated to the governor, and as will be hereafter perceived, the succeeding effort was again designed through the window of his majesty's bedroom, an aperture blocked up in after-alterations, but nevertheless easily recognisable on the exterior of the wall, as it nearly adjoins the only buttress on this side of the castle.

From the peculiarity of the position of the



fortress a considerable fall in the level of the ancient earthwork, nearly eight feet, is found in the space which intervenes between these windows. The floor of the presence-chamber rested on the ballium itself, whilst that of the retiring-chamber was considerably above it, a disposition which obliged Hammond materially to vary the additional precautions he deemed necessary to take for preventing all fears of the king's safe incarceration in his new abode. The window of the presence-chamber, which had heretofore contained but one iron bar between the stone mullions, a space of sixteen inches, received a second; and beneath that of the bedroom a platform was thrown up, where a sentinel was stationed, and ordnance placed,—alterations which caused the little delay in the king's removal, which he intimated in his note to Captain Titus.

### Number II.

King Charles to Captain Titus.

“W.

“This trusty bearer will ease my paynes by telling you why yett I have not yet changed my lodging; and also desyre your advice concerning remouing of obstructions; so that this

being but to give you an occasion to wryte to mee, I need say no more, but that I am

“Your most real friend,

“J.”

“I pray you commend me verry hartely to 688.”

This note is written in a feigned hand, and without date, but evidently about the 24th April, 1648. In the cipher used by the king at this time, the letter W expressed Captain Titus, and J, the king, the trusty bearer having in all probability been Firebrace, who received his dismissal within a few days from that of Titus himself.

It must not, however, be supposed that the fittings of these apartments were merely limited to the rude military appointments of the day, for by a reference to the appraisement of the furniture and plate within the castle after the king's execution, it is evident that regal splendour prevailed therein, for the appraisement is so minute in its descriptive detail, that a most vivid idea may be readily conceived, and more than imaginative picture drawn of the “Royal Portraiture, in his solitudes and sufferings,” and whilst living in the

custody of his enemies, as from this time he is found subjected to a rigid and desolate imprisonment, and injury and insult became familiar to him.

An inventory of goods in Carisbrook Castle, appraised the 17th October, 1650:\*

<i>Imprimis</i> , one standing bedstead, covered with crimson velvet, trimmed with gold and silver lace, and fringed, with all the furniture thereunto belonging, suitable, and the chest	£	s.	d.
	120	0	0
Sold Mr. Houghton and Mr. Bais, the 8th October, 1651, for ditto.			
One fustian down bed and bolster, one fustian quilt, one holland quilt, two cloth blankets, and a fustian blanket		11	0 0
Sold Mr. Houghton, ditto for 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ 0 0			
One crimson damask window curtain, of seven breadths, lined with perpetuana		7	0 0
Sold to ditto, for ditto.			
Two small window curtains, of crimson damask, lined as aforesaid		3	10 0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One 10 qr. feather bed and bolster, two woollen blankets, and a red rug		5	0 0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One watchet velvet necessary stool		1	10 0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One foot carpet		4	10 0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
Two small Turkey carpets		12	0 0
Sold Mr. Houghton and Mr. Bais for ditto.			

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\* Harleian MS. 4898.

	£	s.	d.
Eight pieces of Arras hangings . . . . .	210	0	0
Sold Mr. Mildmay, 19th August, 1653, for ditto.			
Eight pieces of Turkey hangings of the Roman Emperors . . . . .	90	0	0
Sold Mr. Houghton the 8th October, 1651, ditto.			
Two pieces of tapestry of imagery, marked O. J. Sold to ditto for ditto.	12	10	0
Twelve folding stools of green velvet, trimmed with gold and silver fringe . . . . .	8	0	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
Two green velvet chairs, two cushions, and a foot- stool . . . . .	7	0	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
Two high chairs, of yellow-wrought satin, and two high stools, two cushions, and two foot- stools suitable . . . . .	6	0	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One high chair of crimson velvet, two high stools, and a footstool of the same . . . . .	3	10	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
Two small carpets, of Persian making . . . . .	3	0	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One Turkey carpet . . . . .	2	10	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One necessary stool, of crimson velvet . . . . .	1	10	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One window curtain, of crimson and yellow damask Sold to ditto for ditto.	3	0	0
One small carpet . . . . .	0	8	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One 11 qr. feather bed and bolster, two blankets . . . . .	5	0	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One counterpane of tapestry . . . . .	2	0	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
Two large curtains of brocatillo . . . . .	9	0	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			

## Inventory of Furniture.

125

	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
One $\frac{10}{4}$ feather bed and bolster, 2 woollen blankets, and a red rug . . . . .	6	0	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One small carpet . . . . .	8	0	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One standing bedstead, covered with green velvet, laced and fringed with gold and silver, with all the furniture thereunto belonging suitable, valued at . . . . .	130	0	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One large down bed and bolster, one fustian quilt, one holland quilt, and one blanket . . . . .	10	0	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
Two window curtains, of blue and white damask Sold to ditto for ditto. . . . .	5	0	0
One small Turkey carpet . . . . .	0	8	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One small chair of crimson velvet, which was Queen Elizabeth's . . . . .	0	10	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One $\frac{1}{4}$ bed and bolster, two cloth blankets, and a tapestry counterpane . . . . .	0	7	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One Turkey carpet . . . . .	3	0	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
Three small carpets . . . . .	1	4	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One large Turkey carpet . . . . .	5	0	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One other Turkey carpet . . . . .	2	0	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One other Turkey carpet . . . . .	2	10	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
Three bed cases . . . . .	0	10	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			

£ s. d.

Plate.—Two basons and ewers, six candlesticks,  
 forty-four trencher plates, six fruit dishes, six  
 platters, six dishes, six saucers, one chamber-  
 pot, two chargers, one warming-pan, and ten  
 spoons, two chafers with covers, one ladle,  
 one long spoon, two plates with snuffers, and  
 two caudle cups with covers, two porringers,  
 one drinking-cup, one tankard, two sugar-  
 boxes, three salts, and a little bason and ewer,  
 one chamber-pot, two piece basons, and one  
 chafing-dish, all weighing 197 lbs. 8 oz. troy,  
 at 4s. 11d. per oz. . . . . 585 3 0  
 Sold Mr. Houghton and Mr. Bafs, the 8th  
 October, 1651, for ditto.

This document probably also includes articles sent for the use  
 of the Duke of Gloucester and Princess Elizabeth, but it is of  
 course impossible to discriminate between them.



## CHAPTER V.

Sir John Bowring's Narrative—Preparations for Second Attempt to Escape—Letters to Captain Titus—Discovery and Frustration of the Attempt—Accusation against Major Rolph—Curious proceedings consequent thereon—Trial and Acquittal of Rolph at the Assizes at Winchester.

**I**N the year 1703, there was published amongst a collection of papers purported to have been found in the study of a nobleman lately deceased, a garrulous narrative written by a Sir John Bowring to Charles the Second, for the purpose of recommending himself of "many most occult considerable concerns and secret transactions relating to England's royal protomartyr." Certainly a remarkable relation, if credence can be placed in it, but of this great doubt may be reasonably entertained, "as the singular political foresight of the knight, in

every event which he records, is so wonderful, that he is to be suspected as having been one of those great predictors, who enjoy the advantages of prophecy after the events have been realized."

According to Sir John Bowring's account, Hammond was greatly influenced by the counsels of Mr. Lisle, a native of the Isle of Wight, and whose name is so well known as the regicide, afterwards assassinated at Lausanne in Switzerland. With Lisle Bowring was also intimate, and telling the king, in one of his interviews, (?) that he had been known to him from childhood, he received from Charles a special charge to keep his interest and friendship with him. "It concerns me very much," said his majesty, and you may perchance do me greater service, and be better able to perform it than any friend whatsoever, so that from the time his majesty came to the Isle of Wight, he employed me to manage and transact his private and particular affairs, relying upon me in all things principally of care and hazard to himself, and which was not in the power at that time of any other person living to do his majesty any good except they had a secret interest with Lisle; and this the king



understood very well, because his majesty knew that Hammond received his orders from Lisle in all things, by reason Hammond was otherwise a stranger in the island."

In this notable service, a Dr. Cade is stated to have been the coadjutor of Bowring, and the person who conducted a secret correspondence between him and the king; but it is rather singular, although their share in the momentous events now transpiring was, on their own showing, of a most prominent character, that not the slightest allusion is made to either of these personages by other reputable chroniclers of the same passages, or by the king himself. They may have been men of fidelity, and have secured the attachment and confidence of Charles; but the entire absence of mention of them by other authentic writers of the memoirs of their own employments, implies a strong question as to the veracity of their personal statements, and undeniably casts a suspicion over their carefully paraded ingenuity, more especially as, in many instances, the narrative to which allusion is made is only an enlargement of that by Sir John Berkeley, and confirmatory of it.

In this strange condition of bereavement and

imprisonment, the suffering monarch seemed more abandoned by fortune than his friends, whose attachment now exhibited a perfect unity of conduct and decision of purpose. At this critical moment, these energetic characters were sternly striving, as it were, with the fate they could not conquer: one of the most ardent being a Mrs. Whorwood, a lady who is often mentioned with great expressions of confidence and respect by the king. Intelligence of the failure of the first attempt at escape by Charles, was immediately forwarded to her by Firebrace, with injunctions to transmit to the island a supply of files and aquafortis "to make the passage more easy, and to help in other designs he proposed\*;" but in accordance with the prevailing superstition of the times, she first enlisted the services of the celebrated astrologer, William Lilly, who procured G. Farmer, an ingenious locksmith in Bow-lane, London, to make a saw to cut the iron bars asunder, as well as to furnish a quantity of aquafortis in furtherance of the same purpose.

So perfect, however, were the arrangements of the spies in the employment of the Derby House

\* Firebrace's Narrative.

committee, that this procedure was at once known to them, and information sent to Hammond\* that although the aquafortis had been spilt by means of an accident, there was a fat plain man employed to carry the king a hacker, an instrument which had been made in London to convert two knives, which the king had by him, into saws.

The man thus despatched from London was ordered to proceed only to Portsmouth, and thence to send his charge by some fishermen to Newport, where, as Firebrace had left the castle, they were to be met by either Dowcett or Harrington, on the part of the king. By these messengers, Charles was also "to write back divers letters," which were to be brought to Portsmouth for conveyance to London. "If, therefore," said the committee to Hammond, "you cannot intercept these letters in the Isle of Wight, if you can send a faithful man, confident and discreet, to Portsmouth, who may be there on Sunday night, and diligently observe and enquire for such a man, who hath a horse under him worth thirty or forty pounds (the colour we know not), and continue there till

\* Letters to Hammond, April 21st and 22nd.

Thursday, he will certainly find such a man coming out of the town with all the king's letters, whom he is to apprehend, and you are to send up the said letters hither with all security."

Notwithstanding this accurate intelligence, "the hacker" was safely delivered; and, in spite of Hammond's vigilance, the messenger succeeded in conveying the letters to Dr. Frazer, at Windsor, although, from some information he received at Portsmouth, his retreat from thence was so precipitate that his pistols and sword were left behind him.

At this particular juncture of his affairs, Charles was continually baffled in a perfectly secret transmission of his dispatches; as, in another communication, it is said "there came lately fifteen or sixteen letters from the king, and those about him, four or five whereof were read by an honest (?) man;" and on Mr. Mildmay's being sent to London "with some letters from the governor concerning something to be propounded," he was there seen and interrogated by Captain Titus, as to the cause of his dismissal from Carisbrook. Mildmay urged the contents of some of the king's letters as condemnatory evidence of his participation in the proceedings

which had been devised for effecting the king's escape; whereupon Titus would seem to have immediately accused his majesty of indiscretion in his correspondence, as a firm denial to such a charge is contained in the succeeding letter:—

Number III.

King Charles the First to Captain Titus.

April 26th, 1648.

“ W.

“ I cannot be satisfied unless you doe trust to my Discretion as well as Honesty: wherfor I assure you that I never wrote any such thing as Mr. Myldmay hath informed you of; for there is an utter impossibility in nature, that it could be in any of my dispatches, but in that of the 17th of this month; for it was but the day before that I did so much as suspect that eather you or D. (*Firebrace*) should be dismissed; and since, noe letters of myne hath gone to London. Now for that dispatch; first, I must say, that it is ill lucke that my wyfes letters should only miscary, for I have had answers to all the others, which went by that messenger; but indeed it might be betrayed at the Post House; wherfor now, I must desire you to believe (for

this long time I durst keepe no copies) my memory, which I hope in so fhort a tyme will not deceave me; nor would I (according to my owen ruels) be very confident of a negative but that I can prove it by an affirmative; that is to say, I could not be very sure that I wrote nothing concerning 251 : 686 (*my escape*), if I did not remember the subject of that letter, for it was concerning a business wherein my wyfe desyred my opinion; nor will I say but there might be a clause in it to this effect, that, albeit there were two confidents of myne, discharged my service, yet I could still convey Letters to her; but on my Credit, it was all in Cypher, and I am sure I did not name F. (*Dowcett*), nor made the least mention concerning any Desyne of ours. Now, you may judge (for upon my faith I have told you the worst of my case) whether it be not more likely, that all this story, of my Letter, is fained (to try your countenances, & to make the fairer pretence of dismissing you) than that they have found any of your names in my letter; w<sup>ch</sup> to doe, they must decypher my letter; but, as they tell it, I will take my oath, it is a lye: and so, I leave this, and come to my Business, w<sup>ch</sup> is, only, to know how soone you will, and where

you intend to lay horses for me ; for though I cannot put you in any certaine hope that very shortly I shall use them, yet it were a pity to loofe an oportunity heere for want of preparation beyond the water ; and we are hammering upon a way (as D. (*Firebrace*) will more particularly informe you) w<sup>ch</sup> if it hit, we shall be sooner ready, than, it may be, you can imagine. I have now no more to say but to defyre you to let me hear from you as soon as you may, how you are satisfised with the first part of this Letter, and how soone you can comply with the later : so I rest.

“ Your most assured constant friend,

“ J.”

“ You had this letter enclosed before now, but you were gone before it could come to you ; it came to me from London amongst my letters.”

Confident as is the king's expression on the impossibility of his having committed this oversight, it is questionable if some such observation was not contained in one of the letters read by the “ honest man,” as in the intimation from the committee to Hammond on the subject;

they say, "the king writes that, although Firebrace and Titus be discovered, yet Dowcett is true to him, and will do the deed."

The failure of the first attempt at escape, from his majesty's personal reliance of success in the part he himself had to perform, caused his adherents carefully to scrutinize the various expedients adopted for overcoming the additional impediments they would have to encounter in the renewed endeavour, and devise a course of united action commensurate with the obstacles to be surmounted.

With the acquiescence of Captain Titus, Firebrace, and Mrs. Whorwood, in London, Mr. Worsley and Mr. Newland in the Isle of Wight, and Osborn and Dowcett within the walls of the castle, the preliminaries were designed as follows. His majesty, supposing him safely emerged from his chamber window, described as the height of a flight of stairs from the ground (by measurement it proves to be ten feet) was to proceed across the bowling-green to the counterscarp of the castle, which he was to descend, and be then received by Mr. Worsley and Osborn, as under the former arrangements. Mr. Newland was to be again in waiting with the boat, which,



having reached, they were at once to cross the channel to the coast of Hampshire, where horses were intended to be in readiness, with relays to convey him to the residence of Sir Edward Alford, near Arundel, in Suffex. From Arundel he was again to journey on horseback to Queenborough, in Suffolk, where a ship was prepared to transport him to Holland as the most favourable temporary place of safety.

The opinions of Charles respecting his personal movements, in the uncertain resolve before him, were, however, still unsettled; for in such a position, trivial incidents became worthy the most weighty consideration, and his former want of success naturally urged him to balance in his mind every opposite influence that attached itself to the scheme, in the hope of being enabled to reject such propositions as offered the smallest chance of fatally affecting the consummation of the plan.

The king was now lodged in the house of the chief officer, and the opinion formed by Hammond of the additional security afforded by such a procedure was correctly estimated; for the image of fallen majesty excited neither generous emotion nor any desire to alleviate his condition

in the eyes of this unscrupulous Parliamentarian, as, in addition to other observances, he also assumed the office of sentinel over the royal person, a fact of which speedy intimation was conveyed by Charles to Captain Titus.

Number IV.

“ W.

“ Since the chiefe officer alwais sits at the preface-door, you have reason to differ with me in opinion as you doe.

“ I pray you remember to leave verry plaine and full informations with L. (*Osborn*), and F. (*Dowcett*), and particularly how to keepe intelligence with our friends at London.\*

“ J.”

This personage, the chief officer, was subordinate to Hammond, but he looked with an eye of jealousy on his position. Originally a shoemaker in Westminster, he was now a major in the Parliamentarian army, recently promoted from a captaincy, and of the name of Rolph. Lord Clarendon states, he was placed at Carisbrook by Cromwell “as a prime confidant: a fellow of

\* This letter, although not in its proper order, is here introduced as corroborative of the foregoing remark.

low extraction and very ordinary parts, who, from a common soldier, had been intrusted in all the intrigues of the army, and was one of the agitators inspired by Cromwell to put anything into the soldiers' minds, upon whom he had a wonderful influence, and could not contain himself from speaking maliciously and wickedly against the king, when diffimulation was at the highest among the officers." Consequently every precaution which military discipline could exercise, or the antagonistic malevolence of his dark and subtle mind imagine, was quickly enlisted by him in the hope of his being enabled to render abortive the contrivances for the king's escape, which it was well known were being vigorously disposed preparatory to the advent of a suitable opportunity for making them available.

Still every preparation went bravely and confidently on, and both the king and his friends implicitly believed in the impossibility of a failure in the measures they were daily perfecting—fruitless expectation! vain reliance! for all their hopes were destined to be again reversed, and the monarch for whom they were striving, reduced to the lowest ebb of his fortunes. At this moment repeated communications from

Derby House disclosed a perfect knowledge of the projects which were gradually approaching maturity, and Hammond necessarily held the game in his own hands.

At the latter end of the month of April, the committee wrote, "The time assigned is May-day, at night, for the king's escape; but it may be sooner if opportunity serves." And on the 4th of May, "there is an intention to get the king away to-morrow night or Thursday morn; for Sunday a ship is fallen down from hence to Queenborough, whereabout she rides to waft him to Holland. Mrs. Whorwood is aboard the ship, a tall, well-fashioned, and well-languaged gentlewoman, with a round visage, and pock-holes in her face; she stays to wait upon the king. A merchant is gone from this town last night, or early this morning, to acquaint the king that all things are ready; four horses lie in or near Portsmouth, to carry the king by or near Arundel, and from thence to Queenborough. A Parliament man, or one that was one, who liveth near Arundel, is to be the king's guide. The man is supposed to be Sir Edward Alford. The merchant that is come down to the king is a lean, spare young man. The place by which

the king is to escape, is a low room, through a window that is but slightly made up. He hath one or two about him that are false. Have a special care of the king's bowling, which is the next plot. If this be prevented, they will then have a ladder set up to the wall against the bowling-alley, and horses and a boat ready, and try that way.

“The party that gives this intelligence saw lately a letter of the king's own hand, wherein he extremely bemoans his condition, and resolves to attempt by all means to free himself from it.”

By this extract it will be comprehensively seen how insurmountable were the obstacles opposed to a satisfactory termination of the ingenious exertions and genuine devotion of those who, notwithstanding the perils which attended all their movements, were seeking to serve the royal captive. Personal dangers were unthought of and unheeded; and Firebrace even went surreptitiously to the Isle of Wight, for the purpose of effecting a renewed interchange of correspondence with the king, maturing the dispositions already made, and transmitting to Titus full intelligence of his proceedings.

In this most difficult and dangerous position of Firebrace, and during his short stay, his endeavours to effect the success of his mission without detection were of a deep and trying nature, as he did not omit availing himself of the slightest chance that the bounds of probability presented for accelerating the consummation of his desires. Whilst he sojourned in the island, a proposal, which apparently then offered itself, was submitted to the king for adopting another means of gaining his freedom; and on referring to the infallible authority, the missives from Derby House, it is found that "the fellow of the backstairs," mentioned by Charles, was the porter, "who useth to carry up coals for the king's chamber, presently after dinner and supper: he is to carry the king a disguise, which he is to put on, and also the porter's frock, and to lock the porter into his chamber, and come down himself whilst the servants are at supper, and so pass away."

A slight difference of opinion seems to have pervaded the counsels of the king's friends respecting his ultimate destination; and in the mind of Titus a suspicion arose respecting the integrity of some person or persons cognizant of

their intentions. The objections he raised were refuted by Charles, although by a letter to Firebrace it seems the king personally entertained a doubt of the probity of Lowe the merchant. "If any does betray me, it must be O. (*Lowe*); yet he bragged to me in his last letter, that he furnished the Duke of York with a hundred and fifty pounds for his journey; but the truth is, that N. (*Mrs. Whorwood*), for whose fidelity I will answer, doth suspect him, and in the last packet hath given me warning of him: do not dishearten him; get what money you can of him, but do not trust him,

"It was not I that acquainted him with the greater business (*the contemplated escape*), for I found his name at the joint-letter you sent me before ever I imagined he knew any such thing. I never wrote anything of moment to him, but only made use of him for the conveyance of letters, and sending me news." Similar is the admonition to Titus: "I do not desire that A. (*Cresset*), or O. (*Lowe*), should any more meddle in it, though I believe they mean well."

On the perusal of these remarks, the first impulse of thought naturally suggests Lowe as having been the arch-traitor by whom the Derby

House committee were furnished with their too truthful intelligence; but other considerations, especially the language of the committee themselves, when alluding to him, render it evident that although he may have been guilty of indiscretion, he cannot be charged with the treasonable and discreditable conduct for which the Lady Carlisle was probably alone answerable.

At the commencement of the month of May, Firebrace being entrusted with some other important service, Titus betook himself to Southampton, where he resided in the house of a Mrs. Pitt, and on the 16th of that month was visited by Mr. Worsley,\* in order that they might consult on the points which at this juncture seemed most to concern his majesty, "where he should take boat, where land, and the importance of a password." Mr. Worsley received from the king the additional care of conveying a letter to Titus,† which it is not improbable was that numbered XI. in this series, or that the others which immediately follow were afterwards transmitted to him through the same medium.

\* The king's letter to Worsley.

† Worsley's "History of the Isle of Wight "



Number V.

King Charles to Captain Titus.

Without date.

“ W.

“ I will fend you my cheefe instrument by D. (*Firebrace*), and I desyre you to make good tryals and giue me good instructions, for I know not how fying can be, without much noife and tyme; but if you can cleare this doute, I absolutely conceaue this to be the best way: yet D.’s (*Firebrace*) new way is not to be rejected; and may be tryed (as I suppose) without much danger, that is to say: make this fellow of the Backstaires try how he can conduct his friends in & out at that tyme of night, without strict examination of the Gards: in a word: you that walk abroad freely can much better judge of the fesibilitie of this, then I: wherefor, seriously I remitt myself to your judgement herein: only with this opinion; that the easie or difficult remouing of the barr will cast the scales, in my judgement, betwixt the two wayfe.

“ Now concerning the place Whether? I know you say true that many of my friends thinke London the fittest place & particularly

A. (*Cresset*), and Q. (*Lowe*), but I am clearely of your mynde; wherfore I earnestly & particularly recomend the prouyding of a Ship, to your care; for really (upon the joynt Letter you sent me from London) I haue discharged the corespondent, I tould you that I had, beyond the Water.

“If your Dismission stood upon me, it should not be in haste; but in earnest, it would be well if you might stay till Monday or Teufday, for ajusting all things the better.

“No Cipher of myne hath miscaried, for I sent but one since I came hither & that I am sure was receaued.

“I have now no more to say, but I pray you haue more assurance then bare confidence for hauing a ship readdy :

“J.”

### Number VI.

King Charles to Captain Titus.

Without date.

“W.

“before I answer yours I must desyre you to let me know to whom you have lent your

Cypher; for if you have not, a Copie of it hath bine stolne from you, as by theafe inclosed Notes you will fynde: Now to answer yours in your owen order.

“As for 715 (*Mrs. Whorwood*) I belieue you are not mistaken; for I am confident she will not deceaue your trust: I think 457 (*Lady Carlisle*) wishes now well to me but I belieue she loves 546, 493 about all things: for 714 (*Dr. Fraizer*) I hope he is honest but I have not had much experience of him: for L. (*Osborne*) I fully concur with you both for those things that are to be left & how to comunicat business to him; wherfor I will impart nothing of theafe things to him, untill you send him to me about them, or that you be gone. As for W. (*Titus himself*) I assure you that I am most confident in his faithfullness, circumspection and diligence: you bid 715 (*Mrs. Whorwood*) be confident, that I am no wais disgusted with anything that I heard concerning her. Be confident if an underhand Treaty be offerd me, I shall make no other use of it, but such as my friends shall be glad on: and cheefly to the end you mention. As for Mr. Myldmays information concerning what I should say of my Childrens intertainment, my

Answer is "Cujus Contrarium verum est:" & a Gods name say it in my name: for the other, I am confident that no Sunday since I came heere (except the last) I read on any such Booke as Argenis,\* so that certainly the information was then false.

"Since D. (*Firebrace*) must be gone, will it not be necessarie that F. (*Dowcett*) be particularly acquainted with all things? for I assure you that I will communicate it to none but those whom you thinke fitt. I haue now no more to say: but I pray you ajust particulars as soone as you can: and give me an account of it as soon as you may:

"J."

"Comend me hartily to 457 (*Lady Carlisle*) with as many other ciuilities or thanks as you shall thinke fitt.

"I pray you decypher this inclosed Note, for I would not doe it though I begun it, because I thinke it a Rogery: I fend you all that came with it."

\* This was a work which went through several editions in Latin, and was afterwards (1636) translated into English; it was entitled "Barclay, his Argenis, or the Loves of Polyarchus and Argenis."

Number VII.

King Charles to Captain Titus.

Without date.

“ W.

“ Since your stay is so short heere you must excuse me though I importune you with papers hauing little to say : Amongst other particulars I pray you thinke w<sup>ch</sup> way I shall remoue the Bar out of my Window without noife and unperceaued, and what tyme it will take me to doe it.

“ I am glad that you will acquaint F. (*Dowcett*) with particulars ; for since D. (*Firebrace*) must depart I think it absolutely necessary : but I doe not desyre that A. or O. (*Cresset* or *Lowe*) should any more medle in it : though I belieue they meane well, yet let us not loofe their correspondence. If you hit in this new way, consider if the tyme of night would not be alterd ; for I belieue you will now fynde that I must first goe to Bed, before I offer to goe away : but I refer it to your judgement.

“ J.”

“ Trye what you may doe to stay till Monday : & forgett not to giue me an account of your meeting as soone as you can.”

## Number VIII.

King Charles to Captain Titus.

Without date.

“ W.

“ I haue been confidering the Bar of my Window & fynde that I muft cut it in two places; for that place where I muft cut it aboue, I can hyde it with the leade that tyes the Glaffe; but there is nothing that can hyde the lower part: wherfor, I conceaue it cannot but be difcouered, if I leaue it off, when I haue once begune it: and how to make but one labour of it, I cannot yet conceaue: but if I had a forcer, I could make my way well anufe; or if you could teache me how to make the fyre-shouell & tongues fupply that place, w<sup>ch</sup> I belieue not impoffible.

“ Of this (I meane how to remoue the Bar) I defyre to be refolued before you goe; wherfor I pray you giue me an answer to this as foone as you can, for I belieue our maine Bufinefs depends much upon it.

“ J.”

“ I pray you 577: 359: 117: 343:  
279: 20: 356: (*to be sure of a ship*).”

Number IX.

King Charles to Captain Titus.

Without date.

“ W.

“ The difficultie of remouing the Bar, hath made my thoughts runne much upon the later Designe: it is this: since for my going out at Window, it is necessary that an Officer or two should be gained, will not they as willingly & may they not more easily, helpe me out at the Dores ?

“ And truly in my judgement there can be nothing of lesse hazard then this last Desygne, if any one Officer can be ingaged in it; for then my Disgyse will make me passe safely through all the Guards, wherefore I pray you thinke well upon it, for I am most confident that I am in the right, yet for Gods sake make your objections freely to what I haue said; or, if you do not understand me tell me in what, & I hope that I shall satisfie you; howeuer I pray you lett me haue your Opinion of this, as soone as you may, whether it be Pro or Con: if this Desygne be resolued on, we need not stay for Dark Nights.

“ J.”

“ I am extreamly wel satisfied with the later part of your Paper.”

## Number X.

King Charles to Captain Titus.

Without date.

“W.

“This being a Busines of Action & not of words, I will be verrie brife, & I were much too blame, if I were otherwais; for really (to my judgement) it is so well layed, that I haue but one particular to make a Quere upon (after thryce reading over your paper) w<sup>ch</sup> is, whether I shall haue tyme anufe after I haue Supt & before I goe to Bed, to remoue the Bar: for if I had a Forecer, I would make no question of it; but hauing nothing but fyles I much dout that my time be too scant; wherefore I desyre to be well instructed in it: w<sup>ch</sup> being ajusted I know nothing to be mended in your Paper. But you know, there must be “Terminus ad quem,” as well as “Terminus a quo;” therefore I desyre to know, whether you intend that I should goe after I am ouer the Water?

“J.”

“I desyre you to Answer this Paper as soon as you can.

“Hencefoorth I will goe early to Bed.”



Number XI.

King Charles to Captain Titus.

665 : 637 : 643 : 279 : 672 : ( *Sunday 14th of  
May* ).

“ W.

“ Yesterday I receaved fower letters from you with a great number of others from diuers of my friends as 634 : 169 : 251 : 680 : 636 : 169 : 457 : (*one from my wife and from Lady Carlisse*) as many from 715 (*Mrs. Whorwood*) : the lyke nomber from both A. and O. (*Cresset and Lowe*) befydes a great bundle from 714 and 708 (*Dr. Fraizer and Col. Legge*), also fower from D. (*Firebrace*) and one from T : this I giue you an account of because not hauing tyme now to write to any of thease my friends I desyre you make my excuse to them, & lett them know that I have receaved all their letters : now as to your Answer : all that I have to say to yours of the first of this Month, is, that as I see that you are well fatisfied with me, so I am with you, (for those two of the 12th, that w<sup>eh</sup> is out of Cypher I know not what you meane by it ; but I thanke you for the Aduice you giue me in the other. 739 : 209 : 165 : 363 : 284 :

478: ( 104:359:361:302:) 263: 117: 106:  
 78: 91: 318: 67: (*though I finde that our design*  
*[as to this place] must be alltered*). Now as to  
 that of the 9th, my Answer is, that 158: 251:  
 60: 108: 210: 302: 420: 263: 20: 7: 10: 212:  
 78: 210: 230: 411: 420: 108: Z: 263: 79:  
 144: 250: 404: 209: 349: 80: 21: 41: 92: 705:  
*(for my landing place you must apoint it, likewise*  
*You and Worsley must tell me where I shall take*  
*boate*). I can write no more concerning 251:  
 686: (*my escape*) untill I haue consulted with L:  
*(Osborne)*: in the mean tyme I must tell you that  
 now I can assure you that no letter of myne  
 hath miscarried, for I haue had an Answer of that  
 from 251: 680: (*my wife*) w<sup>ch</sup>. I suspected, there  
 being no other in possibilitie of doeing harme.  
 660: 639: 643:\* before this morning I could  
 not speak with L. (*Osborne*), w<sup>ch</sup> hath giuen me  
 tyme to write thease two inclosed; that super-  
 scribed in french is to 251: 680; (*my wife*) the  
 other to 715: (*Mrs. Whorwood*); this last I  
 thought fitt to write to encourage and thanke  
 187 (*her*), because I fynde that 63: 14: 91: 90:

\* Blanks are oftentimes inserted by the king for the purpose of rendering the deciphering still more difficult by those unacquainted with the cipher.

194:437:143:420:212:571:216:360:356:  
*(she hath assisted you in providing the ship)*. Now  
 as for 284:184:453:200:209:479:420:  
 359:117:38:212:359:53:20:210:158:  
 250:281:659:274:108:335:112:151:46:  
 275:79:158:22:651:359:39:92:360:50:  
 29:117:131:634:275:80:253:164:108:  
 102:289:14:210:202:210:117:216:35:  
 10:78:15:608:637:108:483:11:382:  
 359:340:279:643:359:420: *(our great  
 business, I desire you to begin to waite for me  
 on Monday next and so after, every night for  
 a weeke together, because one night may faill  
 and accomplish it, and it being both trouble-  
 some and dangerous to send off word to you)*;  
 and for the 371:203:420:263:226:363:  
 210:211:251:96:16:103:36:93:51:392:  
 135:118:405:209:263:137:340:360:289:  
 117:216:335:54:23:97:16:143:363:210:  
 126:270:117:98:31:78:404:158:209:  
 263:631:177:359:35:143:335:363:251:  
 371:279:128:216:169:251:99:15:103:  
 36:94:52:399:117:115:644:105:275:  
 78:200: *(time here, you must know that it is  
 my chamber window on which I must descend,  
 the other being so wached that it cannot be cut,*

*wherfor I must first to bed so that my time of coming from my chamber may be about eleven at night): for the rest 420:401:Z:263:128:296:91:89:16:282:344:209:126:117:401:420:(you with Worsley must compute how soone I can be with you). This is as much as for the present I can say concerning 251:686:(my escape), and I hope such as will give you reasonable good satisfaction: but I desire you to send me speedie word if any thing that I have written be obscure, or not full to what you desire to know; also 404:209:349:78:23:41:705:108:404:531:200:230:411:420:263:182:250:20:2:53:280:67:363:209:253:226:251:174:63:212:360:141:42:92:(where I shall take boate and where lande, likewise you must give me a passe word that I may know my friends in the darke). And now I have no more to say but what I cannot say according to my mynde, w<sup>ch</sup> is to express my satisfaction & thanks to you, for what you have done for me in this Business; only this, you shall fynde me really,*

“Your most assured constant friend,

“J.”

“ You must remember to 231 : 198 :  
64 : 335 : 363 : 209 : 253 : 264 : 269 :  
65 : 80 : 21 : 46 : 117 : 78 : 54 : 212 :  
251 : 531 : 216 : 108 : 315 : 35 : 280 :  
11 : 33 : 40 : 16 : 24 : (*leave horses so  
that I may have no stay between my  
landing and Queenborough*).”

Number XII.

King Charles to Captain Titus.

659 : 647 : 635 : 672 : (*Monday twenty-two  
May*).

“ W.

“ Yesterday & not before I received  
three of your letters, in Answer to which first I  
assure you that 367 : 211 : 269 : 338 : 377 : 104 :  
109 : 375 : 117 : 78 : 53 : 91 : 94 : 71 : 92 : 689 :  
108 : 250 : 280 : 109 : 377 : 230 : 210 : 200 : 108 :  
209 : 399 : 389 : 93 : 50 : 251 : 232 : 213 : 209 :  
193 : 20 : 656 : 363 : 360 : 136 : 133 : 127 : 96 :  
94 : 51 : 72 : 216 : 541 : 97 : 281 : 108 : 251 :  
680 : 211 : 21 : 1 : 67 : 103 : 73 : 113 : 228 : 91 :  
158 : 106 : 187 : 532 : 63 : 359 : 250 : (*there is no  
such thing as any tiff between him and me or anything  
like it, and I will offer my life if I had a chance that*

*the discourse concerning Con\* and my wife is a damned lye, for all he says to me) ever since I came hither 397 : 218 : 359 : 360 : 127 : 79 : 52 : 22 : 50 : 46 : 2 : 65 : 152 : 201 : 108 : (was just to the contrary passe, and) I defyre you to assure all my frends in my name that all this is punctually true, & in particular to 457 (Lady Carlisle): & that if (as you haue said) 367 : 349 : 117 : 109 : 564 : 254 : 91 : 250 : 118 : 360 : 512 : 298 : 209 : 399 : 281 : 228 : 264 : 382 : 92 : 279 : 210 : 212 : 557 : 359 : 251 : 686 : (there shall be any Treaty made me by the Parliament party I would only have use of it in order to my escape); also take notice in my name to 457 : 279 : 360 : 181 : 599 : 546 : 493 : 140 : 250 : 212 : 360 : 505 : (Lady Carlisle of the good service done me in the affair), & excuse me to 187 (her) that now I doe not write my selfe, for indeed I haue no tyme.*

“As you have aduised, 662 : 274 : 399 : 117 : 360 : 631 : 275 : 80 : 363 : 209 : 349 : 430 : 359 : 686 : 90 : (*Wednesday next may be the night I shall endeavour to escape*); but I defyre you (if it

\* Con was a Scotchman who was afterwards succeeded by Rosetti, an Italian. He resided openly in London, and frequented the Court as vested with a commission from the Pope. The queen's zeal, and her authority with her husband, was the cause for a time of this imprudence so offensive to the nation.

be possible) 117 : 158 : 93 : 364 : 359 : 104 :  
 343 : 250 : 363 : 420 : 399 : 117 : 50 : 143 : 67 :  
 47 : 118 : 363 : 275 : 78 : 108 : 340 : 250 : 3 :  
 23 : 4 : 55 : 280 : 68 : (*before then to assure me  
 that you will be ready on that night, and send me  
 a passe word*) w<sup>ch</sup> yet you have not done. I have  
 now no more to say, but that I hope you will  
 remember 359 : 557 : 377 : 63 : 335 : 363 : 209 :  
 349 : 264 : 269 : 64 : 78 : 10 : 7 : 381 : 80 : 215 :  
 209 : 128 : 359 : 360 : 356 : (*to order things so  
 that I shall need no stop until I go to the ship*), so  
 I rest,

“Your most assured constant friend,

“J.”

“I thought it necessary to wryte this  
 to 715 : 363 : 209 : 63 : 78 : 20 : 46 :  
 270 : 158 : 360 : 356 : (*Mrs. Whor-  
 wood, that I stay not for the ship*), there-  
 for I pray you send it speedily to 187  
 (*her*).”

## Number XIII.

King Charles to Captain Titus.

662:647:638:672: (*Wednesday twenty-four  
May.*)

“ W.

“ Yours of yesterdayes Date I have received this afternoone, w<sup>ch</sup>, though short, gaue me much satisfaction; & to w<sup>ch</sup> my Answer is, that 118:360:185:279:176:209:349:376:359:686:383:281:665:275:78:274:200: (*by the help of fate I shall try to escape upon Sunday night next*). The cause why 391:132:270:135:91:210:361:275:79:211:117:131:360:133:279:360:38:31:107:67:63:107:106:80:92:50:67:158:284:255:193:210:427:335:363:367:78:32:51:71:93:128:65:116:281:665:275:79:274:201:271:359:360:149:363:715:253:53:20:210:158:250:401:104:257: (*we could not doe it this night is, because the course of the guards are altered, for our men have it settled, so that their turn comes but on Sunday night next; and to the end that Mrs. Whorwood may wait for me with as much*) patience, 104:209:226:420:399:209:379:80:210:159:359:413: (*as I*



*know you would; I thought it fit to write*) this enclosed, w<sup>ch</sup> I pray you send speedely to 187: 202 (*her hand.*) So I rest,

“Your most assured constant friend;

“J.”

“I defyre, for my fatisfaction and encouragement, that you will send me word that you have received this as soone as you can.”

Charles has moralized on his own history; and he who has read the illustration, will easily comprehend the character of the “captive of Carisbrook,” as it has been expressed by his commentator, “a character only changed by new acquisitions, or modified by protracted adversities and contemplative experience;” but he who peruses the foregoing letters, and in meditating over them reflects likewise on the critical situation of the unfortunate writer, will not only easily perceive how adversity had softened the severity of his manners, but will also forget the errors of his calamitous reign in the self-drawn picture of the humiliative doubts and fears of the subdued and chastened monarch.

Many affecting circumstances arising out of the peculiarity of his distresses, reveal the man of sorrows; whilst the prompt sagacity of the king, and the perspicuity of style in a correspondence which must have been written in secrecy and haste, are no mean proofs of the mental ability of Charles; an ability, says Disraeli, that has been always greatly undervalued.

But whilst this correspondence was being carried on with singular and undaunted perseverance, both by the king and his friends, and the perilous enterprise it was its purpose to advance still further facilitated, there were also many humble expedients and artifices to hold intercourse with Charles, adopted by less conspicuous personages than his more energetic confidants.

On the 22nd May, Hammond informed the committee of Lords and Commons "that last night there came hither one Job Weale, a physician, as he calls himself, living at Kingston-upon-Thames. He came hither upon post-horses, pretending to come in great haste from my lord-general, employed by him to me upon business of highest concernment. He counterfeited himself at first in a fainting fit, by reason

of hard riding to me, and that he could not declare his business until he had drank some hot waters to recover his spirits: which preamble being ill managed to his business, made me suspect him to be a knave, as I afterwards more plainly found him.

“So soon as he feigned to come to himself he began to tell me that his business imported the safety of my life, and that which was dearer to me, the great charge in my hands, the security of the person of the king; and to that end I should immediately remove the king to Portsmouth, to Major Lobb, to whom he had directions to receive him. That otherwise the king would be violently taken hence the next morning by four o'clock, and myself a dead man. For to his knowledge the design was in hand, and it was thus—that there was a fleet of ships at sea near this coast that were to come in between the island and the lee-shore that evening, who were to land in the night, and that great numbers were to come out of the mainland, pretending occasion at a fair which was to be kept at Newport on the morrow, who should assist them, and at the same time all the beacons in the island were to be set on fire, and to raise

the country for the king : and if not, to amaze them with fear, that so they might the better carry on their design, which there was no way to avoid but as he had given me direction. When he had concluded his tale, I enquired of him whether he had anything in writing to confirm it. He told me that his instructions to me were entrusted to him to communicate only by word of mouth ; but he had instructions in writing quilted up in his waistcoat for Major Lobb. I desired him to let me see them. He told me his order was only to communicate them to Major Lobb. I told him I must see them. He refusing, I told him I apprehended he had other business here, and if he would not immediately let me know it, I must take another course with him. Whereupon I caused him to be strictly searched, and found only these papers about him. That letter from him without superscription or direction he saith was to my Lord Dover.\* The rest, petitions, and some notes of instructions of his own. When he found his idle plot would

\* The letter to Lord Dover concluded thus :—“Your lordship’s friend and servant to command for my country’s good. And the word is an anagram of my name, ‘Obey Lawe.’

“JOB WEALE.”

not take, and that he was discovered, he told me he would deal ingenuously with me, and would tell me truly his business was principally by this means to gain an interest with me, that he might speak with the king to procure leave from him that the county of Surrey (from whom he was sent for that purpose) might have his majesty's approbation to choose a commander-in-chief under whom to put their county in a posture of defence. Upon his way he stopped a post going from Portsmouth to London with this enclosed packet, which, if your lordship please, may be speedily delivered, being about victual for the navy."

The urgency of the present moment rendered all concerned anxious to conclude without delay the difficult proceeding which it was hoped would once more give Charles freedom and safety; and as the selection of time and opportunity now rested solely with the king, his adherents remained with unshrinking patience, in nightly expectation of favourable circumstances enabling him to act on the well-arranged plan.

Consequently, as nights as dark as the season of the year would allow had again set in, it was decided by his majesty, every preparation

being fully perfected, that the attempt should be made on Sunday, the 28th of May. On the evening of that day he therefore betook himself early to his chamber, and in the stillness of midnight, having already stealthily cut the former fatal impediment to his flight, determined to pass through the window; but noticing more persons under it than he expected to be in waiting, and perceiving the absence of him on whom he principally depended, his suspicions became excited, and, in the belief that his intentions were discovered, he closed the casement and retired.

Fate had arrayed itself against him, and his brief ray of hope was again doomed to disappointment.

What the effect would have been, had a contrary result ensued, none but the Seer of all hearts can tell. There might have succeeded years of peace and usefulness, or of even still greater terror and fatal retrospection than those which followed. That there were faults in the government of Charles, and that injustice at one time stained the royal cause, none can deny. The demerits of the man are, however, forgotten in his adversity, and it is therefore equally felt that

much poison was mixed in his cup of life, and that his lot was cast in an evil time.

On the 2nd of June a letter was received from Hammond by the Speakers of both Houses of Parliament, containing full details of the king's intent, as well as a relation of the steps which had been adopted to thwart the design. Having been entered in the journals of the House of Lords, this communication is fortunately still preserved. The governor wrote as follows:—

“To the Right Hon. the Earl of Manchester, Speaker of the House of Peers, *pro. tem.*, this present.

“My Lords,

“As an account of the great trust your lordships have been pleased to repose in me, I take the boldness to acquaint your lordships of a design cunningly laid, and carried on almost to perfection, for the king's escape from this place, which was the last night (being the set time for putting it in act), by the blessing and goodness of God prevented. It was thus: Through the corruption and naughtiness of two gentlemen attending the king, Mr. Osborn and Mr.

Dowcett, three foldiers were suborned and dealt with, to assist in this escape, who were to be on duty at the king's window at the time appointed. Mr. Dowcett, who was to be accommodated with cords, to convey him down the castle wall, and then the outline, after he had let himself down through his window to the prepared sentinels, was to be his guide to his horses, which were ready provided, and laid at a convenient place within musket-shot of the works; and *Mr. Osborn* and one *Mr. Worsley, of Gatcomb*, a young gentleman of this island, who were to conduct him to a creek, where also at the same time lay ready a boat to transport them to the mainland, to a place where (as is confessed by one whom I have apprehended) there were horses to convey the king whither he pleased. This design hath been long in hand, but kept from me until yesterday, when two of the soldiers who had been dealt with came to me, and acquainted me with the whole business (which I am confident, though I had had no knowledge of it, they would have found some difficulty in effecting). I suffered and advised them to carry it on, as if I had not known it, that so I might the better discover the whole business with the



less pretence of excuse to those unworthy men who were to assist the king in this escape. But being over-curious in securing all places in more exact manner than formerly, Mr. Dowcett, by happening upon an unusual guard, who at the first apprehended them to be of his own party, but upon examination finding other answer than he expected, made a discovery: which, so soon as I understood, immediately I secured Dowcett and a soldier who was the chief instrument in this design. Then I sent after Osborn and Worsley, to apprehend them; but they, finding they were discovered, fled in great haste to the waterside, where their boat lay ready to receive them; whither they were pursued; but they, it seems, being in haste, quitted their horses and turned them loose upon the shore, and themselves escaped in the boat. I have since apprehended one John Newland, of Newport, whose part it was in the design to act the business concerning the boats. This morning I find the window-bar of the king's bedchamber, looking to the sentinels appointed, to be cut in two in the middle with aquafortis. By this your lordships may please to see not only the dangers past, but may also expect that nothing will be unattempted that the

art of man can find out to perfect the king's escape," &c. &c.

“ROBERT HAMMOND.

“Carisbrook Castle,  
May 29th, 1648.”

After this letter had been read in the House of Commons, it was ordered that 100*l.* should be sent to Hammond, “to dispose of such part thereof as he shall think fit to such persons as made the discovery of the design for the king's escape, for their good service therein, and the rest to such other persons as shall hereafter do the like good service ;\*” whilst Dowcett and the other two persons under restraint “for contriving and designing the king's escape,” were desired to be sent to London in safe custody.

The conjecture that Osborn and Worsley had escaped to the boat was, however, erroneous; as, by a short MS. account drawn up by Mr. Worsley himself, it appears that, in riding off from the castle, they received unhurt the fire of a party of musketeers, supposed to have been placed in ambush by Hammond, and succeeded in reaching the boat which was to have conveyed

\* “Commons' Journals,” 1648.

the king; but the master refused to let them embark, they having come without him. On this they were compelled to conceal themselves in the adjacent woods for several days, and procure sustenance in the night by the assistance of a kinsman of Mr. Worsley, who eventually provided a vessel to take them off from the south side of the island.

Intense excitement was created by this untoward mischance, in consequence of the reports currently circulated that treachery had been practised by "some officers who professed sincerity" to the king's friends, and had, therefore, to a certain extent, been made trustingly aware of the contrivances they afterwards exercised their guilty knowledge to counteract.

These rumours were principally directed against Major Rolph, the chief officer, who, some little time previously, had greatly attached himself to Osborn in the supposition that, from the person by whom he came recommended, he would be well inclined to anything which might advance his own interests. He told him, "according to his custom of reviling the king, he wished he were out of the world, for they should never make any settlement

while he were alive ; that he was sure the army wished him dead, and that Hammond had received many letters from the army to take him away by poison, or any other way, but that he saw it would never be done in that place, and therefore, if he would join with him, they could get him from thence, and the work be easily done. Osborn asked him how it could be possible to remove him from thence without Hammond's or the king's own consent. Rolph answered that the king might be decoyed from thence as he was from Hampton Court, by letters from his friends, intimating that danger threatened him, when he would doubtless be willing to make an escape, and be easily despatched."

Osborn, however, found a speedy opportunity to inform the king of Rolph's intentions, who nevertheless bade him continue his familiarity with him, and engage to assist in the contrivance for effecting his removal, as he thought by this means he might make Rolph's villany subservient to his own desires.

Such is Lord Clarendon's version of this affair, who adds, that a common soldier was also recommended to Osborn by Rolph, to be em-

ployed with Dowcett, whom the king had before known; and that this foldier wrought upon one or two of his companions who ufed to keep guard at the place where the king was to get out; but Osborne, not implicitly confiding in his new ally, thought fit to conceal from him many important matters. By the aid of one of the foldiers, Rolph became aware of this fact, and judging his motives were thereby fufpected, he, on the night agreed on, directed the foldier to ftand fentry in the place to which he had been appointed, whilst he and fome others, he trusted, would be at hand, armed with pistols, in order to fhoot the king as he defcended.

Of this arrangement, Hammond is faid to have been aware;\* and it is affumed to be that which caufed the king to relinquish his attempt.

That the common foldiers had been tampered with, and that a fimilar endeavour was propofed to fome of the officers, the king's letter to Captain Titus exprefsly declares, whilst the incident of his betrayal by thefe men is equally certain.

In a MS. volume of topographical notes, collected in the year 1719, principally relating

\* Worfley's "History of the Ifle of Wight."

to the Isle of Wight, the writer traditionally says, "that as the king was getting out, a sentinell unluckily espied him, and fired, and waked the watch, and so he was prevented; but the sentinell that fired was afterwards accidentally shot, no person can tell how."

This is a romantic explanation, but still one that contains the germs of truth, as not many years since there was a stone near the south porch of Carisbrook Church which marked the place of sepulture of one of these very men, and stated that he was named Floyd, and so shot "by Newport." This stone has been removed of late, but is still well remembered.

Prior to the escape of Osborne from the island, he managed to indite and forward a letter to his former patron, Lord Wharton, wherein he detailed these circumstances, and boldly charged Rolph with aiming at the destruction of the king. "The intelligence I speak of concerning this design," he wrote, "I received from Captain Rolph, a person very intimate with the governor, privy to all his counsells, and one that is very high in the esteem of the army. He, my lord, informed me that to his knowledge the governor had received several letters from the

army, intimating that they desired the king might by any means be removed out of the way either by poison or otherwise; and that another time the same person persuaded me to join with him in a design to remove the king out of that castle to a place of more secrecy, proffering to take an oath with me, and to do it without the governor's privity, who, he said, would not consent to lose the allowance of the House. His pretence to this attempt was, that the king was in too public a place, from whence he might be rescued; but if he might be conveyed into some place of secrecy, he said, we might dispose of his person upon all occasions as we thought fit, and this he was confident we could effect without the governor's privity. My lord, considering all these pregnant circumstances, I think it will appear that there were, if there are not such intentions concerning his majesty's person, as may well justify any endeavours that have been made for his remove from so much danger; and for my own part, my lord, I must be so plain as to declare concerning my own actings in relation to this business, that had I done less (having such grounds), I must believe I had then verified all those aspersions of disloyalty and breach of trust

which I am contented to suffer from those whose interest is perchance opposed to my endeavours, to prevent such damnable designs."

Lord Wharton kept this communication some days in his possession, and then sent it to Hammond, as the fittest person to examine into the truth of the accusation; but, on the 15th of June, Osborn, rather confirmed than discouraged in his determination by this neglect of Lord Wharton, followed up the appeal by calling the attention of both Houses of Parliament to his allegation. He offered to verify it upon oath, and be confirmed therein by Worsley and Dowcett. He acquainted the Speakers that he had previously placed before Lord Wharton the statement he enclosed to them, that he was unaware what reason his lordship could have for concealing a business of that nature, unless it was to give those who were concerned in it better time to think of some stratagem to evade the discovery, and prayed that freedom and security which ought to be afforded to any gentleman and Christian in witnessing a truth.

In the Commons this information was temporarily slighted and laid aside; but in the House of Peers it made a greater impression, accelerated



perhaps by the conduct of Col. Hutchinson, which occurred almost coterminously, as well as by a growing jealousy of the increasing power of the Lower House. Their lordships sent with more than ordinary earnestness to the Commons, a demand that Rolph should be summoned from the Isle of Wight, and asked their concurrence in an ordinance for according forty days to Osborn, to come forward and make good his assertions.

To this requisition, supported as it was by the clamour of the populace, on whom the intelligence of the disclosure had a surprising effect,—an influence the pamphleteering scribes of the day lost no time in fomenting\*—the Commons, after some discussion, agreed; and as there was no place mentioned in the letter whereby it could be discovered where Osborne was resident, a declaration containing copies of the charges and the letters, was ordered to be published and

\* The "*Parrotting Mercury*," of the 26th June, after describing the circumstance, adds:—

“ Oh, cursed traitors and damned hypocrites  
Doe kill the king, mix poison in his meat,  
Or let a red-hot iron do the feat ;  
Soufe him in malmsey, bore his royal head,  
Or cramp his vitals in a feather-bed ;  
Yet know his son doth live though he be gone,  
To sink your souls into perdition.”

posted at Westminster, Pauls, and the two Exchanges, signifying that he might, within forty days from the date thereof, "come with safety to his person, to make good the accusations mentioned in the said letter, so long as he may stay here for the examination and proof of the business, and likewise have free liberty to depart, without molestation, let, or hindrance."

In the meantime, (on the 23rd,) Rolph himself appeared before the House of Commons, with a long and laboured testimonial from Col. Hammond, in which he not only vouched his belief in Rolph's integrity, and recounted the many good offices he had done the state; but at the same time denied the reports which had been circulated respecting his own "inhuman abusing the person of the king," and asked a relief from "this intolerable burden; (which God only, and a good conscience only, supported a poor weak man to undergo,) either by a removal of his majesty's person from thence; or that some other person might relieve him from the care of the king;" and stated, as a postscript, "that since he had ended his letter, he had examined the three soldiers who were dealt with to have been assisting in the king's escape, but

that they all affirmed, and were ready to make good upon oath, that neither Osborne, Dowcett, nor any other, told them that the king's life was in danger, it being evidently a device to inflame the people."

After this communication had been read to the house by the Speaker's command, Rolph was called in, and acquainted with the heads of the charges urged against him. He was told, that "what he was to speak, was to be spoken in an high court of justice, and therefore required and exhorted to speak the truth, as he would answer the same at the dreadful day of judgment." Rolph absolutely denied that he ever had any discourse with Osborn, the governor, or other person, to the purpose mentioned; and it was therefore determined that Mr. Wheeler should go to the House of Lords, and desire their concurrence in a committee to unite with the Commons for the purpose of examining him forthwith upon oath, and taking the evidence of other persons that would come in and testify any knowledge of the accusation.

On the 27th of the same month, Osborn presented himself at the bar of the House of Lords, and stated he was come to make good what he

had written, but that he greatly relied on Dowcett's corroboration to verify what he had advanced.

He was then expressly asked, whether he would avow the letter and justify the matter;\* and on answering yes, and desiring Mr. Worsley and Mr. Dowcett, as his witnesses, it was ordered by the House, that Major Rolph should stand committed to the Gatehouse at Westminster, as he was accused of high treason before the lords in Parliament; that Mr. Worsley (who, however, does not appear to have come forward at any time in aid of his compeers), should receive protection; and that Osborn should be bailed in the sum of 5000*l.* ("Richardus Osborn recognovit se debere D'no Regi in 5000*l.*") to appear from time to time to make good this charge.

Major Rolph, at first, declined to submit to the authority of the House, and addressed a letter to their lordships from his residence in Bishopsgate-street, in which he not only totally repudiated the imputation, but by the oath of his surgeons, Thomas Farrar and Barth. Lavandar, declared "that he was not able to come abroad without manifest danger to his

\* Lords' "Journals."

health, and that it would be a month before he was competent to do so."

On the 3rd July, Dowcett, in the custody of the keeper of Peter House, where he had been committed on his arrival in London on the 21st of June, was brought before the committee, and questioned by Lord Hunston, as to his knowledge of Rolph's design, but as he urged his inability to address them in sufficient language, not being an Englishman,\* he was permitted to deliver the following evidence in writing:—

“ My Lords,

“ I am ready to make oath, that Mr. Richard Osborn told me the king's person was in great danger, and that the said Rolph had a design on foot for the conveying his majesty's person to some place of secrecy, where only three † should go with him, and where they might dispose of his person as they should think fit; which information from Mr. Osborn, and the assurance I had of his majesty's intention

\* Dowcett was an Italian.

† Rolph, Osborn, and another Parliamentary officer.

forthwith to come to this Parliament, was the cause of my engagement in this business.

“ 2. I am ready likewise to depose that the said Rolph came to me when I was a prisoner in the castle, and in a jeering manner asked me, ‘ why the king came not down according to his appointment?’ and then with great indignation and fury said, he waited almost three hours under the new platform, with a good pistol-charged to receive him if he had come.\*

“ AB. DOWCETT.”

This document was sworn by Dowcett, at the bar of the House of Peers, and the effect of so clear a corroboration of Osborn’s testimony was, notwithstanding the written denial which had been received from Rolph, that Serjeant Fynch and Sir Thomas Bedingfield, aided by Osborn, were instructed to draw up an impeachment of high treason against him; and Mr. Thane, the gentleman-usher, was ordered to take him into custody and secure him; but to first employ a surgeon to view and see what condition he was in, and report.

On the following day, it was declared to the

\* Lords’ “ Journals.”

House, that Rolph, although weak of an ague, might be removed without danger of his life, whereupon, in pursuance of the former order, he was directed to be sent close prisoner to the Gatehouse; and their lordships further determined, "that in case an indictment should be found in Hants, the judge (Mr. Justice Godbold) was to suspend proceedings, as it was the resolution of the House, that the indictment should be removed by *certiorari* into the Court of King's Bench, "that there might be a legal procedure therein."\* If the obvious wish of the House of Commons had been heeded, no additional inquiry would have been made into this mysterious accusation; but if even the Lords had been less strenuous in their opposition, the popular opinion was too loudly expressed to allow of such an impolitic course.

Several fruitless endeavours were made on the part of Rolph, to procure the acquiescence of the peers in a similar ordinance to that by which Osborn had been protected, in order that he might be released from custody; and in consequence of their determined refusal, a petition was presented to the House of Commons, by

\* Lords' "Journals."

Alice Rolph, on behalf of her husband, wherein she endeavoured to show that, "almost to the hazard of his life, both in respect of his bodily distempers and the fury of the multitude, he was violently hurried to the Gatehouse prison at Westminster, being never so much as examined, or carried before a legal magistrate, as by law he ought, it being an act abhorred even by Paul's heathen judges, viz., to condemn any man before he is heard, and he and his accuser be brought face to face. And to heighten their cruelty, the lords have since passed a sentence of close imprisonment upon your petitioner's husband; denying him the benefit and assistance of his friends, which your petitioner conceiveth to be contrary to all law or reason, and the very height of tyranny, that a man shall stand accused (nay, without, and contrary to law condemned,) for such a heinous crime as treason. And being sick of body, almost to death, should be locked up and threatened to be laid in irons, and debarred all ways, either to know what is in particular laid to his charge, or to make his lawful defence."

She concluded, by praying the interference of the House in her husband's behalf.



This statement so far operated on the Commons, that a conference was demanded on the subject with the Lords for the 12th of August, when Serjeant Wild was deputed to request their lordships' concurrence in a measure for bailing Major Rolph, "an act he considered not more of favour than justice."

In his speech he strongly urged that, "even if Osborn and Dowcett's tale were true, that the person he desired to murder was no king, the plot having been contrived whilst the votes for non-addresses were in force; that if a king was excommunicate, he was no longer a king, and therefore it was lawful to take him away. He that was an unprofitable king hath been for just causes (of which we are the sole judges) divested of all power; therefore I say he is no king, but we conjointly are king of England.

"How else could we have trusted up Burley (not the least of my services), who would have rescued the king from Carisbrook?"

"Besides, my lords, against this gentleman there is a bare accusation or impeachment, and that only by two prisoners, whose testimonies in all the circumstances agree not; for I am sure

there is a great difference in their handwriting, (a point worthy your lordships' consideration); but suppose they agreed, both in circumstance and substance, shall the testimony of two such men condemn so well-deserving a man for a few foolish supposed treasonable words or intentions, and but against a titular king? for we are king in effect—we judges of the law, he our prisoner.

“Nay, my lords, I will go further and affirm that if a jury of 12 men should condemn him, yet, in point of discretion and reason of state, we may, and ought, not only to bail this virtuous gentleman, but also to release and set him free.”

Such was a portion of the learned serjeant's argument in favour of the Commons' proposition; but as, with all its ingenious sophistry, their lordships were not convinced that Rolph was so worthy a gentleman or so great a martyr as Wild's strangely eloquent remonstrance, rather than appeal, would have had them believe, the Lower House voted, on their own responsibility, that the keeper of the Gatehouse should be directed to accommodate him “with sufficient lodging as a prisoner, and that his friends,

physicians, and surgeons should be permitted to resort unto him.”

The lords ultimately withdrew their ordinance respecting his intended trial, and agreed that it should be prosecuted at the coming assize at Winchester.

On the 28th of August, Rolph procured the publication of a broadside address, under the title of “The case of Major Edmund Rolph truly stated,” a paper which contains so interesting an allusion to the part he acknowledged to have played in counteracting the king’s escape, as well as important testimony of the state of the public feeling at the time, that much of it seems worthy of being transcribed to these pages.

(Extract from the Case of Major Rolph.)

“Master Osborne being gentleman-usher to the king, and Master Dowcett, clerk of the kitchen, with others, had entered into a conspiracy to betray the person of the king out of the protection of Parliament, and to that end had corrupted several soldiers, which was discovered to me on the 28th of May, 1648, which

I immediately told to the governor the night following, the time when the said design should have been executed. In order to which, Osborne was gone out of the castle to provide horses for to convey the king from the place of his residence by the authority of Parliament, and receiving the alarm of the discovery (being near the castle-wall, waiting for the king's coming down), immediately fled and hid himself in some secret corner for the space of 3 days after; only Dowcett was taken prisoner that night in the castle; and Floyd, one of the soldiers, who, upon examination, confessed the truth of every particular touching the said design before discovered by three other soldiers that were engaged also, but never mentioned the least word that ever Osborne or Dowcett had so much as pretended that the king's person was in danger; but some days after that the discovery was made, the said Osborne sent a letter to the Lord Wharton, wherein he did charge me with speaking words to this effect, viz., that I should say, *that to my knowledge the governor had received letters from the army, intimating that they desired the king might be removed out of the way, by poison or other-*

*wife*, &c., which letter the Lord Wharton sent unto Col. Hammond, the governor of the Isle of Wight.

“The governor having examined Dowcett and several other foldiers that were parties in the design, (Dowcett having affirmed, in the presence of many, as will be proved,) that he knew of no such design, though the very rope by which the king was to go down, was found in his chamber, sent them to London, where being brought by a guard, and by the way hearing of Osborne’s pamphlet, and the charge contained therein, professed openly that he was confident that there was no such thing as that the king’s life was in danger, neither did he know anything concerning me; and that he did believe Osborne would never appear to make good his charge; or if he did appear, yet he would never be so wicked as to forswear himself.

“But Osborne appearing, having first capitulated with the Houses for a protection from the laws for his traitorous practices as aforesaid, the said Dowcett, clean contrary to his former averments, gave under his hand a paper, wherein he declared that Osborne had told him that the king’s life was in danger, &c., and that when he

was in prison I had in a jeering manner asked him why the king came not down according to appointment, and that I should say that I stood under the new platform with a pistol in my hand to receive him, although it will be easily proved that I was all that while in my chamber, until the very time the governor gave me order to apprehend the said Dowcett.

"Osborne's letter coming to the Isle of Wight on Wednesday, 21st of June, I immediately, that night, though I had been sick a week before, by reason of an impostumation of my lower parts, took my journey toward London, and came to the House of Commons on Friday 23, 1648, where, at the open bar, I declared what I knew, in every particular; from which time I attended upon the House of Lords until Tuesday after, when, by reason of that bodily distemper then upon me, increased by my journey, I was necessitated to keep my chamber and forbear any further attendance, only leaving notes of the place of my abode with several persons attending the Houses, in case I should be inquired for, as was affirmed by the Speaker of the honourable the House of Commons,

"Upon Tuesday, June 27th, the lords, upon

these false informations, made an order for my attachment and commitment to the Gatehouse, Westminster, not so much as ever calling me before themselves, or sending me before any legal magistrate, as by law they ought.

“The day following being the fast-day, though I had received information of their proceedings, yet I could not receive satisfaction concerning the truth thereof, the house not sitting until Thursday, being the 29th June, 1648, on which day I sent to know the truth thereof: the said warrant not yet being executed upon me, (as I conceive to give me time to run away,) hoping that I might prove so cowardly as not to stand to it, having such great men as the lords to deal withal, and such a heinous crime as treason laid to my charge. But, contrary to their expectation, on Friday, being June the 30, I sent a letter to the lords, certifying unto them my condition and place of abode, which I am confident they knew well enough; though they would take no notice thereof; and my two chirurgeons also, to the end they might attest (as they afterwards did) that it was indeed a bodily distemper which occasioned my non-attendance, and nothing else. Yet, notwithstanding this clear evidence of my integrity, the

lords persisted, and their officers, in the execution of their first and second warrants, exercised such cruelty as hath not been manifested to the kingdom's greatest enemies, neither taking notice of the weakness of my condition, attested by my chirurgeons, being not able to turn myself in bed, nor the invalidity of the charge brought against me by criminal persons, there being no crime in law laid to my charge, nor one legal accuser, inasmuch that my life was, by my unseasonable removal, not only by my sickness, but also by the violence of an inconsiderate multitude, to whose rage I was exposed, and from whose fury I was with great difficulty by Providence preserved.

“ Being thus cruelly hurried to the Gatehouse, I was as tyrannically used there, having a sentence of close imprisonment passed upon me, by reason of which my wife, friends, and chirurgeons, were kept from me to the hazard of my utter ruin, where, had not the honourable House of Commons timely interposed, I had certainly perished.

“ Two months I have remained a prisoner without either legal warrant, legal crime, or legal accuser. And now, in order to the further



profecution of their design, not only to ruin me, but to blast the repute of the army and all other well-affected persons, they have framed an indictment upon the said scandalous informations, and have ordered the same to be transmitted to the next assizes held for the county of Southampton."

Having thus essayed the way for another appeal to the Commons, a petition was presented from him to that House on the 3rd of September. He pleaded that an indictment had been prepared by the Lords, and transmitted to Winchester, whilst he was kept a close prisoner in the Gatehouse; and that Osborn and Dowcett had been sent thither on the 28th of August to give evidence to the grand jury on the said indictment. "That notwithstanding the said indictment consisted of four several heads of treason, wherein the whole army was accused, yet the said Osborn and Dowcett gave nothing material in evidence whereon an indictment could be grounded: so that upon the examination of the whole matters the grand jury returned an *ignoramus* upon the said bill of indictment, as by a certification from the clerk of the assize more plainly appeared.

“ That your petitioner, notwithstanding he is clear in the eye of the law, and in the consciences of all honest men, yet he is still a prisoner to the will of the Lords, and left without a possibility of legal reparation both for his illegal imprisonment, besides his great charges and damages in his estate and credit sustained, being left without all possibility of vindication or reparation, unless this Honourable House be pleased (as in like cases heretofore) to take him into consideration, and as a manifestation of the just sense of their own and the army's honour, and your petitioner's unparalleled sufferings, find some expedient both for the enlargement, vindication, and reparation of your petitioner, the judges being both corrupt, and so nearly concerned, the Lords so powerful, and Osborn and Dowcett so beggarly, that it is impossible your petitioner should ever be repaired in his estate or credit without your justice be exercised in the obtaining thereof.

“ And forasmuch as the judges are appointed to sit with the Lords as their assistants in point of law, and ought to inform them by what rule they ought to proceed, being sworn thereunto, and yet have, contrary to law and their oaths,

connived at the apparent subversion of the fundamental laws of this nation, by suffering such illegal warrants to pass from time to time from the Lords upon such illegal accusations, that therefore this House would be pleased to call the said judges to an account for those their undue proceedings; and out of their estates (who ought to have prevented your petitioner's sufferings and damages) to allow him such legal reparations as your honours shall deem meet and convenient."

By this extract, it will be perceived that Rolph had been virtually tried and acquitted under a course of action, which would certainly seem by his statement, to evince either an extraordinary emanation of malevolence towards him by the House of Peers, or their firm conviction of his guilt; whilst his detention would apparently show that it was their intention to take some ulterior measures of procedure against him.

The charge of corruption and oppression on the part of the judges is not, however, so well founded; because the same agency which had so successfully procured the condemnation of Burley, had been again enlisted to devise the

acquittal of Rolph. On the death of Mr. Justice Godbold, Serjeant Wild was ordered to preside at the trial, which, as stated in Rolph's petition, was held at Winchester, on the 28th of August, 1648.

At the time of trial, Osborn and Dowcett, by command of the House of Peers, proceeded to Winchester, where likewise Mrs. Rolph was found "taking care for the dispersing of several papers in her husband's vindication, and posting them up in the most eminent places in the Hall where he was to receive his trial."\*

The indictment was framed under the provisions of the same act of Parliament which had been urged against Burley, the 25th of Edward the Third, supported by the testimony of Osborn and Dowcett, who, however, were denied the use of counsel, although,—as was written at the time,—“considering the zeal of Wild, (whose great ruff was the only conspicuous monument of authority on the Bench,) and Mr. Lisle who sat with him, who might have been advocates as well as judges, and saved Rolph the charge of a counsellor,” two persons of the names of Maynard and Nicholls appeared

\* Probably “The Case of Major Rolph,” as already quoted.

on his behalf, Maynard having been a prominent character at the trial of Strafford.

The jury consisted of Humphrey Ofey, of Wherwell, gent.; William Woolgar, of Havant, gent.; Thomas Domer, of Chicknel, gent.; Benedictus Barnham, of Northwarnborough, gent.; Arthur Lipscomb, of Alresford, gent.; Bartholomew Stileman, of Mattingley, gent.; John Hunt, of Alton, gent.; Robert Cooper, of Barton Stacey, gent.; John Yeardley, of Preston Candover, gent.; William Soper, of Domer, gent.; William Harward, of Charlcot, gent.; Jo. Hornwood, of Church Okeley, gent.; Robert Powlson, of Hawkley, gent.; William Demask, of Everfeley, gent.; Robert Bunney, of Ibdrop, gent.; Jo. Waterman, of Tangley, gent.; and Thomas Harker, of Bromley, gent.

Wild first addressed himself to the jury, by reading them a letter from Cromwell, in which he announced his northern victory, telling them he did so for the purpose of enlisting their reverence for Oliver, and good opinion for Rolph; and, secondly, the letter which had been conveyed by Rolph to the House of Commons as his vindication, by Hammond.

Dowcett desired to deliver his examination in

writing, alleging that the lords had allowed him a similar liberty at their bar, but was refused his request by Wild.

Osborn stated, "That he, this *examinat*, being in the place of gentleman-usher to the king, at and in the castle at Carisbrook, in the Isle of Wight, in the county of Southampton, his majesty, about a week after the beginning of the month of May last past, as near as this *examinat* can now call the time to mind, complained to this *examinat* of the harshness of his usage in the said castle, expressing that he was desirous to escape from thence, and moved this *examinat* to assist him to that purpose, and to think of the means how it might be done. And his majesty then said, that it would be the most expeditious way to procure a peace, if he could escape; or used words to that effect. Howbeit this *examinat* did not then express any consent to the said motion; but, at a time afterwards, this *examinat* being of familiar acquaintance with Captain Edmund Rolph, now Major Rolph, who had a residence in the said castle wherein he [the king] lodged, this *examinat* went into the said residence to visit him. And this *examinat* enquiring of him what news there

was, the said Rolph told this examinat that the governor of the said island had received several letters from the army, to make away with the king by poison or otherwise; at which news this examinat seeming to start, the said Rolph paused awhile, and fell off from that discourse.

“ Yet, before they parted, the said Rolph propounded another design, wherein he moved this examinat to join with him, proffering to take an oath with the examinat concerning the same; which other design was to remove the king, who was then at and in Carisbrook Castle aforesaid, out of, and from that place, unto some other place of more secrecy; pretending that at Carisbrook, his majesty was in too public a place from whence he might be rescued; but the said Rolph said, that if we carried him to a place of more secrecy, we might dispose of his person as we thought fit.

“ Whereupon, this examinat enquiring of Rolph, whether the said governor would agree thereunto, the said Rolph answered, he feared he would not, for that he was a covetous man, and would not agree thereunto, for fear of losing the allowance from the House.

“ This examinat then objected, how this could

be effected against the king's will ; to which the said Rolph answered, he would deceive him by letters, pretending they came from his majesty's own friends.

“ Then this examinat further objected : It is to be supposed the king hath ciphers which he the said Rolph could not counterfeit ; to which the said Rolph answered, it is true ; but *Glembam*, or those that are far off, and have not lately been with his majesty, have no ciphers. And then the said Rolph told this examinat, that he had letters ready written to the purpose aforesaid.

“ This examinat said, it were very fit they should acquaint the committee at Derby House, for their approbation to be had before they should endeavour to remove the king. And this examinat offered himself to come up to London to that purpose ; but the said Rolph declared, that he utterly disliked that course, saying he could effect the said design without the governor's privity.

“ This examinat further saith, that the very same day, or the next day after, being the first opportunity that this examinat could get to speak of it to the king, he told his majesty all



that the said Rolph had said unto him. And his majesty therefore said, that he had lately received a letter from some or one of his friends, purporting that there was an intention to remove his majesty not only from thence, but from the knowledge of all mankind, if possible. And shortly afterwards, his majesty having spoken again to this examinat, to think of some way how his majesty might escape, this examinat did consent to use his best endeavour to help his majesty to escape.

“And this examinat further saith, that he did shortly after acquaint Mr. Abraham Dowcett (who waited then as clerk of the kitchen to his majesty) with his majesty's desire to escape, moving him to be an assistant therein, who said it might be a dangerous business, or to that effect; but within a few days after this examinat went again to the said Dowcett, and acquainted him with all that which the said Rolph had formerly told this examinat, concerning the said Rolph's design for the removal of his majesty to a place of secrecy as aforesaid, and moved the said Dowcett again to join with this examinat to help his majesty's escape.

“The said Dowcett seemed then to make doubt

of his majesty's decree in that behalf, requiring to be satisfied with the sight of somewhat for it under his majesty's hand, which this examinat speedily procured; but then the said Dowcett demanded whither the king would go if he could escape. This examinat told the said Dowcett, that his majesty's purpose was to go to his Parliament; and then the said Dowcett said to this examinat, that he would be assistant towards the helping of his majesty to escape, or used words to that effect.

“And upon Sunday, the eight and twentieth day of May last past, about twelve of the clock at night, this examinat, with the privity and assistance of the said Dowcett, and of one Mr. Edward Worsley, and of four soldiers, whose surnames, as he taketh it, were Floyd, and Tilling, and Wenscall, and Featherstone, thought to have effected the same by such means as was in that behalf agreed upon. And this examinat for his part, was thereby to attain the effecting thereof, at the time and place in that behalf to him appointed; this examinat being by agreement to attend with a boat to receive his majesty at a convenient place to that purpose assigned; to which place the said other parties,

or some of them, should in the night-time have conveyed his majesty; but this examinat finding by the relation of the said Mr. Worsley, who came towards the said place without the king, that their design for his majesty's escape was discovered, he did, by the advice and help of the said Mr. Worsley, who was an inhabitant of the said island, conceal himself in the said island, by the space of three days then next following or thereabouts; and then he and the said Mr. Worsley, in the night-time, passed over by boat from the said island, into the county of Suffex."

This examination having been taken upon oath and backed by the evidence of Dowcett, the statements of the soldiers as received by Hammond, were read, and Wild proceeded to address himself to the jury.

"Gentlemen," said he, "this is a business of great importance; take heed how you move in it; the House of Commons resent it very much: for this Major Rolph is a gallant man, and hath done great service for the state. Now in a business of this nature, there must not be only

probable but provable evidence, evidence, 'luce clariora,' which this is not. There was a time, indeed, when intentions and words were treason, but, gentlemen, God forbid it should be so now. Consider likewise the invalidity of the witnesses, more guilty than he for aught I see, for it was a crime to endeavour to remove the king from thence. For we are all mistaken. The king is not in prison; we only keep him safe to save bloodshed, and the better to make addresses to him, which these men would have hindered. How do you know, but that these men would have made away with the king, and Rolph charged his pistol to secure him? Take notice, gentlemen, of the word 'receive.' He might lie there to protect the king from the violence of other persons; and had the king miscarried, these men would have been guilty of his blood. They indeed deserve to be indicted, for, their design failing, they accuse him out of ill-will; and so, ye gentlemen of the jury, I leave his innocence to your judgment and discretion." But immediately bethinking himself, he again addressed them on the importance of the word "receive," which he said meant, that Rolph "remained three hours with a good pistol ready

charged to have *received* the king had he come down." To this Osborn replied, "that in the language of a soldier, it signified as much as 'I will kill such a man.'"

Wild however silenced the interruption by saying, "It might so; but God forbid he should proceed against any man for words or expressions." The jury thereupon retired, and as they speedily returned with an *ignoramus*, the anticipations of the judge and the wishes of the Commons were fully realized.\*

The effect of this trial, aided by the receipt of the petition already cited, was a resolution by the Commons, that the body of Major Rolph should be brought by the keeper of the Gatehouse to the bar of the House on the succeeding Monday at nine o'clock. In pursuance of this order he was presented, and received his discharge from custody; and on the 9th of Septem-

\* "The Second Centurie of Parliament Men," 4to., 1648, says: "*Sergeant Wilde, Justiciarius itinerans, anglicè*, 'Journeyman judge,' had, after the hanging of Captain Burley, 100*l.* out of the Privy Purse of Derby House; 'tis thought he afforded a great pennyworth in his service, which another would not have done for 100,000*l.*, and it is affirmed he had 1000*l.* more upon the acquittal of Major Rolfe, so it is all one to him whether he hangs or hangs not."

ber, 1507. were voted him as some compensation for his supposed wrongs.

To this ordinance, the Lords however refused their assent, and with the re-committal of Dowcett to Peter House, and the return of Rolph to his duties at Carisbrook, this singular and mysterious proposition, or, otherwise, ingenious but monstrous expedient, terminated.

With whatever care the circumstances detailed in the foregoing narrative may be scrutinised, the detection of the betrayer or the betrayed is of course now an utter impossibility. The plausible statements of Osborn at first sight forcibly arrest the sympathies of the reader, and thereby attach more than a probability of credence to the charges he propounded. The tale is well connected, and in many points capable of corroboration by cotemporary authorities, whilst the proposition is one to which many persons of note attached to the army were known to be favourable. But then arises the question, if all this was known to the king, why did he allow his communications to Titus and his other correspondents to pass without some allusion to so extraordinary and desirable a proposition. In these letters, he is found the rather urging them

to endeavour to gain over some of the officers, which was certainly, under these circumstances, quite an unnecessary danger, as the men whose services he believed he had secured, are shown to have belonged to Rolph's own company; and he by Osborn's examination and letters, was supposed to be interested in the king's attempted escape, although prompted by nefarious motives.

A letter from Carisbrook, of the 24th July, 1648, describes Osborn in the following terms:—  
“His carriage and language faintlike when he was in the company of religious men, but when associated with vain persons he was as vain and foolish as they, spending his precious time in tipping, singing, and unprofitable discourses. The day before he should have acted his villainy, hearing a sermon wherein these or the like words were delivered, *‘that the heathen philosophers, if they were now living, would abhor those men that are false to their principles and undertakings;’* and afterwards seemed to bless God for so seasonable a discourse, and to be deeply affected therewith;” yet (notwithstanding) he was the most forward man in the design of conveying away the king the night following.

“No man inveighed more against the king’s actings and interests than he, infomuch that he was blamed by some, and suspected by others (well affected) upon this ground, as conceiving that a man may be faithful to his trust, and conscientiously discharge his duty, without such bitter reflections upon the adverse party.

“His expression in the praise and commendation of the army (under the conduct of Lord Fairfax) and their late actings and proceedings were hyperbolical, as if he had been one of their greatest friends; whereas, it appears he was one of their most malicious adversaries.”

This is the character drawn of Osborn by an adversary, for the natural tendency of whose opinion some allowance must be made; but even with this admission, enough will remain to convict him of having greatly overacted his part, and prove that much hypocrisy existed in him. He would therefore appear not altogether incapable of devising such a scheme, perhaps with the hope, that after the publication of so forcible and damning an accusation, the Parliament would be either obligated to remove the king’s person to some other place of keeping, where less formidable obstacles would be likely to



intervene for preventing his escape, or that men less energetic than Hammond and Rolph might be appointed to the command at Carisbrook, and thereby further the same result. This supposition is only stated as a possible incentive for the concoction of the device, if device it were; and in furtherance of the conjecture, the reader's attention is requested to a very remarkable observation by the king himself, in the following letter; one of the series addressed to Captain Titus.

Number XIV.

Monday, 10 July, 1648.

“ W.

“ Yours of the 5th of this month I received upon Saturday last: being glad to know where to fynde you, I will answer your Newes (for w<sup>ch</sup> I thank you), with Newes, least our doeings heere should be misreported to you: I haue been tould by such as I know will not deceaue me, that, of late, this Gouvernor thought with cunning to have screwed out an examination from the king concerning his pretended escape; for by way of freedom, showing him a letter of Mr. Osburne tuching that business, the

fayd Gouvernor defyred to know of the king, if he had heard Major Rolph fay any fuch thing whereof Osburne accused him, but all the Anfwer that the king would give him was: If he knew nothing, he could tell him nothing: becaufe his maxime is neuer to cleare one man to the prejudice of another, or of his owen fervice: and be confident, this is all in fubftance, that the Gouvernor could gett from the king, concerning this bufinefs: but upon occasion of Difcourfe before fome ladies, I heard the king fay, that the Gouvernor never offerd any Personall inci-uility to him (hoping they belieued that he would never endure it fo long as his hands were free) nor did he euer fufpect hurt from him by way of Treachery: affeuring you this, in fubftance, is all that the king fpoke for the Gouvernor's iuftification: and now, I have no more to fay, but to recomend to your care the delivery of thefe two inclofed letters, and to fend newes as often as you can,

“Your moft affeured reall frend,

“J.”

209: 263: 563: 228: 226: 360: 468:

279: 493: 509: 63: 429: 117: 158:

209: 126: 179: 189: 109: 463:

*(I must certainly know the contents of Rogers' Papers before I can get him any answer).*

“Since writing of this, I have received yours of the 3rd of this month, whereby I find that you have written me two letters w<sup>ch</sup> I have not received.

“One of these is to 457 (*Lady Carlisle*), and the other to 715 (*Mrs. Whorwood*).”

On the other hand, it is requisite that due attention should be paid to Rolph's known connection with the most violent party in the army, and his expressed desire for such a result as Osborn's allegation foreboded, whilst it cannot be supposed that the House of Lords would have pursued so firm a resolve, or the House of Commons so great a laxity of regardful consideration for so grave a charge, if there had not been strong reasons to believe, in the one case, that the accusation rested on a truthful foundation, and that in the other there was a similar conviction, but that it received the sympathies, rather than the indignation of the majority of the members.

It is also worthy of remark, that at the time of trial, the true bill was ignored by the jury

because the indictment was only supported by a single witness; and that probabilities seem to render refutation as impossible as would be the endeavour to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion of the guilt or innocence of the parties whose names occur in the relation of this mysterious transaction, on both sides.

Whether Osborn was the injured or the injurer, the king was not however unmindful of his services, as in a letter written to the Prince of Wales, from Newport, on the 6th November following, he says:—

“P.S. If Osborne (who has been in trouble for me about Major Rolph's business) come to you, use him well for my sake.”



## CHAPTER VI.

State of the Kingdom at large—Renewal of Correspondence with Captain Titus—A Treaty Proposed by the Parliament, and Accepted by the King—Preparations for the Treaty—The Treaty of Newport.

**F**OR the purpose of elucidating this narrative, it now becomes necessary that a brief retrospect should be rendered of the transactions which agitated the kingdom at large during the interval in which the thrilling occurrences that have been related in connection with the personal history of Charles, were being enacted.

It has been already stated, that soon after the passing of the vote of non-addresses, the king appealed to the good sense of the people through the agency of the press; and in the state of the public mind which thereupon ensued, every eye

was turned towards Scotland; but the return of the Scottish commissioners having dispelled the hopes which had been entertained of the king's accession to the Covenant, the Scottish Parliament was intimidated by the vehemence of the populace. The Duke of Hamilton, the avowed leader of the royalists and presbyterians, whose design it was to restore the king, thereupon became necessitated to conceal his purpose under the pretence of suppressing heresy and schism; and in the meantime the Earl of Argyle, his chief opponent, promoted so strong an opposition by heading the Covenanters, that of the levy of 30,000 foot, and 6000 horse voted to serve under the duke, there could only be raised 10,000 foot and 600 horse, nor even these until the month of July.

Insurrectionary movements on the part of the royalists were nevertheless becoming general throughout England; as on the 9th of April, the initiative had been afforded by a mob of apprentices and other young people, who stoned a captain of trainbands in Moorfields, and then marched in disorderly array to Westminster, with the cry of King Charles! King Charles!

As might have been expected, they were

quickly dispersed by a troop of horse, which sallied from the Mews; but on their retreating into the city, they filled it with disorder and fears, plundered houses of arms, and forced the lord mayor to escape privately, and seek refuge in the Tower.

This example was quickly followed by similar disturbances in Norwich, Thetford, Exeter, Canterbury, and other towns, which were indeed suppressed by the exertions of Fairfax and the county committees; but the attitude assumed by the multitude, forcibly showed that a very strong current of feeling favourable to the royal cause was again setting in.

The Presbyterians having united with the concealed royalists, apparently acquired a majority in the House of Commons, as on the 24th of April they succeeded in carrying a vote vesting the military posts and defences of the City of London in the Common Council; four days after, that the government of the kingdom should continue to be by King, Lords, and Commons; and they then submitted a proposition, notwithstanding the vote of non-addresses, for a treaty to be opened with the king, whilst petitions from various public bodies poured into

the two Houses, all reiterating the same prayer, viz., that the army should be disbanded, and the king brought back to his capital.

The inhabitants of Surrey and Essex felt dissatisfied with the answers returned to their petitions, and joined with those of Kent in their repeated assemblages for considering their causes of complaint, and of devising a means of redress. As the result of their deliberations, they formed associations, collected arms, and at an appointed time arranged a general rising, in which the town of Deal showed so great a spirit of loyalty and determination, that preparations were made by Admiral Rainborough to chastise their presumption, as it was termed. He left orders for the fleet to follow him, and proceeded in his barge towards the town; but as his men were mostly residents at that port, where their wives and families then were, murmurs arose; and on its being proposed by one Tindale, a boatswain in the admiral's ship, that they also should declare for the king, the instigation was adopted, and the officers arrested, whilst the crews of the other ships followed their example, in defiance of the remonstrances of their commanders.

This fleet consisted of six ships of war fully



equipped for summer service; and after thus declaring themselves, they immediately sailed under the royal colours to Helvoetsluys, in Holland, in search of the Duke of York, whom they chose as their commander-in-chief.\*

The men of Kent, after having threatened the Parliament for some time, marched boldly upon London; and as the Parliament had no armed power at hand to support its authority—the royalists numerous, and the Common Council disaffected, this was a movement fraught with the most important consequences. Concession, however, prevailed; and Fairfax having encountered the Kentish forces on Blackheath with seven regiments (aided by the terror inspired by the recent defeat at Maidstone), drove them back to Rochester, where Lord Goring again made head, and proceeded to Gravesend, whilst other bodies of the same party took possession of Canterbury, and endeavoured to surprise Dover; but being there defeated in his plan, Goring was obliged to cross the Thames, and raise his standard in Essex. Here he was joined by Lord Capel with the royalists from Hertfordshire, and

\* Lingard.

by Sir Charles Lucas with a body of horſe from Chelmsford, and he ultimately fixed his headquarters at Colcheſter, which was ſoon after inveſted by Fairfax, and, although only ſurrounded by a low rampart of earth, ſucceſsfully defended, until the Scottiſh invaſion ſhewed the inutility of any longer prolonging the miſeries endured by the beſieged.

Simultaneouſly with theſe movements, rifings had alſo taken place in Wales, where the royaliſts ſecured Pembroke Caſtle; and it may be truly ſaid, that ſcarcely any portion of the kingdom was quiet, the whole north of England being likewiſe in a commotion, and a Scottiſh army preparing to croſs the border in favour of the king; whiſt a new tone had been imparted to the proceedings in Parliament, in conſequence of the abſence of the officers of the army, and the reſtoration of the excluded members. The lords, however, with a great profeſſion of liberality, ſtill reſuſed their aſſent to the propoſed treaty, unleſs it was voted without any condition being impoſed upon his majeſty; and the Common Council offered an aſſurance that if the king were ſuffered to come to London, the city

would guarantee both the royal person and the two Houses free from danger.

The royalists in the northern counties, in anticipation of the advance of the Duke of Hamilton, had reduced Berwick and Carlisle; and early in the month of July, the Duke redeemed his promise by crossing the borders at the head of his army, leaving Munroe to follow with reinforcements in his rear. Hamilton was immediately joined by Sir Marmaduke Langdale with 4000 cavaliers, who had staked their lives on the result; but these men being principally prelatists and papists, they unfortunately gave great offence, and created considerable dissension in the Scottish host; and as the Parliamentary army in the north was too weak to risk an encounter, it at first retired before Hamilton and Langdale, whose force, had it been commanded by a man of talent and enterprise, would doubtless soon have effected its purpose of replacing the king upon the throne.

Unluckily the interests of the service and emergency of the occasion were sacrificed to jealousies and feuds; and Cromwell having recovered Pembroke, and finished his occupation in Wales, at once hastened to succour

Lilburn and Lambert. He made an energetic attack upon Langdale, and drove him back upon the main army near Preston, which was also the next day so completely routed, that but few of the Scots returned to their native country, and Baillie, their general, surrendered at Warrington.

Langdale, in this extremity, ordered the infantry to disperse, and, accompanied by Hamilton, who had refused to abandon the English cavaliers, swam the river Ribble and reached Uttoxeter, where the royalists having disbanded themselves by command of their leaders, the duke was compelled to yield himself a prisoner to Lambert and Lord Grey of Groby. Langdale made his way to Nottingham, but was there recognised and taken in the disguise of a female; he afterwards effected his escape by the aid of Lady Saville, who, by bribing the keepers, and procuring a clergyman's cassock, enabled him to proceed to London, where he remained in safety for some time as an Irish minister driven from his cure by the Irish Catholics.\*

During this time the royalists had likewise

\* Lingard.

been stirring in the south, as the Earl of Holland, who had served and deserted every party, once more veered round to the king's assistance, obtained a commission from the Prince of Wales to raise forces, and engaged to co-operate with the Duke of Hamilton, by effecting a rising in London at the juncture of his entering into England.

On the 5th of July, at the head of 500 horse, he fixed his quarters at Kingston-upon-Thames, and calling upon the citizens to join him, sent messages to the Common Council and the Parliament, urging them to pursue a similar course of action, and thus put an end to the calamities inflicted upon the nation.

As the citizens had suffered severely in the recent riot, this call was but little heeded; and on the second day, being surprised by Sir Michael Livesey, he was, after a short conflict, necessitated to flee with only a few attendants to St. Neots, where, after a renewed encounter with Colonel Scrope, he surrendered to his pursuers.

Although the reverses of Holland created but little sympathy, much compassion was excited at the fate of the Lord Francis Villiers, a young nobleman who had been persuaded to join him,

in company with his brother, the Duke of Buckingham; the former of whom was slain at Kingston, and the latter, after many hair-breadth escapes, succeeded in reaching the continent.

These difcomfitures were speedily followed by the fall of Colchester, the last hope of the royalists, which, after a memorable siege of upwards of two months, surrendered at discretion on the 27th of August. Fairfax refused other terms, as the officers had been declared traitors by the Parliament, and sullied his triumph by the deaths of Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle. Goring, Capel, and Hastings were reserved for the judgment of Parliament, and committed to safe keeping in Windsor Castle, where, with the inefficient Hamilton, they had the opportunity of lamenting together the useless efforts of ill-concerted plans and precipitated engagements.

During the operation of these eventful occurrences, the king had been engaged in the vain endeavours to effect his escape from the oblivion of the imprisonment to which he seemed doomed—an imprisonment in which he was still dreaded by his oppressors, and only sustained by the attachment of his followers.

After the discovery of the last thwarted attempt, Hammond's first care was to issue the following regulations to Major Rolph, Captain Bowerman, Mr. Herbert, Mr. Mildmay, and Mr. Leigh, "in case he should be detained by accident from doing his duty in accordance with his orders."

"By reason of any accident that may befall me in detaining me from the exercise of my duty, according to the trust reposed in me by the Parliament, my occasions and duty also calling me abroad into the island, I have thought fit to appoint, and hereby do appoint, Captain Boreman and Major Rolph jointly, or, in the absence of any one of them, the other singly, to act all things in relation to the security of his majesty's person, and this castle, according to the instructions given to that purpose, in as full and ample manner as if myself were present; and in case of such my absence, I also appoint Mr. Herbert, Mr. Mildmay, Mr. Leigh, treasurer, or any two of them, to take like care, and provide for the family in such way as formerly by myself. And the said Captain Boreman and Major Rolph for the soldiers, and Mr. Herbert, Mr. Mildmay, and Mr. Leigh for the family,

are hereby farther desired by me so to act until the Parliament shall please otherwise to determine the matter. In witness whereunto I do hereto put my hand at Carisbrook Castle this 2nd of June, 1648.

“RO. HAMMOND.”

By the apprehension and detention of Major Rolph, who, although possessed with the spirit of envy, and striving for the reversion of his appointment, was Hammond's principal adviser and confidant, the difficulty of the governor's position was materially increased.

He even requested the Houses of Parliament “to relieve him of the great burthen imposed upon him;” but neglected to communicate this desire to either his supporters in the army, or the committee at Derby House, because he was influenced rather by the promptings of the vice paramount in him, than the cause assigned. It was remarked by Rolph, in his assumed interview with Osborn, that “the governor was a covetous man;” and here the cause of his dissatisfaction arose; for rewards were conveyed through him to requite the services of men who favoured and served the Parliament, whilst his



own annuity remained unpaid. His meaning was therefore well understood by the Commons, where the matter was at once ordered to be considered, and as, in a second letter, he reiterated the same remark, but with the pregnant addition "that when he is thoroughly considered they shall find none more faithful to them, and none more observant of their commands, than he," a satisfactory ordinance was at once made, and no more complaints were received of the burthens imposed on Colonel Hammond.

Difraeli correctly says that, during these rapid events, "Hammond had become a more important personage than his real character would have made him;" but the assertion that from his close connection with Cromwell and Ireton the Parliament suspected his integrity, is one of more questionable authority. There are no data for such a conclusion; for the votes and debates in the House of Commons rather evidence a contrary feeling towards him; and quite as difficult is it to discover what favours Hammond had heretofore received from the king, or which of his actions in connection with the surveillance of his majesty constituted him a man of honour.

He procured the imprisonment of his own uncle, the king's favourite chaplain; and with the ready assistance of Rolph and Bowerman, after the first six weeks of Charles's residence at Carisbrook, took an ungenerous advantage by treating him not only with contumely and neglect, but unnecessary rigour and insolence.

The motives for so doing were buried with him, but his actions remain on record against him. His endeavours clearly were to accord with both the army and the Parliament for his own ultimate advantage; but by the army he was afterwards imprisoned and neglected, and the Parliament only rewarded him with a commissionership in Ireland, where he died on the 24th of October, 1654.

The Isle of Wight had, by the month of June, 1648, gradually become one vast garrison, as continued demands were made by Hammond for reinforcements, and as constantly acceded to by the committee. On the 23rd of this month 500 men were sent thither from the general's army, which was ordered to recruit for a like number, whilst the same day the governor is found again applying to the authorities for a still greater number, and urging as his reason

the intelligence he had received of its being the intention of the revolted ships to bring over men to invade the island, "which, if it so occur," he says, "the islanders, not being able to defend themselves (he should have written, not willing), would be obligated to join with them, by which means they would be able to keep off any forces of the Parliament that might be sent to relieve the castle." By the same post he likewise importuned Fairfax, and asked that a reinforcement of 300 horse and 1500 foot at least might be speedily sent to him, "*sure men*," for, if otherwise, "it would be much in their power to undo him [Hammond], and the kingdom also, as he was in danger to have found by late experience."

This alarm seems also to have pervaded the committee at Derby House; for on the 30th of June they intimated to the governor, on creditable information, "that the fleet had received a reinforcement of 1000 landsmen under the command of Lord Willoughby of Parham, preparatory to an attack on the island; that the Lord Rich\* who had received a pass from the

\* Lord Rich was the eldest son of the Earl of Warwick, (lord high admiral under the Long Parliament,) whom he succeeded in his title and estates in 1658. His only son, Robert,

Commons to proceed to the king under the pretence of being touched for the evil, was, in truth, only desirous of treating with him respecting the Earl of Holland, who at this time was heading the royalists in Surrey, and that they believed the forces which had been collected by Holland were intended to proceed to the island—information they apprized him of, to the intent he might put himself into a position to prevent their landing, which, as there were but few places where such a procedure was feasible, they supposed he would find no difficulty in doing, and especially admonished him to prevent all boats leaving the island during the time these rumours were abroad.”

For these apprehensions there were, however, legitimate causes of concernment, as the Prince of Wales (supposing we have reached the 20th of July, 1648) had been more than six weeks in the Downs with a good fleet—the English ships which had deserted and several others he had procured in Holland,—in all nineteen fail. Men naturally imagined the son's first care would have been the liberation of his father married Frances, youngest daughter of the Protector, but died before his father.

from Carisbrook, and there is little doubt, if he had appeared before the Isle of Wight, but that Charles would have recovered his freedom.

The council, with the prince, unfortunately decided it was more to the royal interest to fail to the mouth of the river Thames, and there endeavour to enlist the wavering disposition of the city and the Parliament. While the Scottish forces were advancing, this seemed a favourable determination; but their destruction extinguished every hope. The king, by a private message, suggested that, before their departure from the coast, they should free him from his captivity;\* and Lord Clarendon plainly says, that, as no attempt was made to accomplish his liberation, it is certain the person of the hapless monarch was little cared for. This, however, was not so. The mariners were actually masters of the fleet; and in the desire to engage the hostile force under the command of Warwick, they forgot all other claims on their position. This engagement he studiously avoided, and, by different manœuvres, eluded their pursuit until the prince

\* Lingard,

was compelled, by a want of supplies, to steer for the coast of Holland.

The feeling of the majority of the islanders, both from principle and present situation, oppressed as they were by the numerous military exactions levied on them, was now so diametrically opposed to the interests of the army, that the prince would have been joyfully seconded by them, if the attempt which appeared so probable, and so incumbent on him to endeavour, had been made. The summer throughout was wet and boisterous, provisions grew remarkably dear, and in common with the kingdom at large their sensibilities were becoming considerably agitated on behalf of a sovereign degraded and languishing within sight of their very homes.

To counterpoise these unfavourable symptoms, Hammond used every exertion and adopted every available measure of preparation anticipatory of a collision. Cowes, Yarmouth, and Sandown forts were well supplied with provisions and ammunition; the friends of the Parliament were allowed to arm and prepare horse for defence, and the ministers from their pulpits were ordered to be forward and serviceable in

instilling into their hearers a consideration of the danger they would be exposed to "if the common adversary should prevail."

The deliverance of the king's person having failed from the causes assigned, the great persecutions and petty malignity he endured with inherent dignity, again become matter for consideration; especially, as their notoriety is confirmed by almost endless cotemporary testimonies, some of them, certainly, uncharitably embellished by the inventive fancy of the propagators, but the greater portion perfectly free from the reach of such suspicion.

His condition, for a time, was desolate in the extreme, as the arrangements for communication with his friends, by the last mischance, had been completely disarranged and frustrated. His existence, in truth, was become one dull monotonous return of day and night; and as the grated window rendered little that could engage his attention, resignation to his books offered the only substitute for more invigorating avocations. In this unvaried interval of sorrow and quiet, Mr. Herbert was the only one of his faithful servants permitted to remain in attendance on him, and his care has preserved some,

interesting reminiscences of the employments of Charles at this very juncture.

Writing of the king's pursuits, he remarks, "His majesty gave Mr. Herbert the charge of his books, of which the king had a catalogue, and, from time to time, had brought unto him such as he was pleased to call for.

"The Sacred Scriptures was the book he most delighted in; and often read in Bishop Andrews' Sermons, Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, Dr. Hammond's Works, Villalpandus upon Ezekiel, &c., Laud's Paraphrase upon King David's Psalms, Herbert's Divine Poems; and also Godfrey of Bulloigne, writ in Italian by Torquato Tasso, and done into English Heroic Verse by Mr. Fairfax, a poem his majesty much commended, as he did also Ariosto, by Sir John Harrington, a facetious poet, much esteemed of by the Prince Henry his master, Spencer's Faery Queen, and the like, for alleviating his spirits after serious studies. And at this time, it was (as is presumed) he composed his book called "Suspiria Regalia," published soon after his death, and entitled "The King's Portraiture in his Solitudes and Sufferings," which MSS. Mr. Herbert found among those



books his majesty was pleased to give him, those excepted which he bequeathed to his children; in regard Mr. Herbert, though he did not see the king write that book, his majesty being always private when he writ, and those his servants never coming into his bedchamber when the king was private until called; yet, comparing it with his handwriting in other things, found it so very like, as induces his belief that it was his own handwriting, having seen much of the king's writing before.

“ In many of his books, he delighted himself with the motto, *Dum Spiro Spero*, which he wrote frequently as the emblem of his hopes, as well as endeavours for a happy agreement with his Parliament.

“ In one of his books he wrote this distich:—

“ *Rebus in adversis facile est contemnere vitam ;  
Fortiter ille facit qui miser esse potest.*”

And out of another poet, against the levelling and anti-monarchic spirit which predominated at the time—

“ *Fallitur egregio quisquis sub Principe credit  
Servitum; nunquam Libertas gratior extat  
Quam sub Rege pio.*”

CLAUDIAN.

with many others which are memorable, and exprefs his delight in learning. For he understood authors in their originals, whether Greek, Latin, French, Spanish, or Italian, which three laft he fpoke perfectly, and none better read in histories of all forts, which rendered him accomplished; and alfo would difcourfe well in arts and sciences; and indeed, not unfitted for any fubject."

It is generally admitted that the understanding of Charles was far from defpicable, much talent being difplayed in a ponderous volume, entitled *ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΑ*, the words of King Charles the Martyr, although it is doubtful if much that is there rendered actually proceeded from his pen, a doubt which has given rife to many controverfies, and elicited many learned difputations. Whether Charles was actually the author of "Icon Bafilike," is a queftion that has been frequently canvaffed, and, as there are probabilities on both fides, one difficult to refolve. It is however univerfally allowed, that whether the book was compofed by the king, or by fome other perfon in his name, it evidently contains his opinion of things, is well written, and was ferviceable to his memory. The poem here

appended, is acknowledged to have been written by Charles, at Carisbrook; and although somewhat long, will not only enable the reader to judge of the poetical talents of the king, but also afford a vivid exposition of his feelings at the time this narrative has now reached. It is entitled—

“MAJESTY IN MISERY: [OR AN IMPLORATION TO THE  
KING OF KINGS,

“ Great monarch of the world, from whose power springs  
The potency and power of Kings,  
Record the Royal woe my suffering fings ;

And teach my tongue, that ever did confine  
Its faculties in truth's seraphic line  
To track the treasons of thy foes and mine.

Nature and law, by thy divine decree  
(The only root of righteous Royaltie)  
With this dim diadem invested me :

With it the sacred Sceptre, purple Robe  
The holy Unction and the Royal Globe :  
Yet I am levell'd with the life of Job.

The fiercest furies, that do daily tread  
Upon my grief, my gray discrowned head,  
Are those that owe my bounty for their bread.

They raise a war and christen it *the cause*,  
Whilst sacrilegious hands have best applause,  
Plunder and murder are the Kingdom's laws ;

236 Poem of "Majesty in Misery."

Tyranny bears the title of taxation,  
Revenge and robbery are reformation,  
Oppression gains the name of sequestration.

My loyal subjects who in this bad season  
Attend me (by the law of God and reason),  
They dare impeach and punish for high treason.

Next at the clergy do their furies frown,  
Pious episcopacy must go down,  
They will destroy the crozier and the crown.

Churchmen are chained, and schismatics are freed;  
Mechanics preach, and holy fathers bleed.  
The crown is crucified with the creed.

The Church of England doth all faction foster,  
The pulpit is usurpt by each impostor,  
*Extempore* excludes the *paternoster*.

The Presbyter and Independent seed  
Springs with broad blades, to make religion bleed  
Herod and Pontius Pilate are agreed.

The corner-stone's misplaced by every paviour.  
With such a bloody method and behaviour  
Their ancestors did crucify our Saviour.

My Royal consort, from whose fruitful womb  
So many princes legally have come,  
Is forced in pilgrimage to seek a tomb.

*Great Britain's* heir is forced into *France*  
Whilst on his father's head her foes advance.  
Poor child! he weeps out his inheritance.

With my own power my majesty they wound,  
In the King's name the King himself's uncrown'd,  
So doth the dust destroy the diamond.

With propositions daily they enchant  
My people's ears, such as do reason daunt  
And the Almighty will not let me grant.

They promise to erect my royal stem  
To make me great, t' advance my diadem  
If I will first fall down and worship them !

But for refusal they devour my thrones,  
Distress my Children and destroy my bones.  
I fear they'll force me to make bread of stones.

My life the prize at such a slender rate  
That in my absence they draw bills of hate  
To prove the King a traitor to the state.

Felons obtain more privilege than I.  
They are allowed to answer ere they die,  
'Tis death for me to ask the reason why.

But, sacred Saviour, with thy words I woo  
Thee to forgive, and not be bitter to  
Such, as thou know'st do not know what they do.

For since they from their Lord are so disjoined  
As to condemn those edicts he appointed,  
How can they prize the power of his anointed ?

Augment my patience, nullify my hate,  
Preserve my issue, and inspire my mate.  
Yet though we perish, bless the church and state."

Dr. Burnett states, he was enabled to copy the poem from the original; and observes, "that the mighty sense and great piety of it will be found to be beyond all the finest sublimities of poetry, which yet are not wanting here." \*

By the testimony of Sir Philip Warwick, it would appear that even the personal attentions

\* "Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton."

of Herbert were soon interdicted, as he observes: "Being in the room with the king, at Newport, (at the time of the Treaty) he beckoned me, and showed me in the street an old little crumpling man, and asked me whether I knew him: No, sir, (said I,) I never saw him before. I showed him you, (says he,) because that was the best companion I had for three months together in Carisbrook Castle, where he made my fires."

The domestic privations of Charles were also not inconsiderable; for Warwick likewise remarks that, "observing him to drink two parts of water and one of sack, I presumed to ask how he came to leave French wine. He told me they afforded him not good, and then he thought this the better beverage; nay, says he, whilst I have been here among them I have wanted linen, which though I took notice of I never complained." A fact corroborated by Hammond himself, who, in a letter, dated as early as the 15th of April, draws the attention of the committee to the circumstance.

His hair had become grey in the preponderance of mental anxiety and deprivation; personal neglect had deranged his manners, clouded his countenance, and proved him sorrowfully

conscious of the dark prospect which was rapidly ensuing, when his pitiable condition excited the sympathies of an humble attendant, whose task it was to perform a menial office in his majesty's room, and by her assistance an intercourse with Titus and his faithful confidants was again effected.

Number XV.

“Saturday, 1 July 1648.

“W.

“I have newly received yours of the 22 June, for w<sup>ch</sup> I know not whether my astonishment or my joy were the greater; for indeed, I did dispaire of hearing any more from you, or any other of my ffrends, during theafe damnable tymes, without blaming anything but my owen misfortune; w<sup>ch</sup> makes me the more obliged to your kyndness and industry for hauing found meanes to conuey a letter to me: I thank you for your Newes; w<sup>ch</sup> does much agree with what the Gouvernor doth us the fauor to let us know; only we heere doe belive all the Gallant honnest men in Colchester infallibly lost; though yet they hould out: and we have heard nothing concerning the votes of the Comon Councell.

I am glad to hear of the welfaire of Z & L (*Worsley and Osborn*) for I feared that they had been in some disorder, to whom I pray you comend me hartely; as lykewaife to all the rest of my ffrends: and particuly to 715 (*Mrs. Whorwood*), telling 187 (*ber*) that I hope 24: 63: 186 (*she*) knowes before this, how it was not my falt that I did [not] waite upon 187 (*ber*) according to my promise, for which you may assure 715 (*Mrs. Whorwood*) that I was and am uery much greeved.

“Tuching the writings for O. Rogers, I know not what you meane; and though I did, at this time, I would not send you them, being not confident that this will come safe to you; but how soone I can haue any probable assurance of a safe conueance I shall not fail to send you what Papers you shall desyre, as also letters to dyuers of my frends, and so I rest

“Your most assured reall frend,

“J.”

117 : 465 : 71 : 78 : 363 : 209 : 349

72 : 91 : 31 : 92 : 50 : 136 : 96 : 10 :

32 : 93 : 51 : 109 : 377 : 359 : 292 :

84 : 33 : 136 : 94 : 109 : 279 : 251 :



174 : 66 : 44 : 369 : (*be content that I shall neuer discover any thing to prejudise any of my friends' trust.*)

Comment on feelings so sensitively expressed would be here useless, especially as the result of the other topics alluded to by his majesty has been already detailed; but, with an incident he had rather hoped for than deemed possible (the unexpected realization of a contrivance for securing intelligence from his friends) his self-control partly returned; the dejection caused by his adversity diminished itself in the anxious cares which the renewed intercourse created; and he buoyed himself up in the expectation that a renewed attempt for succouring and liberating him would immediately follow.

As Charles gradually recovered some degree of his usual equanimity, he became enabled to look more steadily on the position in which he now stood; and hearing that the endeavours of the presbyterian party in the two Houses of Parliament were urging the settlement of a treaty with him, he decided on sending a private communication to the Speakers, soliciting them to state their desires, as by such a course he

imagined he might succeed in conciliating the opinions of those anxious for a compromise, and perhaps facilitate the necessary preliminaries for the transaction.

Mr. Herbert, to whom this despatch, together with a letter to the Princess Elizabeth, then at St. James' House, Whitehall, was intrusted for delivery, minutely narrates that the wind was not favourable, and he had therefore "much ado to cross the sea from Cowes to Southampton; but in regard the king had ordered him to make haste, so as the letter might be delivered the next day before the Houses rose, no delay was suffered." Being landed, he immediately took post for London.

"It may not be forgotten that at one stage, the postmaster (a malevolent person), having notice that he came from the king, and required extraordinary speed, mounted him upon a horse that had neither good eyes nor feet, so as he usually stumbled very much, which with the deep ways and dark nights, in all probability might have abated his speed; but through God's goodness the horse, though at his full gallop most part of that twelve miles riding, neither stumbled nor fell, which at the next stage was admired."

The king's packet was delivered to the Speaker of the House of Lords within the time limited, which done, he waited (by permission) upon the Princess Elizabeth, who gave him her hand to kiss, being overjoyed with her royal father's kind letter, to which she returned another by Mr. Herbert, who had the king's approbation, at his coming to Carisbrook, for his diligence.

There were, at that time, living in Newport, two gentlemen, Mr. William Hopkins, master of the grammar school, and his son, both strongly imbued with a strong predilection for the royal cause; and the imprisonment of Rolph, coupled with the frequent absence of Hammond in other parts of the island, having allowed of some relaxation in the military regulations enforced at the castle, Mr. Hopkins not only availed himself of the aid of the woman already alluded to for carrying on a close correspondence with the king, but in company with Mrs. Whorwood, who had recently come to Newport, procured some secret interviews with him.

This correspondence was printed by Wagstaffe in the last edition of his "Vindication of the Royal Martyr," and reveals the fact, in connection with other authorities, that with the

king's concurrence, an extended conspiracy had been organized in the island for the purpose of disarming the military, and by an arranged stratagem seizing upon the governor and the castle, if the Prince of Wales had appeared off the coast.

With the usual fatality attendant on every incident in the life of the unfortunate monarch, this was not done; and on some rumours of the disaffection which existed in the island reaching the committee, their exertions soon enabled them to inform Hammond of the medium through which the king's correspondence, aided by the endeavours of Titus and Bosville, had been rearranged, and that there was still a hope of effecting his escape by the aid of a "little ancient man, and a lusty stout young man about 26 or 27 years of age," (probably the two Hopkins,) the place of landing to be near Gosport.

In fact, his friends were again vigorously battling his freedom when the critical event arrived which had been so long the constant object of his wishes,—the offer of a personal treaty; for, towards the end of July, the Commons having yielded to the obstinacy of the Lords, the vote of non-addresses was repealed,

and there is no doubt but for the intervention of Cromwell's decisive victories, the ruin of Hamilton, and other contingent circumstances which revived the courage and hopes of the Independents, and the fears and misgivings of the Presbyterians, that Charles would have been brought to London, and there treated with unreservedly.

Information of this important fact was soon transmitted to Carisbrook, and on the 5th of August the king was officially waited on by the Earl of Middlesex, Sir John Hippisley, and John Bulkeley, Esq., who informed him that the Parliament had agreed to a personal treaty with him at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, where he should be in the same state and freedom as he was at Hampton Court, but that no persons excepted by the Parliament from pardon, under restraint, in actual war against the Parliament, or in such numbers as would cause suspicion, could be suffered to come into the island during his residence at Newport.

That no stranger or foreigner would be permitted to go into his presence without an order from Parliament, but that if he wished any of the Scottish nation to advise with him, the

governor would be authorized to permit their coming.

That Colonel Hammond was to provide a sufficient guard for the safety of the Isle of Wight, and to hinder the taking away his person from thence.

And that they were allotted ten days for their going, stay, and return.

With these commissioners, under the authority of a pass from the Houses of Parliament, came also Captain Titus, Uriah Babington, the king's sworn barber, and Sir Peter Killigrew; and, as much of the restraint which had been imposed upon Charles was removed by the repeal of the vote of non-addressees, Carisbrook put on a more cheerful appearance than it had exhibited for some months.

Herbert remarks that, on the introduction of the commissioners to the king, he in the first place gave them his hand to kiss, and told them "that their address being in order to peace, doubled their welcome; peace being the thing he earnestly desired:" and then assured them withal "that if upon the treaty, peace did not ensue, it should be no fault of his—he would not be blamed."

In the calamitous state of the king's affairs, there seemed to be some hope that, by this proposed treaty, he would be once more restored to his former condition; and therefore, after the interchange of some preliminary correspondence, on Thursday, the 10th of August, he signified to the commissioners his acceptance of the Parliamentary proposition. The room was full of ladies, and he expressly said that "the last message he sent was delivered to the commissioners sealed, and if it had been so presented to the Houses it would have been better for him; but he now thought fit to send this open, for he thought he could not be in a worse condition than he was, being under such close restraint, none being suffered to speak a word without suspicion."

On the receipt of this message, a vote of the Lords and Commons was immediately passed, which requested his majesty to send the names of such persons "as he shall conceive to be of necessary use to be about him during this Treaty."

"That the Houses agreed that such domestic servants (not excepted in the former limitations) as his majesty should appoint, were to be sent to him.

“ And that the time of the commencement of Treaty, was to be within ten days after the king’s assent to treat, and to continue forty days;” with some other resolutions of minor import.

As the communications from the Parliament to Hammond had only intimated that the vote of non-addresses had been repealed, he did not conceive himself justified in permitting the king to leave the bounds of the castle, until he received an express order from the Houses to that effect, as he was detained there under the authority of a subsequent ordinance.

On the 15th of September, therefore, to relieve this difficulty, it was resolved that the orders concerning his majesty’s restraint in Carisbrook Castle should be revoked; and after more than eight months of duration and tribulation, such as few kings, and even few men, have experienced, Charles was allowed to quit the fortrefs; although he soon discovered, that though apparently restored to freedom, so little reliance was placed on his word, that a troop of horse was ever hovering about him when he was abroad.\*

\* Ashmole’s MSS.



On receiving the king's concurrence to the votes of the Houses, resolutions were at once propounded and agreed on, confirming the arrangements proposed; and that "his majesty be desired to pass his royal word to make his constant residence in the Isle of Wight, from the time of his assenting to treat, until twenty days after the treaty ended, unless it be otherwise desired by both Houses of Parliament. And that Colonel Hammond be authorised to receive his royal word passed to the two Houses of Parliament, for his residence in the Isle of Wight, according as is formerly expressed."

This necessary precaution having been duly enforced, the instructions issued to Hammond on the 16th November, 1647, were at once recalled, and fresh regulations, founded on the agreement thus perfected with the king, forwarded to him for his guidance and direction.

The names and occupations of persons whose presence was desired by his majesty, are preserved in the Journals of the Houses of Parliament, and the original list in the autograph of the king, together with the letter which accompanied it to the Earl of Manchester, as Speaker of

the House of Peers, in the MSS. of the British Museum.\*

The selection was as follows:—

*Gentlemen of his Bedchamber.*—The Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earl of Lindsay, the Earl of Southampton.

*Grooms of his Chamber.*—George Kirke, James Levington, Henry Murray, Jno. Ashburnham, William Legg.

*Barber.*—Thos. Davis.

*Pages of the Backstairs.*—Hugh Henn, Hum. Rogers, Willm. Levitt.

*Yeomen of the Robes.*— —. Rives.

*Equerries.*—Sir Ed. Sydenham, Rob. Tirwitt, John Housdon (*with 4 or 6 footmen, as they should find fittest, to wait*).

*Laundress.*—Mrs. Wheeler (*with such maids as she shall choose*).

*Groom of the presence.*—

*Persons to wait as they did, or as his majesty should appoint them.*—Sir Foulke Greville, Captn. Titus, Captn. Burroughes, Mr. Cresset, —. Hanstead, Ab. Dowcett, —. Fyrebrasse.

*Chaplains.*—Bishop of London, Bishop of Salisbury, Doctor Sheldon, Doctor Hammond,

\* Additional MSS. 11,252.

Doctor Ouldfworth, Doctor Saunderfon, Doctor Turner, Doctor Haywood.

*Lawyers.*—Sir Thos. Gardiner, Sir Or. Bridgeman, Sir Ro. Osbourne, Mr. Je. Palmer, Mr. Tho. Cooke, Mr. Jo. Vaughan.

*Clerks and Writers.*—Sir Edward Walker, Mr. Philip Warwick, Jno. Oudart, Chas. Whittaker.

*To make ready the House for treaty.*—Peter Newton and Clem. Kennersley.

*Advocates.*—Dr. Duck, —. Rives (*in an after communication*).

The Parliament consented to the attendance of all these persons with the exception of “Dowcett, who was alleged to be under restraint; Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Holdfworth, who were likewise under restraint; and Mr. John Ashburnham, and Col. Legg, the first of whom was an exception from pardon, and Col. Legg being under restraint.”

The friends and attendants of the king were, therefore, not long before they once more rejoined their old master; “all hastened and took their places in the small house at Newport, and the delusive scenery of a court on a sudden seemed to have crowded round the lone man as

in a pleasant dream;" but, remarks Hume, "a great and sensible alteration was remarked in his aspect, from what it appeared the year before, when he resided at Hampton Court; as, from the moment his servants had been removed, he had laid aside all care of his person, had allowed his hair and beard to grow, and to hang dishevelled and neglected—his hair was become almost entirely grey, either from the decline of years, or from that load of sorrows under which he laboured; and which, though borne with constancy, preyed inwardly on his sensible and tender mind:" a change beheld with compassion by his friends, and perhaps even by his enemies.

Firebrace writes, "When the treaty was voted, amongst those his majesty named to attend him I had the honour to be one; of which he was pleased to give me notice, by a letter, and commanded me to make haste to him. I no sooner arrived, than his majesty told me I should attend him as I did before, which was page of the bed-chamber and clerk of the kitchen; for that there must be several diets at the treaty, and he would have me undertake it, in order to something better he intended for me.

"I desired to be excused, as not at all under-

standing the employment. He was pleased to tell me he would instruct me (which in earnest he did). Within two or three days, I heard that a gentleman, one of his majesty's clerks of the kitchen, was come to Newport, in expectation to wait in his employment, and then I desired his majesty that he might wait accordingly, I being unskilful. He was pleased to tell me again I should undertake it, and that that gentleman should wait as comptroller, as accordingly he did."

The estimated expenses of this Treaty amounted to the sum of 10,000*l.*, lent for that purpose by the City of London, of which 6000*l.* were on the 13th of September ordered to be paid for the king's charges, together with 500*l.* to Sir Edward Sydenham, Captain Titus, and Mr. Tirwhit, to provide coaches and horses, footmen's liveries, stable requisites, &c., for his majesty's use; and the court being thus settled in the house of Mr. Hopkins,\* the Free Grammar School of Newport, which had been selected by his majesty, preparations were at once made in the town-hall for conducting the Treaty,

\* Mr. Hopkins was, at this time, knighted by the king, for his services.

and at the Bull Inn,\* for the reception of the commissioners, appointed by the Parliament to meet the king on their behalf.

These commissioners were fifteen in number; the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Middlesex, the Earl of Salisbury, and the Lord Viscounts Say and Seale on the part of the Lords: and Thomas Lord Wainman, Mr. Denzill Hollis, Mr. William Pierrepont, Sir Henry Vane, Jun., Sir Harbottle Grimston, Sir John Potts, Mr. John Crew, Mr. Saml. Browne, Mr. John Glynn, recorder of London, and Mr. John Bulkeley, members of the House of Commons; men permitted to argue, to advise, to entreat, but having no power given them to concede, as their instructions bound them to insist on the king's assent to every proposition which had been submitted to his consideration at Hampton Court.

Burnett states "that Vane, Pierrepont, and others, went to the treaty on purpose to delay matters till the army could be brought up to

\* This sign was afterwards replaced by that of the Bugle, although the Bull is still used as the cognifance of the inn, on vehicles belonging to it.

London; and all that wished well to the treaty, prayed the king at their first coming to dispatch the business with all possible haste, and to grant the first day all that he could bring himself to grant on the last; Hollis and Grimston telling him (Burnett), they had both on their knees begged this of the king. They said, they knew Vane would study to draw out the treaty to a great length; and he who declared for an unbounded liberty of conscience, would try to gain on the king's party, by the offer of a toleration for the common prayer and the episcopal clergy. His design in that, was to gain time till Cromwell should settle Scotland and return from the north. But they said, if the king would frankly come in without the formality of papers backward and forward, and send them back next day with the concessions which were absolutely necessary, they did not doubt but that, in a few days, he should be brought up with honour, freedom, and safety to the Parliament, and that matters should be brought to a present settlement. Titus, who was then much trusted by the king, and employed in a negotiation with the Presbyterian party, told me he had spoken often and earnestly with him in

the same strain, but the king would not come to a resolution; and he still fancied that in the struggle between the House of Commons and the army, both saw they needed him so much to give them the superior strength, that he imagined by balancing them, he would bring both sides into a greater dependence on himself, and force them to better terms. In this Vane flattered the episcopal party to the king's ruin, as well as their own. But they still hated the Presbyterians as the first authors of the war, and seemed unwilling to think well of them, or to be beholden to them. Thus the treaty went on with a fatal slowness; and by the time it was come to maturity, Cromwell came up with his army and overturned all."

Tuesday, the 12th of September, was appointed as a day of public humiliation "by the members of both Houses, and in all the churches and chapels within the lines of communication and weekly bills of mortality, to seek God earnestly for a blessing upon the Treaty of Newport;" and on the 15th of the same month the commissioners, after being entertained by the authorities at Southampton, crossed to Cowes, where, on their arrival about two o'clock, they



were received by Colonel Hammond, and with "several vollies of shot."

The succeeding day, Saturday, was likewise observed by the king as a fast; and, after the morning service, the commissioners were admitted to an audience, and permitted to kiss his hand. On the announcement of their mission, Charles feelingly said,

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I am glad that you are come to treat with me for the settling of my poor bleeding kingdom in peace. I pray God to perfect this blessed work, which I shall on my part labour for, and I hope my Parliament and you will do the like. As for me, I shall not seek revenge against any, nor give occasion of delays, desiring that there may be no procrastination of time, but there being now only the broken piece of a day, and that the last day of the week too, I desire that the treaty may not begin now, but that we may meet by 9 o'clock on Monday morn, and from thence the treaty to commence. And I pray God to give a blessing upon our meetings, that there may be no more blood spilt in this kingdom."

From this time the Lords and Commons waited on the king with great outward show of duty and respect; and, observes Clarendon, “though none of them durst adventure to see the king in private, they communicated freely with some of those lords and others who, with the Parliament’s leave, were come to attend the king during the time of the treaty; and so they found means to advertise his majesty of many particulars, which they thought it necessary for him to know, which made impresson on him, as the information proceeded from persons better or worse affected to him.”

On Monday, the 2nd October, 1648, this memorable treaty commenced in the (old) town-hall of Newport, then recently erected.

The commissioners assembled in a room appointed to their use at 9 o’clock in the morning, and after hearing prayers from Mr. Vines, one of their chaplains, sent an intimation to the king “that they were ready to wait upon him at the treaty.” His majesty proceeded “from Mr. Hopkins’ house to the treaty-chamber in state, in his coach, with the lords and others in attendance on him, his coachman and footman having new suits with broad plate silver lace,

two in a seam," and, being seated, the commissioners entered bare-headed. The king then arose, and, taking off his hat, desired them to be placed at the table, when they presented their credentials, which authorised them to treat with him personally upon the propositions formerly offered at Hampton Court; and, as the king had frequently demanded a personal treaty, the commissioners decided that it should be strictly so, not admitting either peer or doctor to enter into the debates. "Charles was therefore compelled to encounter singly a host of subtle diplomacy, and, what was worse, another of the rabbins of the assembly of divines."

The arrangements were in this wise:—Under a canopy of state, ascended by steps, was seated the king, whilst the commissioners were arrayed at some distance on either side of a long table; and immediately behind the king's chair stood the lords in waiting and his chaplains, together with Sir P. Warwick, Mr. Oudart, Sir Edward Walker, and others.

When his majesty desired to put a question, or his friends wished to offer a suggestion, he retired into a private apartment; and it sometimes happened, as Sir Philip Warwick, one of

his secretaries, relates, “ that some of his penmen who stood at his chair prayed from the lords to do so, but more liberty than this the attendants were not allowed. And I remember on one day he overdid himself, and it was upon the great article, whether he or the Parliament began the war, and, in effect, at whose door the blood should lie? The king would have extinguished the whole discourse by acts of oblivion to both sides, or by taking an equal share, viz., by expressing that jealousies had abruptly and unfortunately cast them both into this engagement, and by acts of indemnity would have secured all; but where most guilt was, there was most difficulty to satisfy; and by no means would they waive an explanation of this article. The king retiring, I took the confidence to step to my lord of Northumberland, and say to him, ‘ My good lord, remember how gracious this good prince hath been to you, and do you compassionate his distresses and the strait he is now in;’ and he civilly but positively replied, ‘ Sir, in this it is impossible for me to do anything; for the king in this point is safe, as king: but we cannot be so.’ Two replies which the king made to two gentlemen that day were observable—the one to a gentleman who is now a lord,

who pressed somewhat upon him hardly: 'A good nature, fir (said he), would not offer this you say, nor is it true logic;' and then made another kind of ingenious reply unto Mr. Buckley (who was a gentleman of that island, and now a commissioner, when he prayed the king to make a right use of this treaty, having promised him, that if a treaty could be procured for him, the malice of the devil should not be able to break it): 'Consider (says he), Mr. Buckley, if you call this a treaty, whether it be not like the fray in the comedy, where the man comes out and says there has been a fray and no fray, and being asked how that could be, why, (says he) here hath been three blows given and I had them all. Look, therefore, whether this be not a parallel case. Observe whether I have not granted absolutely most of your propositions, and with great moderation limited only some few of them; nay, consider whether you have made me any one concession, and whether, at this present moment, you have not confessed to me, that though upon any proposition you were all concurrently satisfied, yet till you had remitted them up to your superiors, you had not the authority to concur with me in any one thing.'"

The mental powers which the king displayed in this treaty astonished the commissioners. "The king is wonderfully improved," said Lord Salisbury to Sir P. Warwick. "No, my lord, it is your lordship who has too late discerned what he always was," was the reply. Sir Henry Vane also told Sir Edward Walker that they had been much deceived in the character of the king, whom they had considered a weak man; "but now," says he, "that we find him to be a person of great parts of abilities, we must the more consider our own security, for he is only the more dangerous."

It has been already remarked that the commissioners had no power to settle any point, and that all the king's objections and proposals were therefore transmitted to London, a procedure which caused considerable delay. Charles himself was also unfortunately too fond of discussion, in which he knew he excelled, so that matters were protracted even beyond the time originally allotted. The treaty was extended twenty additional days, and both the majority of the commissioners and his friends were urgent with him to concede all that was required in order to save himself from the army, to whose ulterior designs

no one at this time could be blind. On the 27th of November these remonstrances prevailed, and his firmness gave way. He consented to the demands he had hitherto steadfastly refused to acknowledge;—the abandonment of his friends, provided they were allowed the benefit of the ancient laws; the suspension of the functions of the bishops; and the investing their lands in the crown until religion should be settled by the king and Parliament.

This arrangement having been concluded, the commissioners the next morning took their leave; and Charles, it is said,\* addressed them on parting, in these words:—"My lords, I believe we shall scarce ever see each other again. But God's will be done! I have made my peace with him, and shall undergo, without fear, whatever he may suffer men to do unto me. My lords, you cannot but know that in my fall and ruin you see your own, and that also near you. I pray God send you better friends than I have found. I am fully informed of the carriage of them that plot against me and mine; but nothing affects me so much as the feeling I have of the sufferings of my subjects, and the

\* Evelyn's "Memoirs."

mischiefs that hangs over my three kingdoms, drawn upon them by those who, upon pretence of good, violently pursue their own interests and ends."

Dr. Lingard observes, that the best account of this treaty is that composed by order of the king \* himself, for the use of the Prince of Wales; but it is questionable if it was not the production of his own pen, for, as has been urged, with much justice, who could infuse the paternal feeling and the deep personal emotion therein contained, but Charles himself?

In Peck's "Desiderata," there is also published a diary of each day's occurrences during this remarkable controversy, drawn up by Mr. Oudart; but as the subjects which are involved in the articles have little interest for the present generation, and as the endeavour of this narrative is rather to relate the passing incidents attendant on its procedure, than dilate on the subject-matter of the treaty itself, it is believed the following abstract of the demands and concessions, as prepared by Mr. Oudart,† will

\* See Clarendon's "State Papers," vol. ii.

† "Nicholas Oudart was born at Mechlin, in Brabant, and brought from beyond the seas by Sir Henry Wotton, who trusted



fully suffice to satisfy the reader; the sources already mentioned being easily available for more extended illustration of this extraordinary conference.

ABSTRACT of the proposition or demands of the Two Houses, and his majesty's concessions, at the Treaty, held at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, 1648.

I. An Act for the repeal and nulling of all his majesty's oaths, declarations, proclamations, &c., with a preface about the legality of the war on the Parliament's side.

him with his domestic affairs. He afterwards went with Sir William Boswell, as his secretary, when appointed ambassador to the States in 1640, and there studied medicine, of which faculty he was created a Bachelor at Oxford, in January 1642, about which time he became secretary to Sir Edward Nicholas, one of the secretaries of estate there (then compounding for its delinquency), and afterwards attended King Charles at Hampton Court, and at the treaty in the Isle of Wight. After the execution of the king, Mr. Oudart lived in obscurity for some time, but at length became secretary to the Princess of Orange, and one of her executors, she giving him a high character in her will. He was afterwards Latin secretary to William, Prince of Orange, and one of his council, he being mentioned as such in 1659, and then held the same appointment in the court of Charles the Second, dying in Little Dean's Yard, Westminster, about Christmas 1708."—Note in Peck's "Defiderata."

Granted, as desired, after a proviso made on both sides, that nothing agreed in this Treaty should be binding, in case the same break off.

2. That the king take and enjoin the Covenant.

The Covenant, in fine, was not insisted upon.

3. An Act for abolishing archbishops, bishops, deans, chapters, &c.

Granted, so that episcopacy only according to Scripture be preserved. Yet the bishops to be suspended till the king and both Houses (after conference with the assembly of divines, to which 20 to be added of the king's appointment) should agree. The presbyterian government to be established in the interim.

4. An Act to confirm the ordinances for the calling and sitting of the assembly of divines.

Granted, with the proviso for the 20 afore-said to be added by his majesty.

5. An Act for reformation of religion according to the Covenant, as the Two Houses have or shall agree.

Granted, as inviolable in the premises.

6. An Act to take away the Book of Common Prayer, and to make the ordinances about Acts.

Granted, as 'far as necessary, till the agreement.

7. An Act for settling the directory.

Granted, as desired.

8. The Short Catechism to be approved.

Granted, as desired.

9. An Act to abjure popery.

Granted, as desired.

10. An Act for the education of papists' children.

Granted, as desired.

11. An Act to levy penalties on papists.

Granted, as desired.

12. An Act against the growth of popery and hearing mass.

Granted, as desired.

13. An Act for the observation of the Lord's day.

Granted, as desired.

14. An Act for the suppression of innovations.

Granted, as desired.

15. An Act for the advancement of preaching.

Granted, as desired,

16. An Act against pluralities and non-residence.

Granted, as desired.

17. An Act for reforming and regulating the universities.

Granted, as desired.

18. An Act or Acts to empower the Parliament to raise money to pay public debts and for other public uses, as the Parliament shall agree, with a clause, if the king consent not, yet the Act to bind all the subjects.

Granted, as desired, for two years to come.

19. An Act for the Militia to be disposed by both Houses, both by sea and land, for 20 years, with several powers to levy men and monies.

Granted, as desired, for 20 years.

20. An Act to empower both Houses to nominate all the great officers, counsellors, judges, &c., in England and Wales, for 20 years.

Granted, as desired, for 20 years.

21. An Act for nulling and disabling peers to sit in Parliament, who had been created since May, 1642.

Granted, as desired.

22. An Act about delinquents in several branches.

All submitted to composition as they could agree, but mitigation desired. His majesty's adherents not to bear office—some restrained from court and the Parliament, and others left to the known laws. The king's clergy to have the thirds; where dispossessed to be restored to the livings when not possessed by others, and the scandalous left to censure.

23. An Act for stating public debts and the discovery of delinquents' estates.

Granted, as desired.

24. An Act to render void the cessation of Ireland, and to settle the management of that war in both Houses, with several branches.

Granted, as desired, and the management for 20 years.

25. An Act settling religion there according to the Covenant.

Granted, as in England.

26. An Act nominating the chief officers there without limitation of time.

Granted for 20 years.

27. An Act for the Militia of London to

be in the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council.

Granted, as desired.

28. An Act that the citizens be not drawn out of the city but by their own consent.

Granted, as desired.

29. An Act for the grant and confirmation of the charter and privileges of the City of London.

Granted, as desired.

30. That the Laws made and to be made by the Common Council be to them as Acts of Parliament.

Granted, as desired.

31. That all propositions which shall be made for London by both Houses be passed into Acts.

Granted, as desired.

32. An Act to authorise all Acts passed under the great seal made by the Two Houses; and all done by any other since May 1642, to be vacated.

Granted, as desired.

33. An Act for annulling all grants by the great seal of Ireland since 1643.

Granted, as in England.

34. An Act that the two ordinances of the Two Houses, for the abolition of episcopacy and for the sale of church lands, be made Acts of Parliament.

Respited; because the first is included in the grant for taking all the hierarchy but bishops, only; and the other answered in that in which his majesty offereth the church lands to be settled in the crown in trust for the clergy, charged with leases for ninety-nine years to satisfy purchasers; reserving a rent for the livelihood of such to whom the same appertained.

35. An Act for taking away the Court of Wards.

Granted, as desired, so as 100,000*l.* per annum be answered to the crown in lieu of it.

*(Additional propositions after the 40 days.)*

36. That new delinquents upon the second war shall pay one year's value more.

All left to compound as they can, but moderation desired.

37. That agreements made and to be made with the Scots, be confirmed by Act of Parliament.

Granted for all past, and his majesty will be willing to join with both Houses for the future, for securing the nations mutually.

38. That my Lord of Ormond be disfavoured and recalled.

Granted, if the treaty conclude well, and the marquis should not then desert. Meantime, a letter to be sent to him from his majesty to cease, because a treaty is hopefully begun, and clauses in it about leaving that war to both Houses.

The king's propositions were four :—

1. For his revenues, lands, and houses to be returned.
2. A compensation to be given him and his successors for what he is now to part with.
3. That he be settled in a condition of honour, freedom, and safety.
4. That an Act of oblivion be passed, including all persons.

All four granted by both Houses with some limitations.





## CHAPTER VII.

Department of the King during the Treaty—Overtures to Hammond by the Army, and his Recall to Windsor—Seizure of the King by the Army at Newport, and his Removal to Hurst Castle.

FOR sixty-and-one days Charles continued to date his correspondence from “Our Court at Newport;” and it would certainly seem that Newport must have been suddenly endowed with the power of elasticity, in order to receive and accommodate the number of persons this eventful procedure had there congregated together.

Years upon years have passed since then, but never again has Newport or any other town presented so singular a transition from tranquillity and retirement to a scene so striking in the extreme. The staid inhabitant agape with wonder-

ing inquirment—the ancient pikeman and musketeer with his coil of match slowly smouldering—the republican high-crowned hat, and the more gaudy costume of the cavaliers and others in attendance on the king;—foremost among them being recognized “*Monfieur Circourt, resident in England for the Duke of Gilderland,*” James Stuart, Duke of Richmond, and his son Esme Stuart, with his love-locks and plumed hat—the coming and going of Parliamentary posts—and the constant arrival of personages favoured with passes by the Houses.

All these were prominent objects during the time the negotiation was allowed to proceed; whilst the state routine accompanying the passage of the king to and from the treaty-house was daily enacted; and as some little relaxation, the Commissioners oftentimes visited the governor at Carisbrook, “*where they went to the bowling-alley, after being received with great affection and love by the soldiers, and 20 shot made from the great ordnance to give them a salute.*”

Amidst so disunited an assemblage, there was also necessarily a great variety of opinion; and on many occasions the dissensions caused by party-disputes were quelled with difficulty.

A house of entertainment in Newport, called the George Tavern,\* was the place of assemblage for the royalists; and among other disturbances which are noticed as occurring in this "hottelrie," it is stated, that on the night of the 11th of October, "divers of the royal party assembled here, and began to drink their sovereign's health right lustily; but upon a conference respecting the king's concession to the Bill for the abolition of the archbishops, &c., they resolved against it, and made great protestations to avenge their quarrel upon some of the opposite party. In a short time their disputation became so noisy, that four files of musketeers were sent to apprehend and bring them before the governor; but upon this endeavour, the royalists drew their swords, and discharged their pocket-pistols, and so bloody a conflict began to ensue, each party refusing to give way, that a reinforcement of soldiers was sent for, who, under Ensign Smith, ultimately secured the whole of the company, with the loss of two royalists and three soldiers killed in the affray."

\* The George was on the south side of the High Street, where the shops of Messrs. Wavell (chemist), Cowdery (grocer), and Gubbins (stationer), now are.

Whilst the negotiation lasted, it was believed the king might easily have made his escape; and the charge of insincerity, which has been oftentimes urged as prompting him to accede to this treaty, becomes painfully observable in the letters to Captain Titus. More than once he expresses himself: "if the Parliament offer a treaty, I shall make use of it only to my escape." But to this determination a serious impediment was raised up by the engagement of his royal word that he would not depart out of the island during the conference, nor in three weeks after, although it is recorded that on one occasion he considered himself released from it by misconduct on the part of Hammond, who, on the 4th of November, became aware of that persuasion, and with considerable difficulty prevailed on him to renew the pledge; and after the renewal, it has been incorrectly said that he refused to escape, even when every facility was offered him.

The exact time of this release is particularly recognisable by the tone of his anxious correspondence with Mr. Hopkins; for in a letter written on the night of Saturday, October 7th, he says:—"Though I doubt not of your care in expediting that business whereof I spoke to you this morn-

ing, yet I cannot but tell you that you cannot make ready too soon; for by what I have heard since I saw you, I find that a few days will make that impossible which is now feasible. Wherefore I pray you give me an account as soon as you can, first where I shall take boat? spare not my walking in respect of security. Then how the tide falls out? or whether in case the wind do serve, it be necessary to look to the tides? What winds are fair? what may serve? and what contrary? Consider also if a pass from 50 (*Hammond*), may not be useful? Lastly, how soon all will be ready, and what the impediments are which rests? I shall order the time of night as you shall judge most convenient."

The same point is also touched on in his letters of the succeeding days, Sunday and Monday; and in that of Sunday he adds this expressive remark, "I am so careful to keep this business secret, that I resolve to acquaint no man with it, but at the instant when I am to act."

On Monday he wrote thus: "I pray you rightly to understand my condition, which, I confess, yesternight I did not fully enough explain, through want of time. It is this: notwithstanding my too great concessions already made, I

know that unless I shall make yet others, which will directly make me no king, I shall be at best but a perpetual prisoner. Besides, if this were not, of which I am too sure, the adhering to the church, from which I cannot depart, no, not in show, will do the same. And to deal freely with you, the great concession I made this day (the church, militia, and Ireland), was made merely in order to my escape, of which, if I had not hope, I would not have done; for then I could have returned to my strait prison without reluctance. But now, I confess, it would break my heart, having done that which only an escape can justify. To be short, if I stay for a demonstration of their farther wickedness, it will be too late to seek a remedy; for my only hope is, that now they believe I dare deny them nothing, and so be less careful of their guards. Wherefore, as you love my safety, let us despatch their business as soon as we can, without expecting news from London; and let me tell you, that if I were once abroad and under sail, I would willingly enough hazard the three pinaces. To conclude, I pray you believe me (and not the common voice of mankind), that I am lost if I do not escape, which I shall not be

able to do, if, as I have said, I stay for farther demonstrations. Therefore, for God's sake, hasten with what diligence you can, and give a daily account to 39 (*the king*)."

On Tuesday, October 10, his majesty says: "What I wrote yesternight was not to add spurs, but really to give you the true state of my condition; and as I have freely trusted you with the greatest secret I have, in regard to your fidelity, for the feasibility I shall trust to your judgment. It were a wrong to my confidence and your diligence, more to exhort you. Wherefore this is only to tell you that I find it necessary to acquaint this bearer, my oldest and most trusty servant, with this great secret, both to ease my pains of writing, and the better adjusting of all particulars, and so I refer you to what he shall say to you from 39 (*the king*);" adding in a postscript, "the procuring of a Dutch pink would make all sure."

Another letter, dated "Thursday night, 9th November, after supper," contains this passage: "I should be very sorry that your exposing yourself to the eastern wind should do you any harm; but it will make me the more beholden to you, nor shall I ever forget your daily pains

and hazards for my service. In the meantime, I hope that the wind, which probably may bring me good luck, will do you no harm. At this time I will say no more; but if the ship come, I like that way best; yet if she come not quickly, I must take some other way, for I daily find more and more reason to hasten; and even since supper I have it from sure intelligence, that the business in Ireland will break all, wherefore I must stay no longer than towards the end of next week, if so long, so that you must act accordingly; and upon Levet's return, which I hope will be Saturday, I must set a day."

And in the next letter, dated Sunday, November 12th, the king tells the same correspondent, whom he styles 48: "That you may give me the fuller account to-morrow night, I desire you to inform yourself of the tides, and also of the horse guards, both how they are placed, and what rounds they ride. This is all now; but when you come I will propose some considerations unto you how to prevent accidents."

Among these letters there is also found one with the signature "Hellen," to Sir W. Hopkins, but evidently deciphered by the king himself. It was dated in October, and contains the



following remarkable passages: "There is a notable design, to which are agreed the army and Parliament; and by concurring counsels, to which end an express is sent to Cromwell to dispose of his majesty.

"Many here wish (for his friends in the city are numerous), that the king would thoroughly concede, to prevent dangers incumbering. But, I fear, if good be not intended him, no condescension of his can avert it. If then he will betake him to his escape, let him do it on Thursday or Friday next, but by all means out of some door, and not from the house-top by means of ladders. For I have heard too much of that way talked of by some near him. Farther I desire none may be trusted herewith but your son and Levett."

It has been seen, from the king's own words, in his parting address to the commissioners, that he had then apprehensions for his life; and it is still more apparent by these extracts, that of late his hopes had successively vanished, until the conviction was strongly felt that the result of this trying treaty afforded no promise, even by ample concessions, and a surrender of his rights, of either a restoration of his liberty, or reconciliation with his opponents.

His situation at this moment was alarmingly critical; and it can therefore scarcely create wonderment, that under such circumstances, he sought to escape, or that his parole was seemingly no objection to the attempt.

He knew that besides the Parliament there was the army, which had both the will and the power to set aside any agreement which might be made between him and the two Houses, and hence arose his conviction that "the treaty would come to nothing;" whilst added to this, was his acquaintance, since his release, with all that passed in the private councils of his enemies—their determination to bring him to trial and the scaffold—and the intimation he had received of an intention to assassinate him during the treaty.

With all these thoughts in his mind, how pitiable was the condition of Charles at Newport. His labours were intense, and morning, noon, and night, brought neither cessation of mental fatigue nor modification of his calamitous distresses.

Describing the king's avocations at this time, a cotemporary authority writes: "on that day (Sept. 26) his majesty had consultation with the bishop of London and the rest of the doctors with him, about the bill for church government, presented to him the night before. At dinner

and supper the bishops said grace, and waited upon his majesty (as they do every day), and after dinner his majesty had again consultation with them and the doctors upon the bill aforesaid.

“His majesty in conference with them had pen, ink, and paper, and took divers notes for his private use afterwards, and after supper was close writing in his privy chamber.

“Wednesday, Sept. 27, was the fast-day; his majesty had common prayer read that morning, and a sermon in the presence-chamber, and the additional prayer\* concerning the treaty was also read, and a psalm sung for peace.

\* In addition to the usual Liturgy, the following prayer, “drawn by his majesty’s special direction and dictates for a blessing on the Treaty at Newport,” was used on all occasions of Divine Service:—

“O most merciful Father, Lord God of Peace and Truth, we, a people sorely afflicted by the scourge of an unnatural war, do earnestly beseech thee to command a blessing from Heaven upon this present Treaty, begun for the establishment of a happy peace; soften the most obdurate hearts with a true Christian desire of saving those men’s blood for whom Christ himself hath shed his: or if the guilt of our great sins cause this Treaty to break off in vain, Lord, let the truth clearly appear who those men are which under pretence of the public good do pursue their own private ends; that this people may be no longer so blindly miserable as not to see at least in this their day the things that belong unto their peace.

“Grant this, gracious God, for His sake, who is our peace itself, even Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.”

“ After sermon his majesty had again further conference with the bishops, doctors, and the lords then also in presence who have leave from the Parliament to attend his majesty; and they were very close in argument about the Bill for church government.

“ And after supper his majesty withdrew to prepare a paper to be presented to the Parliament commissioners the next day. But besides the dispute about this business of church government, the king had consultation with the lords, and also with the lawyers and others about him, concerning the rest of the propositions.”\*

Sir Philip Warwick also remarks that “ every night when the king was alone about eight o’clock, except when he was writing his own private letters, he commanded me to come to him, and he lookt over the notes of that day’s

\* “ His majesty not long since being present at the treaty, one of his late servants that did attend him in his chamber, did secretly break open his cabinet, in hope to discover something by which he might both satisfy his curiosity and advantage it; but the event not answering his expectations he suddenly clapt it together again. His majesty being returned, the disorders of the papers did confess that his cabinet had been opened and examined, at which his discretion would take no notice, but being as full of forgiveness as of candour, he took his pen and wrote this distich readily on his cabinet :

“ A Pick-thanke and a Pick-locke, both are basely evil,  
The difference is, this trots, that ambles to the devill.”

treaty, and the reasons upon which it moved, and so dictated the heads of a dispatch, which from time to time he made concerning this treaty unto his present majesty, then prince:\* and this, Mr. Oudart, whose hand his majesty used in those dispatches, transcribed. And I had my own papers when the king came over, but lent them unto some hand that never restored them to me, which hath lamed me much about this treaty. Some things I remember I said which showed those eminent christian virtues in him which were rarely to be found among any sort of men—scarce ever among princes. For about the latter end of the Treaty, finding it was like to be ineffectual, ‘I wish (says he) I had consulted nobody but my own self, for then where in honour or conscience I could not have complied, I could have early been positive. For, with Job, I would willingly have rather chosen misery than sin.’

“I never saw him shed tears but once, and he turned his head presently away; for he was then dictating to me somewhat in a window, and he was loth to be discerned; and the lords and gentlemen were then in the room, though

\* Several of these letters are among the MSS. preserved in the British Museum.

his back was towards them—but I can safely take my oath they were the biggest drops that I ever saw fall from an eye—but he recollected himself, and soon stifled them.

“When he was pressed by the Parliament ministers to give way for a small Catechism for Children, ‘I will not (says he) take upon me to determine all these texts you quote are rightly applied, and have their true sense given them; and I assure you, gentlemen, I would license a catechism at a venture sooner for men than I would for children, because they can judge for themselves: and I make great conscience to permit that children should be corrupted in their first principles.’

“And this was spoken unto Stephen Marshall, of whom I know by a gentleman that was in the society of the Parliament commissioners, that he was a bloody man in those extemporary prayers, which in his course he then made unto the commissioners (and his sermons show how far he was from a Christian spirit), for that gentleman told me that there was a great difference of spirit betwixt those prayers which Vines, and those that Marshall made.

“I remember one evening, when I waited on

the king with the notes that passed that day (and then sometimes he would ease himself by some discourse on the bye), his majesty told me that he should be like a captain that had defended a place well, and his superiors not being able to relieve him, he had leave to surrender it; but (he replied), 'though they cannot relieve me in the time I demand it, let them relieve me when they can: else I will hold it out till I make some stone in this building my tombstone, and so I will do (says he), by the Church of England.'

“Another time, talking of the unreasonableness of the two Houses' propositions about the civil government: 'Well (says he), they will ask so much, and use it so ill, that the people of England will be one day glad to relodge the power they had taken from the Crown, where it is due, and I have offended against them more in the things I have granted them, than in anything I ever designed against them.'”

The chaplains spoken of by Warwick were those sent by the Parliament to attend on the commissioners, and before whom they preached. Herbert remarks that “the king would not accept of them amongst his chaplains, either preaching or praying. His majesty was never-

thelefs affable to them, and faid they were welcome, always defiring thofe pious affiftances which holy and good minifters, either prelates or prefbyters, could afford him, efpecially in thofe extremities which God had pleafed to permit fome of his fubjects to reduce him to ;” and as the parifh church was poffeffed by thefe men and the commiffioners, divine fervice was regularly and decoroufly performed before him in the prefence-chamber\* by one of his felected chaplains, or one of the prelates who had come to Newport to affift him in his deliberations touching the government of the church, who preached from texts apparently felected as pertinent to the occafion of their affembly.

On the 8th of October the fermon was delivered by Dr. Turner, dean of Canterbury, from the 5th chapter of John and 14th verfe: “ Afterwards Jefus findeth him in the temple, and faith unto him, Behold, thou art made whole ; fin no more, left a worfe thing come unto thee.”

On the fucceeding Sunday, Dr. Heywood. On the 29th October, Dr. Turner again. On the 5th November, Dr. Heywood, from the 68th Pfalm. On the 12th Dr. Gulfon, from the

\* The prefent fchool-room in the Grammar School at Newport.



words, "Ye shall fwear by me in truth, judgment, and righteoufnefs." And on the 19th, his majesty's birthday, the primate of Armagh, upon the 49th chapter of Genesis and 3rd verfe; whilst on the remaining Sabbath is found the name of Dr. Sanderfon.

These matters were all carefully recorded by Mr. Oudart, in whose diary many other interesting reminiscences illustrative of the king's disposition and fortunes at this time are to be found.

On the 7th of October he writes :—

"This evening happened a very remarkable thing. A young gentlewoman of about sixteen years of age, Elizabeth Stevens, of Winchester, came into the presence-chamber to be touched for the evil, which she was supposed to have, and therewith one of her eyes (that, namely, on the left side) was so much indisposed that, by her own and her mother's testimony (who was then also present) she had not seen with that eye of above a month before.

"After prayers read by Dr. Saunderfon, the maid kneeled down among others likewise to be touched; and his majesty touched her, and put a ribbon, with a piece of money\* at it, in usual

\* These were angels, called "Healing Gold."

manner about her neck. Which done, his majesty turned to the lords, namely, the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Southampton, and the Earl of Lindsey, to discourse with them. And the said young gentlewoman, of her own accord, said openly, ‘I can see of this fore eye.’ And afterwards declared she did see more and more by it, and could by degrees endure the light of a candle. All which his majesty, in the presence of the said lords and very many others, examined himself and found to be true. And it hath since been discovered, that some months ago the said young gentlewoman professed, that as soon as she was of age sufficient, she would convey over to the king’s use all her land, which, to the value of about 130*l.* per annum, her father, deceased, had left her sole heir unto.”

The army was now drawn together in the town of St. Albans, and there a council of officers, after a week’s deliberation, had drawn up a remonstrance to the House of Commons, in which they urged their sad apprehensions of the danger and evil of the treaty with the king, and of any accommodation with him; that he ought to be brought to trial on account of the evils done by him; that the English monarchy should

henceforward be elective; and that a period should be set to the present Parliament, which, for the future, should be annual. This remonstrance, which is of great length, was signed by Rushworth, the secretary to Fairfax, and induced a long and high debate. In fact, Cromwell was at hand, and he, the most powerful of all, was determined above all not to confide in the treaty with Charles, nor to brook the domination of the Presbyterian party, which had of late carried most of their measures by large majorities. He, together with Ireton and others of the violent party, had been for some time in earnest correspondence with Hammond, reasoning with him, and exhorting him to hold the person of the king solely for the services and uses of the army. But these appeals seem to have awakened Hammond, when too late, to that sense of his duty which the love of self had hitherto filled within him; and perceiving that, notwithstanding their overtures, he was determined to keep the king for the Parliament, they resolved to have recourse to the expedient of drawing him away from his government for a short time, under the pretence of that clause in his original appointment, by which the authority of the commander-

in-chief had been expressly reserved and confirmed."

To the successful accomplishment of this scheme, the respective characters of each of the actors in it were well calculated to afford every facility. It was easy to make Fairfax believe the commander-in-chief possessed the right to summon Hammond to appear before him; and therefore, the right also of appointing a substitute during his absence: a course of reasoning which procured the governor's recall to headquarters, and the appointment of Colonel Ewer in his place; but on the receipt of the letter containing this information, Hammond, now possessed by some conscientious scruples, immediately transmitted it to the House of Commons, by whom it was resolved, on the 27th of November, that he should be required to stay in the Isle of Wight, and attend his charge there until further orders; that the general be informed of this note; and an order dispatched to the lord admiral, to send some ships to the Isle of Wight, where he was to be in communication with Colonel Hammond, and consider himself under his commands.

Before the arrival of these wishes of the

House, Hammond, had however, left the island, by reason of the positive injunction expressed in the general's letter. He informed the lords and commons, from Farnham, that he was proceeding towards the army, and intimated to them at Bagshot, that he was there put under restraint. This intelligence caused an ordinance to be passed "for a letter to be written to the general, to acquaint him that his orders given to Col. Ewer, were contrary to the resolutions of the House, and the instructions to Col. Hammond; and desired him to recall the said order, and immediately command Hammond back to the island."

Although Hammond had obeyed the general's injunctions by hastening to head-quarters, he, however, refused to surrender his charge to Ewer; as before his departure from the island, which he did in the company of Ewer by the same boat as the commissioners, he appointed three deputies for the safety of the island, and the care of the king's person.

These three personages were, Major Rolph in command at Newport, Capt. Boreman at Carifbrook, and Capt. Hawes, to whom he delivered a copy of his own instructions as received from the Parliament, as well as additional directions

for this especial occasion. He particularly enjoined on them, "that if any person whatever, under any pretence whatever, shall endeavour the removing the person of the king out of this island, unless by direct order of Parliament, that you resist, and to your uttermost oppose any such persons, and you use your best endeavours to secure the person of the king from being taken out of the island." He endowed them with power to summon the trainbands, if necessary, to their assistance, and gave them command over all officers and soldiers of the army now in the island, captains, governors, and forts, and all boats and barks belonging to it; whilst to Sir Robert Dillington, colonel of the regiment of the East Medine Trainbands, and Sir John Leigh, colonel of those of the West Medine, similar injunctions were addressed, with the addition that they were to be aiding and assisting unto the three commissioners already mentioned.

The known predilections of Rolph would not urge him to attach much importance to these commands; as the deliverance of the person of the king to the army was a procedure in which he would rather sympathise, than exert any authority delegated to him to prevent.

Little surprife will be therefore excited at the events which clofely followed the departure of Hammond from the ifland. Firebrace, after fpeaking of the result of the treaty, quaintly fays, “Our hopes were all blafed, when the army, thirfting for his blood, fent a party into the ifland to fecure him, which was fo fuddenly and privately done, that there was no notice or appearance of them until that night they began their horrid tragedy, being the 29th of November, 1648.

“The king had commanded me to attend him that night at eight of the clock, for a packet he was preparing for me to fend to the queen; but before that hour I perceived fome foldiers with piftols in their hands, bufily prying about the houfe where the king was lodged; this, together with the news of a party newly arrived, put me into great apprehenfion of the king’s danger. And, therefore, not ftaying till the time his majefty appointed me, I knocked at the bedchamber-door, which his majefty had commanded me to do at any time when I had bufinefs with him; and by fuch a knock, which he knew and directed me to ufe. He prefently opened me the door, and feeing me appear in

great astonishment, asked me, 'What is the matter?' I answered, 'God Almighty preserve your majesty, for I much fear some dismal attempt upon your person; and told him what I had seen and heard. He was pleased to lay his hand upon mine, and use these or like words: 'Firebrace, be not thus affrighted; things will be well. You know Hammond is this day gone for London, and he hath appointed three deputies in his absence; these will be trebly diligent; and it may be he will set a treble guard upon me, but I am assured there will be no danger.'

"I replied, Ah! sir, I much fear you are deceived; for God's sake yet think of your safety—there is yet a door of hope open. The night is dark, and I can now safely bring you into the street, and thence conduct you to your old friend Mr. John Newland, who hath a good boat always ready, and a good heart to serve you. Commit yourself to the mercy of the seas, where God will preserve you, and trust not yourself in the hands of these merciless villains, who I fear this night will murder you; which, indeed, I feared, and therefore was transported in my passionate expressions. Which his majesty, notwithstanding, took very well, and used ex-



pressions of great kindness to me, which I begged he would forbear, and yet think of his safety.

“ He told me he did not fear, and that if he did think there was any danger, he should be cautious of going in regard of his word, which I supposed he had passed to Hammond not to stir; then he bid me stay, and he would seal up his letters, which he had just finished, and gave me that dispatch to send away, which accordingly he did, and I with a sorrowful heart left him.”

Soon afterwards, another of the royal servants was called by a disguised person, who desired him to acquaint the king that the army would seize upon him that night, and then abruptly withdrew; and although as yet no one was aware that any additional soldiers had arrived in the island, for with such great secrecy was this prelude managed, Lieut.-Col. Cobbett had actually landed with a troop of horse and a company of foot.

Boreman at first refused to admit him into Carisbrook, but Rolph readily offered his aid at Newport; and these movements soon after coming to the king's knowledge, he became alarmed, and instantly summoned to his councils

the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Lindsey, and Colonel Edward Cooke; the latter of whom has preserved a minute description of this, the last scene in this memorable drama. He states, "That evening, between the hours of seven and eight, the king sent for the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Lindsey, and Col. Edward Cooke, (who were all three together at the Duke of Richmond's lodgings in Newport,) with all speed to attend him, who accordingly hastened to court, the two lords entering into the king's inner room, while the colonel waited in the outer room for further orders.

"The king acquainted the lords, that one of his servants had been sent for by a person in a kind of disguise, who having informed him that the army would that night seize upon the king's person, abruptly left him. The Duke of Richmond acquainting the king that Col. Cooke attended without, was commanded to call him in. The king asked him whether he had heard anything, that the army designed to seize upon him that night; he answered, that he did not hear anything so much as tending towards it; adding, surely if I had, I would have acquainted the king with it. The king, giving

the colonel the reason of his question, commanded him to find out Major Rolph, and inquire of him what he knew of it (who was then left as deputy-governor by Col. Hammond, with directions that on all occasions he should address the king through Col. Cooke, as himself had usually done during the treaty.)

“Col. Cooke having the king's commands, and opportunely finding Major Rolph in his chamber, acquainted him that the king sent him to inquire of him, whether the army resolved to seize upon him that night. He answered, not that he knew of, adding, *you may assure the king from me, that he may rest quietly this night, he shall have no disturbance this night.* Col. Cooke observing that he placed so much emphasis on those words, *this night*, though that was all he was commanded by the king to ask, urged him farther, whether really there was any such design at all, or not. After a little pause, he answered, it was impossible for him to know the present purposes of the army at so great a distance, but that as yet he had received no such orders. The colonel replied, *But if you shall hereafter, shall I be sure so timely to be made acquainted with them, as that the king may not be*

*surprised with the execution of them.* To which request he seemingly consented, answering, that was but a due respect to the king.

“Col. Cooke thereupon returning to the king, gave him a punctual account of these passages, who, in the meantime, having been informed that a considerable number of the army were that night landed on the island, remanded Col. Cooke back to Major Rolph, to inquire the truth thereof; who thus answered him: That he knew fresh forces would ere long come over to relieve those that then passed on duty there, but that as yet he was not certain of their being landed; which answer, also, the colonel returned to the king, who, in that short time of his absence, had received farther information that two thousand foot were drawn up about Caribbrook Castle, at which the king seemed to be much startled, saying, sure there must needs be some extraordinary design on foot, that such a body of men should not only be so privately landed, but also in such a bitter night as this to be exposed to such extremity of weather, the wind blowing very high, and the rain falling fast. The king expressing a great desire to be satisfied on the truth of this, and doubting that

he might not be so clearly dealt with by Major Rolph, Col. Cooke offered his service to go and see: but the king, reflecting on the severity of the weather, refused to expose him, yet owning it an important particular whereof to be rightly informed, which the colonel observing, importuned the king, that if he could be so long dispensed with from his majesty's service there, he would give him leave to go, he knowing no other expedient for the king's certain satisfaction.

“He also pressed the lords to intercede for him therein, and at last obtained leave of the king, his majesty adding these gracious expressions: that he hoped he being young and healthy would receive no prejudice by it, and that he might live to requite it; repeating his desire to know the truth of it.

“The colonel took leave, and having soon got himself and his horse ready, though the night was extraordinary dark, fortunately groped out his way through the dark and found the castle: which having carefully rounded, and finding nobody without, he went to the gate, and having performed the usual ceremonies (as giving the word to the corporal), and sheltered

himself under the gate from the excess of rain that then fell, he sent his desires to the governor, one Capt. Boreman, a gentleman of the island who commanded a militia company there), with whom he was well acquainted, to come to him. In the meantime, he discoursed with the soldiers to try what he could get out of them, but found they were altogether ignorant, being a company of the islanders newly marched in; the two army companies formerly garrisoned there being drawn down into the town of Newport, probably to double the guards.

“After a longer stay than he expected, the messenger returned with this excuse, That the captain could not conveniently come out to him, but invited him in; who, when he came into the parlour, was surpris'd with the sight of about a dozen officers of the army, most of whose faces he knew. And after mutual salutation, he address'd himself to the governor, desiring to speak with him, who, he observed, first asked and obtained leave of those officers; wherefore, asking him in private what he meant by that, the governor plainly told him, he was no better than a prisoner in his own garrison, for they had threatened him with immediate death if he but

so much as whispered with any of his own servants. The Colonel asked him whether he could imagine the cause of all this? He answered, He supposed there was some considerable design on foot, but knew not what it was; adding, that he understood that the captain that commanded the troop of horse in the island was in the same condition, and that his lieutenant commanded in his place, but that he knew no other cause for either, unless they suspected that they had too much duty for the king, which gave the Colonel the opportunity of asking the particular question, whether he knew anything of the king's being that night to be seized upon? who answered, It was not improbable but that might be their design, though he knew nothing of it.

“Colonel Cooke received as much light as the governor could give him, took leave, and hastened to give the king an exact account of all that had passed; but found, at his return, a great alteration at court. Guards not only set round the king's lodgings, and at every window, but even within doors also, nay, sentinels at the king's very chamber-door, so that the king was almost suffocated with the smoke of the burning

match, which hastened the Colonel to Major Rolph to complain of the rudeness of the soldiers, whom he found in bed (it being now near twelve or one o'clock), having entered his chamber against the will of his servant. After an apology, he made his complaint, and received this answer, that he was no way guilty of it; that the two companies being late drawn out of the castle, could not that night have quarters provided them, and therefore he had ordered them to double the guards, not foreseeing this would happen, but the next day he would redress all things himself, with due respect to the king, and consult him, the said Colonel, in it; and that in the meantime he was confident, on the Colonel's complaint to the captain of the guards, he would draw off the men from being offensive to the king, adding, if the Colonel found it needful, he might make use of his name to the captain of the guards, to whom the Colonel making his application on his return to the king, prevailed with him to draw off those guards that were so great an annoyance to the king, to a more tolerable distance.

“ At Colonel Cooke's return to the king, he made him repeat over all the several passages



that had happened that night, which being compared together, and duly considered by the king, the Duke of Richmond, and Earl of Lindsey, (for the Earl of Southampton, being indisposed, was before that time returned to his lodgings, and the Marquis of Hertford had taken leave of the king, and left the island that morning, and was gone to Netley,) all unanimously concluded that the army would suddenly seize upon the king's person, which being taken for granted on all hands, the question was, in this desperate case, what was most advisable to be done ?

“ The lords argued for the king's attempting an immediate escape, for he would better bring about a personal treaty with the Parliament (which he so much coveted), when out of the reach of the army, than when within their power, and this would certainly secure the safety of his person, which else might be very probably much in danger.

“ But before they could proceed to debate the manner of this escape, the king prevented it, thus arguing against the escape itself; first arguing the difficulties, if not impossibility, of accomplishing it; next, the consequences; that in case he should miscarry in the attempt, it would

exasperate the army, and dishearten his friends; and, lastly, that if the army should seize upon him, they must preserve him for their own sakes, for that no party could secure their own interests without joining his with it, his son being now out of their reach.

“The Earl of Lindsey replied, Take heed, sir, lest you fall into such hands as will not steer by rules of policy; remember Hampton Court, where your escape was your best security. The Duke of Richmond added, That yet he thought it feasible enough; and turning to Colonel Cooke, asked, How he passed to and fro? Who answered, He had the word. The duke asked him, Whether he believed he could pass him too? who answered, He made no question but he could. At which the duke took a longer cloak, without a star, and made the colonel go along with him through the guards, and so returned again to the king, acquainting him with what he had done, and with what ease, and thence took the advantage again to persuade the king's attempting to escape.

“Who on a sudden turning himself from the two lords, that were discoursing with him at the window, to Colonel Cooke, who stood drying

himself by the fire, said, Ned Cooke, what do you advise me in this case? Who humbly answered, He suspected his own judgment too much to presume to offer any advice, considering both the greatness of the danger, and the person concerned in it; that his majesty had his privy council with him, to whom he humbly besought him to listen, observing what they pressed him to. At which the lords resumed their former discourse of attempting an escape.

“But the king, turning about again, said, Ned, I command you to give me your advice. At which the colonel begged leave, that after he had premised some particulars, he might ask his majesty a question, who permitting him: Suppose, said he, I should not only tell your majesty that the army would very suddenly seize upon you, but by concurring circumstances fully convince your majesty it would be so; and also that I have the word, horses ready at hand, a vessel attending at Cowes and hourly expecting me; that I am ready and desirous to attend you, and this dismal dark night, as it were, suited to the purpose, so that I can foresee no visible difficulty in the thing, which I suppose to be in all particulars the true state of this present case.

The only question now is, What will your majesty resolve to do? Who, after a short pause, pronounced this positive answer: *They have promised me, and I have promised them; I will not break first.*

The Duke of Richmond urging the colonel to speak, he craved leave to speak to argue the point with the king, who said, With all my heart. I presume, sir, said the colonel, your majesty intends by these words (they and them), the Parliament; if so, the scene now is quite altered or changed, your present apprehension arising from the army, who have so far already violated the promises of the Parliament as to invade your majesty's freedom and safety, by changing the single sentinel of state at the outer door, unto strong guards on your very bed-chamber, which is in itself no better than a confinement, and probably the forerunner of something more—a speedy absolute imprisonment.

“The king replied, however, He would not do anything that should look like a breaking of his word; and so bade him and the Earl of Lindsey good night, and that he would go and take his rest too, so long as he could. To which Colonel Cooke replied, I fear it will not

be long. The king answered, As please God. The king perceiving great uneasiness and disorder in the colonel, said, Ned, what troubles you? tell me. Who replied, Sir, to consider the greatness of your majesty's danger, and your unwillingness to avoid it. The king replied, Ne'er let that trouble you; were it greater I would not break my word to prevent it. Sir, said the colonel, will your majesty but respite the resolution, and give me leave to step and call my Lord Southampton? What needs that, said the king, are not these two my friends? (pointing to the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Lindsey), I tell you they are my two true friends. Said the colonel, Be pleased then to consult them. Said the king, I am resolved; go you two to bed (meaning the Earl of Lindsey and Colonel Cooke, for the Duke of Richmond was then in waiting); and if I have need of you I will send for you. Whereupon both took leave.

“But the Duke of Richmond stepped after Colonel Cooke to consult him whether or no he had best put off his clothes that night? who answered, He himself for his part would not; for notwithstanding Major Rolph's promise, he feared the king would soon be disturbed, or else the

face of affairs deceived him. The duke asked him, Whether he should let the king know what his opinion was? who answered, With all his heart; and that he would stay in the outward room in hopes that he might occasion some new discourse of the business. But the duke soon returned, and told him the king was resolved to go to bed. It was then almost one o'clock; and though Colonel Cooke went not to bed all night, yet all things were carried with so great secrecy and quiet, that not the least noise was heard, nor the least cause of suspicion given.

“But in the morning, just at daybreak, the king, hearing a great knocking at his dressing-room door, sent the Duke of Richmond to know what it meant; who, on inquiring who was there, was answered, One Mildmay (one of the servants the Parliament had put to the king, and brother to Sir Henry). The duke demanding what he would have? answered, There were some gentlemen from the army very desirous to speak with the king; which account the duke gave the king; but the knocking increasing, the king commanded the duke to let them into his dressing-room. No sooner was this done, but before the king got out of his bed, those officers rushed

into his chamber, and abruptly told the king they had orders to remove him. From whom? said the king. They replied, From the army. The king asked whither he was to be removed? They answered, *To the castle.* The king asked, *What castle?* They again answered, *To the castle.* *The castle,* said the king, *is no castle.* He told them he was well enough prepared for any castle, and required them to name the castle. After a short whispering together, they said, *Hurst Castle.* The king replied, They could not well name a worse, and called to the Duke of Richmond to send for the Earl of Lindsey and Colonel Cooke. At first they scrupled at the Earl of Lindsey's coming; but the king, said, Why not both, since both lie together? They promised to send for both, but sent for neither.

“And though the Duke of Richmond had ordered the king's breakfast to be hastened, presuming that there was but little provision in the desolate castle; yet, when he was scarce ready, the horses being come, they hurried him away, only permitting the duke to attend him about two miles, and then told him he must go no further; where he sadly took his leave, being

scarce permitted to kiss the king's hand, whose last words were, Remember me to my Lord Lindsey and Colonel Cooke, and command Colonel Cooke, from me, never to forget the passages of this night."\*

Firebrace, on hearing that his anticipations had been too surely verified, procured leave, with some difficulty, to enter his majesty's chamber, in discharge of his duty as page; and on the king's remarking, "I know not where these people intend to carry me, and I would willingly eat before I go, therefore give me something to eat;" immediately proceeded to comply with the king's desire; but, as if in corroboration of Colonel Cooke's statement, he relates, "that on his returning in half an hour to tell him his repast was ready, he met the officers, in company with Rolph, leading him down stairs, to hurry him away, without suffering him to break his fast. He then," he says, "kneeled down to kiss the king's hand, at which he stopped and gave me leave to do, when they thrust him up into the coach, which was set close to the door."†

\* November 29, 1648.

† On testing the rhodomontade of Sir John Bowring (?) with statements that cannot err, the Journal of the Houses of Parlia-



“Never,” writes Mr. Herbert, “at one time, he thought, was beheld more grief in men’s faces, or greater fears in their hearts, the king being at such a time and in such a manner hurried away they knew not whither; but no remedy appearing, the noblemen, the venerable persons, and others, his majesty’s servants, approached to kiss the king’s hand, and to pour forth their supplications to Almighty God to safeguard and comfort his majesty in that his disconsolate condition.

“His majesty, who at other times was cheerful, at his parting from his friends showed sorrow in his heart by the sadness of his countenance—a real sympathy.

ment, &c., I have thought it better to pass by his extraordinary tales—for nothing more they are—of this particular time, as also the unfounded allusion of Lord Clarendon to the ungenerous part the queen is supposed to have performed in connection with the king’s attempts to escape. The letter on which the accusation is founded, contains in truth no allusion to the queen at all. The person mentioned in the letter, under the number 351 (printed in Ashburnham’s narrative), is not the queen, but Mrs. Whorwood, who was then in the island advising with him. And it is here worthy of remark, that the king in his cipher letters never calls Henrietta Maria “the queen,” but invariably speaks of her as “my wife,” and that the numbers were changed for the use of every correspondent; as, for instance, in Titus’ cipher the number 315 expressed queen, but not *the* queen. And had Charles wished to write the queen, he would have used the numbers 560 : 315 (*the queen*).

“When the king was ready to take coach, he asked whether he was to have any servants with him; ‘Only such, answered the Lieut.-Colonel, ‘as are useful.’ The king then nominated Mr. Harrington and Mr. Herbert to attend in his bedchamber, and scarce a dozen more for other service. The king taking notice that Mr. Herbert had for three days absented himself, Mr. Harrington told his majesty he was sick of an ague. He then desired the Duke of Richmond to send one of his servants to see in what condition he then was, and if anything well, to come along with him. The gentleman the duke sent found him sweating, but so soon as he received the message he arose, and came speedily to his majesty, who soon took coach and commanded Mr. Harrington, Mr. Herbert, and Mr. Mildmay (his carver) to come into his coach; and the Lieut.-Colonel, offering to enter the coach uninvited, his majesty (by opposing his foot) made him sensible of his rudeness,\* so as with some

\* Firebrace asserts that this personage was no other than “Rolph, who had before attempted to murder him; he impudently, with his hat on, stepped up into the coach, but his majesty, with great courage, rose up and thrust him out, saying, ‘It is not come to that yet—get you out;’ and called up Mr. Herbert and Mr. Harrington, who at that time waited as grooms of the bedchamber.”—“Memoirs,” p. 199.

confusion he mounted his horse and followed with a guard of horse; the coachman driving as directed.

“The king in this passage showed no discomposure at all, but would be asking the gentlemen in the coach with him whither they thought he was travelling? They made some simple replies, such as served to make his majesty smile at their innocent conjectures; otherwhile he could comfort himself with what he had granted at his late treaty with the commissioners, whom he highly praised for their ingenuity and fair deportment at Newport, as formerly mentioned.

“The coach went westward, towards Worsley's Tower, in Freshwater Isle, a little beyond Yarmouth Haven, and thereabout his majesty rested until the vessel was ready to take him aboard with those few attendants. The king, after an hour's stay, went aboard, a sorrowful spectacle and great example of Fortune's inconstancy.

“The wind and tide favouring, they crossed the narrow sea in three hours, and landed at Hurst Castle. The captain of this wretched place was not unfuitable; for at the king's going ashore he

stood ready to receive him with small observance. His look was stern; his hair and large beard were black and bushy; he held a partisan in his hand, and (Switz like) had a great basket-hilt sword by his side; hardly could one see a man of more grim aspect, and no less robust and rude was his behaviour. Some of his majesty's servants were not a little fearful of him, and that he was designed for mischief, especially when he vapoured, being elevated with his command and puffed up by having so royal a prisoner: so as probably he conceived he was nothing inferior to the governor of the castle of Milan; but being complained of to his superior officer, appeared a bubble; for being pretty sharply admonished, he quickly became mild and calm, a posture ill becoming such a rhodomont, and made it visible that his humour (or tumour, rather) was acted to curry favour, wherein he also was mistaken: for to give the Lieut.-Colonel [Eyres] his due, after his majesty came under his custody, he was very civil to the king, both in his language and behaviour, and courteous to those that attended upon all occasions; nor was his disposition rugged towards such as in loyalty

came to see the king, and to pray for him, as fundry out of Hampshire did, and the neighbouring counties.”

This, reader, is a faithful chronicle of the remarkable proceedings attendant on the detention of King Charles the First in the Isle of Wight—a history perhaps unparalleled in the lives of kings; and it is hoped that the incidents which have been here rendered may be deemed a not uninteresting memoir of the latter days of this unfortunate monarch.



APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

THE INSTRUCTIONS

RECEIVED BY COLONEL TITUS AT VARIOUS TIMES,

FROM

KING CHARLES THE SECOND

AND

QUEEN HENRIETTA MARIA.





## A P P E N D I X.

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Answer to an Address received by King Charles the Second when resident in Jersey, from the English party. It was conveyed to him by Captain Titus, and apparently refers to the Treaty of Breda.

“ Charles, R.

“ Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Having received your late address by Captain Titus, we have accordingly given credit to him, and we graciously accept those professions he hath made to us in your name, believing that they proceed from persons who are both able and willing to serve us. As concerning your desires proposed to us by him, we conceive we have in part answered the same by appointing a treaty with our subjects of Scotland, in which we shall likewise endeavour to give you further

satisfaction in all reasonable things. To which purpose we think fit and desire that you send some persons sufficiently authorized to be present at the treaty, where we doubt not but they may be useful to us, and very instrumental to the agreement between us and our subjects of Scotland, which we so much desire. In the meantime, as we are very sensible of those endeavours which we understand from Captain Titus you have already used to persuade them to moderation; so we entreat you to send presently into Scotland to prevail with them to bring such reasonable demands to the treaty as, meeting with our inclinations and resolution to accord all just and reasonable things, may, by the blessing of God, produce a full and happy agreement.

“Amongst other things that we have understood of your good affection to us, we cannot but take notice of the courage and constancy of the ministers in their good wishes and endeavours for us, which we shall not fail to acknowledge effectually both to them and to you, as it shall please God to bless our proceedings, and bring any favourable change to our condition. And so we bid you heartily farewell.

“Given at our Court in Jersey the  $\frac{28}{13}$ th day of January, 16 $\frac{50}{49}$ , in the first year of our reign.”

Instructions (from the English party) for the Right Honourable Francis Lord Willoughby, of Parham, Major-General Maffie, Colonel Richard Graves, Alderman James Bunce, and Captain Titus, whom in order to his Majesty's Command we have desired to assist at the Treaty of Breda.

“ 1. You are to give his majesty our humble thanks for the great favour and grace he was pleased to do us in his late letter.

“ 2. You are to give him an account that in order to his command we have deputed you to represent our most humble opinions and desires in things concerning us, and to employ all our interest to bring this treaty to such a happy close as may give just satisfaction to all his majesty's faithful servants.

“ 3. You are to communicate this to the Commissioners of Scotland.

“ 4. You are not to make any particular address to the king from us, but by their advice and approbation; that nothing from us may contradict what comes from them. That in all things a good correspondency may be preserved between us according to our covenant, and our enemies may find no advantage to attempt to divide us.

“5. You are in our names to be instant with his majesty to hearken to the just desires of his subjects in Scotland, to assure him that our satisfaction is bound up in theirs, being both engaged in one common interest of the covenant, from which neither of us can recede without a manifest violation of our faith both to God and man.

“6. If it shall please God that the king satisfies the desires of our brethren in Scotland, you are to desire the assistance of their honourable commissioners in proposing those particulars to the king in our behalf which we send you enclosed.

“7. If you shall find reason to distrust the issue of this treaty, you shall then (after all possible endeavours to persuade the king to compliance) communicate to the Scottish Commissioners those instructions which we have since sent you, wherein we shall give you no directions as to the managing of them, but leave that to your own discretion.”

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Instructions to Captain Titus from Charles the Second, on the occasion of his proceeding to Paris in 1651, for the purpose of having her Majesty's opinion on a proposed Marriage of

Charles with a daughter of the Marquis, of Argyle.

These instructions apparently reveal an incident in the life of Charles the Second which is little, if at all, known, and are therefore of peculiar interest in connection with the memoirs of that monarch. The Earl of Argyle here alluded to was Archibald the eighth Earl, created Marquis of Argyle "in respect of the remarkable fidelity and loyalty of his family in former times to the crown," by letters patent bearing date November 15, 1641. In contradistinction, however, to this assumed family virtue, he, during the civil war, joined with the Parliament, and showed himself a zealous asserter of the rights of the Presbyterian church government as then established. After the death of Charles the First, he contributed much to the favourable reception of the second Charles in Scotland in 1650; and at the solemnity of his coronation, January 1st, 1651, he placed the crown on his head, but with the evident design of forming an alliance between the young king and his only unmarried daughter. By the politic reply of the queen, this ambitious contrivance would seem to have been effectually thwarted, and the

affections of the marquis again transferred to Cromwell; as, on the Restoration, he was accused of high treason for corresponding and complying with Cromwell, and beheaded on the 27th of May, 1661.

Argyle had two sons and three daughters—Ann, who died unmarried, and for whom the crown was designed, Jane, married to Robert, first Marquis of Lothian; and Mary, to George Earl of Caithness; and on his death, to John Earl of Breadalbane.

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(Accompanied by a passport under the king's own hand and seal.)

“Instructions for our trusty and well-beloved servant, Captain Titus, one of the grooms of our bedchamber.

“ Charles, R.

“ 1. You are with the first opportunity to go to Holland, and there to apply yourself to such persons who are friends to our interest, and to get particular information from them what is likely to be resolved and transacted there, in relation to England; you are likewise to give

them account what is acted and determined here, which may be a means to hinder any resolution there that (by our enemies' suggestions) may be taken to our prejudice.

“ 2. You are to give us account from thence upon the first occasion how you find affairs there, that we may the better resolve what we have further to do in relation to those States.

“ 3. You are after your despatch in Holland to repair to Paris, and there to address yourself to the queen our dearest mother, and to such persons as she shall give you directions to apply yourself unto. You are likewise to receive my Lord Jermyn's advice in your applications to persons.

“ 4. You are with all speed to return us account what there is there acting, or acted, in relation to England: how you find the Court of France inclined to our interest: what resentment they have of the rebels' peace with Spain, and the late embassy and acknowledgment they have received from that king. Lastly, you are to get the best information and advice you can possible, whether it would produce any effect to send an ambassador to France, to desire that king's assistance, and to renew and confirm the ancient

alliance that hath for so many years been between that kingdom and this.

“5. If you find your stay necessary, you are to give us account of your proceedings by an express, and to attend our further commands; otherwise you are to hasten your return.

“Dated at our Court, at Perth, the  $\frac{31}{21}$  day of January, 1651. (In the second year of our reign.)”

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Private instructions from Charles the Second to Captain Titus, who arrived in Paris, March 17, 1657.

“Instructions for Captain Titus, one of the grooms of my bedchamber.

“1. First you are with all convenient speed to repair to the queen my mother, and after delivery of my letters, to communicate to her what I here give you in command.

“2. You are to let the queen know, that taking into serious consideration of how much importance the making of a right choice in my marriage may be to my affairs, I would resolve nothing in a business of that nature and con-



fequence, without her privitie, advice, and consent, for which purpose I have now exprefsly sent you to her.

“ 3. You are to give the queen account upon what grounds and considerations I do thus far propose this business.

“ I. That no foreign match can at the present be propounded, which does not either appear through some impediment or defect infeasible, or to my interest and present condition considerable.

“ II. That the Marquis of Argyle is a person of great interest, of a very ancient and noble family, that hath been always loyal to the crown, and sometimes allied to it, and himself, in all transactions between me and my subjects of this kingdom, hath particularly merited of me.

“ III. I am informed that this marriage will be a great satisfaction and security to all the church and all the Presbyterian party, and the best means to unite all parties, and remove all differences occasioned by the late troubles.

“ IV. The strength of Scotland being united, it will be the greatest encouragement to all of loyalty in England.

“ These considerations you shall represent to

the queen, but with this assurance, that I neither am engaged, nor ever shall engage in a matter of this importance, without her approbation and consent.

“4. You are to communicate your message to my Lord Jermin.

“5. You are with all possible speed to return with the queen’s answer, and to omit no opportunity to give me an account of your proceedings in this business.

“CHARLES, R.

“Falkland, January the 23, 1657.”

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In Captain Titus’ autograph, and apparently the private instructions he received from the Marquis of Argyle.

“1. That Scotland acknowledgeth her majestie’s great favour in her former interposition for the procurement of a happy agreement between the king and them.

“2. Her majesty’s advice and approbation of this to the king, will be a great confirmation of that favour, and lay upon them a perpetual obligation.

“ 3. They are the more encouraged to hope this favour from her majestie, she being a daughter of France, with which kingdom Scotland hath had so ancient and firm alliance for so many ages, which this may be a means to confirm, and procure that kingdom’s assistance to the king.

“ 4. As to her majesty particular, Scotland will endeavour that her majestie be restored to her joynture, and all her other civil rights, and that she may live in a condition answerable to the honour and greatness of the mother of their king.”

“ To my Lord Jermain.

“ That in this the Presbyterian party repose a great trust in him, and have a good consideration of him, and opinion of his affection to them.

“ That this will engage them to do him all good offices, both to the king, and any other way in their power.

“ This will secure him against that violent party that are his enemies.”

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Instructions for Captain Titus, from Henrietta Maria, April 15, 1651, on the proposal of Charles the Second's marriage with the daughter of the Marquis of Argyle, accompanied by a passport under the hand and seal of her majesty.

“ You are to repair to the king our dearest son, will all convenient speed you shall be able.

“ 1. You are in the first place to let him know with how tender a sense I have received this great demonstration of his kindness, that in a matter so much importing the future good and bad of his life, as his marriage, and so consequently a thing wherein I must necessarily be so much concerned, he would make no advance nor contract, the least engagement, without communicating to me the first overtures.

“ 2. You are in the next place to let him know, that looking upon this proposition as no less importing than it doth in the nature of it, and by all the circumstances incident to it, that if I should give him council in it that should not be wise, I could not be suspected of offering that which should be insincere.

“ 3. You are in the third place to let him

know that I have most seriously and frequently, since your being here, taken this matter into my thoughts, and have considered all the several circumstances relating to it. That I am not uninformed of my Lord of Argyle's ability, credit, or affections, nor how usefully he hath employed them all for the good and benefit of the king my son; that there is nothing new or extraordinary that a person so well born as the Marquis of Argyle's daughter should be married to the crown; that towards this daughter there can lie no exception in regard of herself, she being a person of whom I never heard any thing but very good. But it is to be considered that the misfortunes under which we are fallen, are of a large extension—that the settlement of the affairs of Scotland, though it be a great and difficult work, yet not to be rested in without the recovery of England—that the kingdom of England, upon very great claims, is like to require a part in a council in which it is so much concerned, and would take themselves to be too justly offended, if by a present conclusion of the thing in question they should find themselves excluded totally from it. That even Scotland itself may not be without parties very considerable to the present affairs, that would be so far

perhaps from concurring now to this matter, that a finishing of it might induce a most unseasonable irritation of them.

“ 4. You are in the fourth place to let the king our dearest son know, that upon these considerations so irresistibly pressing against a present conclusion, that I cannot think fit to give any other advice than that the thing remain for a while in the same estate it doth, by which he will have the opportunity, if the difficulties that now occur should be removed, to go then seasonably through with it. He will also avoid the inconveniences that have been represented for Scotland, which are not a little perilous; and the kingdom of England will have no cause to complain if the suspension of the resolutions leave them the means of being seasonably consulted in a matter wherein they are so much concerned, and so like to pretend to have a part in the councils belonging to it.

“ HENRIETTA MARIA, REGINA.”

THE END.

## ERRATA.

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At page 96, line 9, *for* "Cromwell," *read* "the Parliament."

At page 137, line 7, *for* "Suffolk," *read* "Kent."

At page 249, line 22, *for* "is," *read* "are."

At page 256, line 23, *for* "Septr. 15," *read* "Septr. 30."

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