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MEMOIRS

OF
THE TWO LAST YEARS OF THE REIGN

OF

KING CHARLES I.

BY

SIR THOMAS HERBERT,

GROOM OF THE CHAMBERS TO HIS MAJESTY.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A PARTICULAR ACCOUNT

OF

THE FUNERAL OF THE KING,

IN

A LETTER FROM SIR THOMAS HERBERT

TO SIR WILLIAM DUGDALE.

LONDON :

PRINTED FOR G. AND W. NICOL, BOOKSELLERS TO

HIS MAJESTY, PALL-MALL ;

BY W. BULMER AND CO. CLEVELAND-ROW.

ST. JAMES'S.

1813.

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THE FUNERAL OF THE KING

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Person who publishes this Edition of “**SIR THOMAS HERBERT’S MEMOIRS** of the Two last Years of the Reign of King **CHARLES I.**” does not propose to give any biographical account of that eminent man, and most faithful servant.—On that subject he begs to refer the reader to “*Wood’s Athenæ Oxoniensis,*” where he will find his life very fully detailed. It will be sufficient here to say, that he was a distant relation of that noble family, whose name he bore—and that the accomplished William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, upon discovering our Author’s

talents, sent him, in the year 1626, to travel into foreign countries, where he remained for four years ; and published, when he came home, a very valuable account of those Travels, under the following title—“ *A Relation of some Years Travels into Africa and the great Asia, especially the Territories of the Persian Monarchy, and some part of the Oriental Indies, and Isles adjacent.*”

Soon after his return he had the misfortune to lose his Patron, who died suddenly : upon this distressing event, he again went abroad. At his second return, he found his country poisoned by a mental blight, which ended in civil war, bloodshed, and misery—for whole nations are liable to this malady, as well as individuals—witness the times in which we live !

In this unhappy state of his country, even the virtuous House of Herbert were in some degree infected ; for Philip, Earl of Pembroke undertook an Embassy, from the Parliament, in 1646, to King Charles, then at Newcastle ; and our Author attended him, as one of the Parliamentary Commissioners. He soon found however, the King to be of a very contrary disposition from what the malcontents of the day had represented him. He therefore, like a truly virtuous man, wishing to make his conscience some amends for the error with which his mind had been poisoned, attached himself to the King from that time, to the moment of his murder ; and during these two years he underwent, night and day, all the difficulties, dangers, and distresses, that his Royal Master

suffered. But it would be doing the Reader great injustice, to anticipate any part of the following narrative, which for truth, simplicity, and virtuous feeling, is unparalleled in any period.

When the Reader has perused this very afflicting narrative, the virtue and fidelity of its Author will appear transcendent — and one reflection, arising from the premises, will appear prominently obvious to all—which indeed is already sufficiently known to every one, who has been much in the intimacy of the higher ranks of society—namely, that the character given to the great, by the levellers of all ages, is in general diametrically opposite to the truth. It is indeed true, that good and virtuous men, like Sir Thomas Herbert, may, by plausible pretences, be drawn

into the vortex of such reformers.— But it is to be hoped, that, like him, their own native virtue will soon recover them, from the baneful influence of that malignant race of levellers, whose whole spring of action proceeds from a consciousness of their own unworthiness, and a consequent restless desire to bring down all mankind to their own standard.

The impartial page of History, however, will transmit such characters to the contempt they deserve ; while it will hand down to posterity, in glowing colours, the man, whose attachment and virtuous fidelity increased with the difficulties and dangers of the times.— Such a man was Sir THOMAS HERBERT !

It may perhaps be proper to say, that this Edition of Sir Thomas Herbert's

Narrative, is reprinted *verbatim* and *literatim*, in all its native simplicity.

Sir Thomas's Letter at the end of the Narrative, addressed to Sir William Dugdale, concerning the Funeral of the King, is also reprinted, and will be found very curious—and perhaps it is equally curious to know, that our Author assisted that celebrated Antiquary in his various pursuits, particularly in that great Work,—the *Monasticon Anglicanum*.

G. N.

June 4, 1813.

Sir THOMAS HERBERT'S
MEMOIRS, &c.

SIR,

BY Yours of the *22d.* of *August* last, 1679. I find you have received my former Letters of the First and Thirteenth of *May*, 1678. And seeing 'tis your further Desire I should recollect what I can well remember upon that sad Subject, more at large, I am willing to satisfie you therein, so far forth as my Memory will assist.

B

Some short Notes of Occurrences I then took, which, in this long interval of time, and several Removes with my Family, are either lost or mislaid, so as at present I cannot find them ; which renders this Narrative not so methodical, nor so large, as otherwise I should, and probably by you may be expected. Nor would I trouble you with what any other has written, but, in a summary Way, give you some Court-Passages, which I observed, during the last two Years of his late Majesty's Life and Reign, being the Time of his Solitude and Sufferings. Neither will I retrospect to times of Hostility, which (as I imagine) ceased in or about the Month of *August*, —46. nor speak of the Grounds of that unhappy and destructive War, occasion'd either by a Contest for the Militia in this Kingdom, or from some Uproars in *Scotland*, arising (as pretended) by our introducing the

Book of Common-Prayer, in Conformity to the Liturgy; which they retaliated by endeavouring to impose upon us their Discipline and Forms of a Presbytery.

These, with some other Apprehensions, made the first Difference betwixt the King and Parliament. But referring you to the Histories, which fully mention those things, you may there observe, that about the middle of *April*, 1646. the King being then at *Oxford*, had certain intelligence that Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was returned out of the Western Countries, and upon the 27th. of that Month arrived at *Newberry* with his Army, in order to his besieging the City of *Oxford*, which accordingly was, within Four days after, invested: So as his Majesty thought fit to leave that important Garison to the Care of Sir *Thomas Glemham*, the Governour, a Valiant and Expert Warriour, and in the Night-season, disguised and at-

tended only by his Servant *Ashburnham* and Dr. *Hudson*, hastned to the *Leager* before *Newark*, which at that time was on the one side straintned by Major-General *Poyntz* who commanded there the Parliament Forces; and on the other by General *Leven* and the *Scots* Army, into whose hands his Majesty was pleased to intrust himself, having (it seems) a solemn Engagement from them to defend his Royal Person with their Lives and Fortunes; and not a little Rejoycing was express'd in their Camp at his Majesty's Reception. For at his Command the Tenth of *May*, the Garison was forthwith surrendred by the Lord *Bellasis*, the Governour; so as the *English* Forces were put into Possession of the Town and Castle, which was well provided for Defence; and the *Scots* having got the King into their hands, march'd with great Haste into the North, till they attained *New-*

castle, where they rested, making that place their head Quarters ; which being known to Sir *Thomas Glemham*, he entered into a Treaty with Sir *Thomas Fairfax* about the Middle of *May*, and upon honourable Terms *Oxford* was yielded upon *Midsummer-Day*, which was the 24th. of *June* following. The Governour (at the Treaty proposing that he might have the liberty to know his Majesty's Pleasure, whether he should yield up the Garison or not) had the King's Approbation with the Lords of his Majesty's Privy-Council, then in *Oxford*, for his Surrender.

Mean time the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled at *Westminster*, dislikeing that the King should so long and so fruitlessly continue amongst the *Scots* within this Kingdom ; the House of Commons upon the 17th. of *April*, —46. published a Declaration for maintaining a right Understanding

between the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, asserting thereby, that in as much as a safe and good Peace is the right End of a just War, it was by them the more passionately desired; and to that End and Purpose they had framed several Propositions to be sent to the King (some of which were primarily transmitted from both Houses to their Brethren of *Scotland*, for their Consent, that those Proposals might in the Name of both Kingdoms be tendered to the King.) Which being agreed, the Lords and Commons about the middle of *July* following, sent their Desires (Entituled Propositions for a Safe and Well-Grounded Peace to be presented his Majesty) by the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Suffolk*, Members of the House of Peers, with Four of the House of Commons, namely, Sir *Walter Earle*, and Sir *John Hipperly*, Knights, *Robert Goodwin*, and *Luke Robinson*, Esquires;

who being come to *Newcastle* (which they attain'd in few Days, the Summer-season favouring) the Day after their Arrival, they presented their Propositions to the King. Who having heard them read, and deliberated upon them, disapproved of them, in Regard they insisted upon Confirmation of the national League and Covenant, the abolishing of Episcopacy, investing the Subject with the Militia, exempting from Pardon several Lords and other considerable Persons, that, during the War, adhered to him; so as his Majesty would in no wise give his Royal Assent. Nevertheless was graciously pleased to give the Commissioners his Hand to kiss, and to dismiss them with a friendly Aspect. Who being return'd to *Westminster*, made their Report, and had the Thanks of both Houses for their Pains.

The Parliament soon after came to an

Agreement with the *Scots*, to intrust the King with them ; hoping that his drawing nearer *London*, might conduce to a more speedy Composure of the present unhappy Differences between them : And likewise, that upon Payment of Two hundred thousand Pounds (Sterling) the *Scots* Army should depart this Kingdom, as upon the 15th. of *November*, —46. which was by the House of Commons publicly declared. The one Moiety of that Sum to be paid at *Newcastle*, upon their March back into *Scotland* ; the other half within twelve Months after. Both which were punctually perform'd.

Things being thus prepared in order thereto, the Parliament nominated and appointed the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Denbigh*, the Lord *Montague* of *Boughton*, and double their number of some Members of the House of Commons ; namely, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *John*

Holland, Sir *John Cooke*, Baronets, Sir *Walter Earle*, Knight, *John Crew*, Esquire, and Major-General *Browne*, with some private Gentlemen, viz. Sir *Fulk Grevil*, Knight, Mr. *James Harrington*, Mr. *Thomas Herbert*, Mr. *Anthony Mildman*, Mr. ——— *Ansty*, Mr. *Babington*, Mr. *Muschamp*, Mr. *Clement Kinersly*, Mr. *Reading*, with some others, who accompanied those Lords and Gentlemen of the House of Commons, to attend his Majesty with his other Servants, if he should think fit to approve of them. Mr. *Stephen Marshal* and Mr. *Joseph Carrill* (two Ministers of the Assembly of Divines) also went along as Chaplains to those Lords and Members of the House of Commons, Commissioners of Parliament.

The 12th. of *January*, 1646: those Noblemen and Gentlemen, (Members of both Houses,) with the other Gentlemen aforementioned, set forth from *London*;

(the Lords in their Coaches,) and went the first Night to *Dunstable*, the second to *Northampton*, the third to *Leicester*, the fourth to *Nottingham*, the fifth to *Doncaster*, the sixth to *Wetherby*, the seventh to *North-Allerton*, the eighth to *Durham*, the ninth to *Newcastle*; in all two hundred Miles, which with bad Ways and short Days made the Travel less pleasant.

The Commissioners, after a very short Repose, went to the House where the King then lodged in *Newcastle*; and being conducted to the Presence-Chamber, his Majesty, soon after his being acquainted with their Coming, came into the Presence, and with Affability received and gave them his Hand to kiss; and being by the Commissioners told the Occasion of their Repair thither to attend his Majesty, the King seemed very well pleased therewith, and said they were welcom, for he knew most of them, none of them

were Strangers to him, and no less welcome was their Business ; well hoping, that his drawing nearer his Parliament would be a means to remove Jealousies and Distrusts, and establish a right Understanding betwixt him and his two Houses of Parliament.

The King both by his Alacrity and Chearfulness of his Countenance, made it appear to all that were there (and the Presence - Chamber was then full thronged) that he was no less willing to part from the *Scots* than they with him ; and that his going South was very satisfactory to him : and after some mirthful passages with the Earl of *Pembroke*, who (let others say what they will) loved the King in his Heart, and certainly had never separated from him, had he not (by the Procurement of some ill-willers) been committed to the Tower, and his White Staff taken from him, only by reason of a sudden

and unhappy falling out at a Committee in the Painted-Chamber, with his Kinsman the Lord *Mowbray*, Father to the Duke of *Norfolk*; and the Lord Chamberlain's Office confer'd upon the Earl of *Essex*, in which Place the Earl of *Pembroke* had served his Majesty many Years, with much Honour, Honesty, and Splendor. The King told him he was glad to see he could so well in his old Age, perform so long a winterly Journey with the rest of the Commissioners who were youthful. He then advised them to go and refresh themselves, and attend him the next Morning. Which the Commissioners accordingly observed.

Next morning being come, the Commissioners attended his Majesty, and after Dinner humbly pray'd his Majesty to declare his Pleasure as to his Remove from *Newcastle*. The King then told them, he would not go thence till

they had rested themselves some time, as was convenient; being that they were to enter upon a further Travel. After about four days longer Stay, they repeated their Desire, that his Majesty would be pleased to appoint both the Time and Place he would remove unto, that Orders might be given to make ready accordingly; both which he did, so that all things were speedily prepared by his Majesty's old Servants, for his Journey to his House at *Holdenby* in *Northamptonshire*, commonly call'd *Holmby*, a very stately House, built by the Lord Chancellor *Hatton*, as the last and greatest Monument of his Youth, as he express'd; and, in King *James's* Reign, purchased by Q. *Anne*, for her second son the Duke of *York*, who, by the Death of Prince *Henry*, became Prince of *Wales*, and afterwards to the present Duke,

second son to King *Charles* the First, of whom we are now speaking.

And as my Memory will serve, give me Leave to name the several Places his Majesty lodged at between *Newcastle* and *Holmby*, the Distance 'twixt those two being about eight Score Miles.

The first Night the King (being attended by his Commissioners) came to *Durham*, the second to *Richmond*, the third to *Rippon*, the fourth to *Leeds*, the fifth to *Rotheram*, the sixth to *Nottingham*, the seventh to *Leicester*, the eighth to *Holmby*; at some of which Towns he staid some few days.

And it is note-worthy, that through most parts where his Majesty passed, some out of Curiosity, but most (it may be presumed) for Love, flock'd to behold him, and accompanied him with Acclamations of Joy, and with their

Prayers for his Preservation; and, that not any of the Troopers, who guarded the King, gave those Country-People any Check or Disturbance, as the King passed, that could be observ'd, (a Civility his Majesty was well pleased with.)

Being arrived at *Holmby*, very many Country Gentlemen, Gentlewomen, and others of ordinary Rank, stood ready there, to welcome the King, with joyful Countenances and Prayers.

The House was prepared with all things requisite, by Mr. *Clement Kinersly*, his Majesty's Servant in the Wardrobe; others also performing their Duties in their respective Offices and Places: so as the Court was accommodated with all things needful, both in Reference to the King, and likewise to the Commissioners, their Chaplains, Gentlemen, Attendants and others, and all within the King's House,

without straitning ; and all the Tables were as well furnish'd as they used to be when his Majesty was in a peaceful and flourishing State.

At Mealtimes, the Commissioners never fail'd to wait upon the King with all due Observance, and there being none of his Majesty's Chaplains in ordinary to wait, whom by his Letter, dated the Sixth of *March*, he desired, but denied by both Houses, in regard they had not taken the Covenant, the two Divines, Mr. *Marshall* and Mr. *Carrill* (who came along with the Commissioners) were most times present, when his Majesty dined and supped, and willing to crave a Blessing, but the King always said Grace himself, standing under the State, his Voice sometimes audible. His Majesty, nevertheless, was civil to those Ministers, seeming to have a good Esteem of them, in Reference to what he had

heard, both as to their Learning and Conversation. Nor did he express a Dislike towards any of his Servants then attending him, as were free to repair to the Chappel, where those Ministers by turns preached Forenoon and Afternoon, every Lords-Day, before the Commissioners, and others of the Houshold ; albeit, as some of them would say, they had rather have heard such as the King better approved of: The King every *Sunday* sequestred himself to his private Devotion, and all other days in the Week spent two or three hours in Reading, and other pious Exercises ; at other times, for Recreation, would after meals play a Game at Chess, and, for health sake, walk oft in the Garden at *Holmby*, with one or other of the Commissioners ; and in regard there was no Bowling-Green then well kept at *Holmby*, the King would sometimes ride to *Harrowden*, a

House of the Lord *Vaux's* about nine Miles off, where there was a good Bowling-Green with Gardens, Groves and Walks, that afforded much Pleasure. And other whiles to *Althorpe*, a fair House about two or three Miles from *Holmby*, belonging to the Lord *Spencer*, now Earl of *Sunderland*, where also there was a Green well kept. The King in his going to *Harrowden* passed over a Bridge where Major *Bosvile*, disguised like a labouring Man, stood and gave his Majesty a Packet from the Queen. The King told the Commissioners, 'twas to obtain his Leave for the Prince to accompany *Monsieur* that Campaign, in the *French Army*; so as the disguised Person was excused.

In this interim, Jealousies increased, which begot Fears, against which there is no Fence. The Commissioners pursuant to their Instructions one time addressed themselves all together unto

the King, and acquainted him therewith, and humbly pray'd his Majesty to dismiss such of his Servants as were there, and had waited upon him at *Oxford*.

This Application of theirs, was in no wise well pleasing to the King (having had long Experience of the Loyalty and good Affection of those his Servants) as appear'd by his Countenance, and the Pause he made ere he gave the Commissioners any Answer. Howbeit after some Expostulation and Deliberation, he condescended to that they proposed, they not opposing the Continuance of Mr. *James Maxwell*, and Mr. *Patrick Mawl*, their Attendance upon his Royal Person, as Grooms of his Majesty's Bed-Chamber, in which Place, they had many years faithfully serv'd the King.

Next day his Majesty's Servants came, as at other times, into the

Presence-Chamber; where, at Dinner-time, they waited: but after his Majesty arose from Dinner, and acquainted them, with what had passed 'twixt him and the Commissioners, they kissed his Majesty's hand, and with great Expressions of Grief for their Dismiss, poured forth their Prayers, for his Majesty's Freedom, and Preservation, and so departed. All that Afternoon the King withdrew into his Bed-Chamber, having given Orders, that none should interrupt him in his Privacy.

Soon after this, his Majesty purposing to send a Message to the Parliament after Dinner he call'd the Earl of *Pembroke* to him, and told him he would have Mr. *Herbert* come into his Chamber, which the Earl acquainting the Commissioners with, Mr. *Herbert* was brought into the Bed-Chamber, by Mr. *Maxwell*, and, upon his Knee, desired to know his Majesty's Pleasure: who

told him, he would send a Message to the Parliament; and having none there that he usually imploy'd, and unwilling it should go under his own hand, called him in for that Purpose. Mr. *Herbert* having written as his Majesty did dictate, was by him enjoyn'd Secresie, and not to communicate it to any, till made publick by both Houses, if by them held meet; which he carefully observed.

About a Week after, the King was pleased to tell the Commissioners, that seeing Mr. *James Levington*, Mr. *Henry Murrey*, Mr. *Ashburnham*, and Mr. *Leg*, were for the present dismissed, he had taken Notice of Mr. *Harrington*, and Mr. *Thomas Herbert*, who had followed the Court since his coming from *Newcastle*; and being well satisfied with the Report he had concerning them, as to their Sobriety, and good Education, he was willing to receive them as

Grooms into his Bed-Chamber, to wait upon his Person with Mr. *Maxwell* and Mr. *Mawl*; which the Commissioners approving, they were that night admitted, and by his Majesty instructed as to the Duty and Service he expected from them.

They thenceforth attended his Royal Person, and agreeable to that great Trust, with due Observance and Loyalty, as became Servants; and by Mr. *Maxwell* and Mr. *Mawl* were affectionately treated. Mr. *Harrington* was a Gentleman well accomplish'd, had waited upon the Prince Elector *Palatine*, in his Chamber, had travell'd *Germany, Italy* and *France*, and spake their Languages. Mr. *Herbert* in like sort had travell'd through most part of the Greater *Asia*, as also several parts of *Africk* and *Europe*.

His Majesty, during his Stay at *Holmby*, such times, as he did not ride

abroad for Refreshment, would walk in the long Gravel-Walk in the Garden ; where the Earl of *Pembroke* was oft-times with the King, and, not without some Difficulty, held pace with him, his Majesty being quick and lively in his Motion. And other times with others of the Commissioners, but most with Major - General *Browne*, with whom the King was pleased to discourse often. And whensoever the King thus recreated himself, he never had above one in Company, the rest keeping at a becoming Distance, in some other part of the Privy-Garden. For indeed as the Commissioners always express'd a high Respect to the King, so the King was very affable to the Commissioners, all the time they attended his Majesty.

During his Majesty's being at *Holmby*, the Earl of *Pembroke* fell sick, by Cold he had taken, and for three weeks kept his Chamber, and turning to a

Fever he kept his Bed ; and was so ill, that Mr. *Bathurst* his Physician had for some days (in regard he was ancient) small hopes of his Life. The Lord *Herbert*, his Son, (having notice) hasten'd to him, according to his Duty; which was some Comfort to the Earl ; and his Majesty sent Mr. *Herbert* every day to enquire of his Condition, and in Person was graciously pleased to visit him twice, which Kindness help'd (as the Doctor said) much to his Recovery.

It is well worth our Observation, That in all the time of his Majesty's Restraint and Solitude he was never sick, nor took any thing to prevent Sickness, or had need of a Physician: which (under God) is attributed to his quiet Disposition and unparallell'd Patience ; to his Exercise, when at home walking in the Gallery and Privy-Garden, and other Recreations when abroad ; to his Abstemiousness at Meat, eating but of

few Dishes, (and as he used to say) agreeable to his Exercise, drinking but twice every Dinner and Supper, once of Beer, and once of Wine and Water mixt, only after Fish a Glass of *French Wine*, the Beverage he himself mix'd at the Cupboard, so he would have it ; he very seldom eat and drank before Dinner, nor between Meals.

His Majesty being one Afternoon at Bowls in the Green at *Althorpe*, it was whisper'd amongst the Commissioners, who were then at Bowls with the King, that a Party of Horse, obscurely headed, was marching towards *Holmby* ; and for no good it was presumed, in regard neither the Commissioners, nor Colonel *Graves*, who kept the Guard at *Holmby* and was an Officer in the Army, nor the Commissioners Servants had the least notice of it from any Officer or other Correspondent in the Army.

Whereupon the King, so soon as he was acquainted with it, immediately left the Green, and returned to *Holmby*; where the Commissioners, after consultation with Col. *Graves*, resolved to stand upon their guard, and accordingly they forthwith doubled the Guards for Defence of His Majesty's Person; and Major-General *Browne*, calling all the Soldiers together, acquainted them with the occasion, who promis'd to stand by him, and not to suffer any attempt upon the King's Person, or Affront to the Commissioners: but the Difference is great 'twixt saying and doing, as soon appeared; for about Midnight came that Party of Horse, which in good order drew up before the House at *Holmby*, and at all Avenues placed Guards; which done, the Officer that commanded the Party alighted and demanded Entrance. Colonel *Graves* and Major-General *Browne* asked him

his Name, and Business? he reply'd his Name was *Joyce*, a Cornet in Colonel *Whaley's* Regiment, and his Business was to speak with the King? From whom? said they: From myself, said he: at which they laughed. It's no Laughing matter, said *Joyce*. They then advised him to draw off his Men, and in the morning he should speak with the Commissioners. I came not hither to be advised by you, said he, nor have I any Business with the Commissioners, my Errand is to the King, and speak with him I must and will presently. They then bid the Soldiers within stand to their Arms, and be ready to fire when order'd. But during this short Treaty 'twixt the Cornet and the Colonel, the Soldiers had Conference together, and so soon as they understood they were Fellow-Soldiers of one and the same Army, they quickly forgot what they had promised; for

they open'd the Gates and Doors, shook one another by the hand, and bad them welcome. So little regard had they to their Promise, either in reference to the King's Safety, or the Commissioners that attended him.

Entrance being thus given, strict Search was made after the Colonel, who (tho he was faultless, yet was it suggested he would have privately convey'd the King to *London*) got happily out of their reach. Centinels were order'd by *Joyce* to be set at the Commissioners Chamber - doors, that he might with less Noise carry on his Design, and find way to the Backstairs, where the Grooms of his Majesty's Bed - chamber attended. The Cornet being come to the Door in rude manner knock'd ; those within asking who it was that in such uncivil manner and so unseasonable a time came to disquiet the King's Rest? The Cornet

replied, his name was *Joyce*, an Officer of the Army, sorry he should disquiet the King, but could not help it, for speak with him he would, and that presently.

This strange Confidence of his, and the Posture he was in (having a cockt Pistol in his hand) amazed these four Gentlemen, Mr. *Maxwell*, Mr. *Mawl*, Mr. *Harrington* and Mr. *Herbert*, whose Duty it was and Care to preserve his Majesty's Person, and were resolved to sacrifice their Lives rather than give him admittance ; they in the first place ask'd *Joyce* if he had the Commissioners approbation for his Intrusion? he answer'd, No ; for he had ordered a Guard to be set at their Chamberdoors, and that he had his Orders from those that feared them not. He still press'd for Entrance, and engaged his word to do the King no harm : they on the other side persuaded him to lay

aside his Arms, and to forbear giving disturbance, the King being then asleep, assuring him, that the next morning he should have his Majesty's Answer to his Errand. The Cornet refused to part with either Sword or Pistol, and yet insisted to have the Chamber-door opened. But these Gentlemen keeping firm to their Resolution, that he should not enter, the Noise was so loud (which in this Contest could not be avoided) as it seems awaken'd his Majesty, for he rung his Silver Bell, at which Mr. *Maxwell* went into the Bed-chamber to know the King's Pleasure, the other three Gentlemen mean time securing the Door. The King, being acquainted with the Business and uncivil Carriage of the Cornet, sent word, he would not rise nor speak with him until morning: which being told the Cornet, he huff'd; but seeing his Design could not be effected in the night, he retired:

so as for a few hours there was silence.

Morning being come, the King arose a little sooner than ordinary, and, having performed his Morning Exercise, he sent for *Joyce*, who with no less Confidence than if he had been a supreme Officer, approach'd the King, and acquainted him with the Commands he had concerning his Removal. The King desired the Commissioners might be sent for, and his Orders communicated to them. The Cornet reply'd, They were to return back unto the Parliament. By whose Appointment? said the King. As to that the Cornet had no Answer. The King then said, By your Favour, Sir, let them have their Liberty, and give me a sight of your Instructions. That (said *Joyce*) you shall see presently; and forthwith drawing up his Troop into the inner Court, as near as he could unto the

King. These, Sir, (said he) are my Instructions. The King took a good View of them, and finding them proper Men and well mounted and armed, smilingly told the Cornet, his Instructions were in fair Characters, legible without spelling. The Cornet then pressing the King to go along with him; no Prejudice being intended, but rather Satisfaction: the King told him, He would not stir, unless the Commissioners went along with him. The Cornet replied, for his part he was indifferent. However the Commissioners in this *interim* had, by an Express, acquainted the Parliament with this Violence; and so soon as they perceived his Majesty was inclinable to go with *Joyce*, and that it was the King's Pleasure they should follow him they knew not whither, they immediately made themselves ready. Nevertheless several Questions they ask'd the Cornet, whose

Answers were insignificant. The Commissioners then seeing reason was of no Force, to dissuade, nor Menaces to affright, they were willing to attend the King at all Adventures.

This audacious Attempt exceedingly troubled the Commissioners; and the more, for that they knew not how to help it, as well appear'd by their Countenances. And indeed it sadden'd the Hearts of many; the King was the merriest of the Company, having (it seems) a Confidence in the Army, especially from some of the greatest there, as was imagined.

The King (then being in his Coach) call'd the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Denbigh*, as also the Lord *Mountague*, into it; the other Commissioners (Members of the House of Commons) being well mounted, follow'd; leaving *Holmby* languishing: for about two years after, that beautiful and famous Structure was,

amongst other his Majesty's Royal Houses, pull'd down by order of the two Houses of Parliament, to satisfie the Soldiers Arrears: whereby the Splendor of the Kingdom was not a little eclipsed, as by their Ruins is now sadly manifested.

His Majesty following his Guide, the Confident Cornet, came that night to *Hinchingbrook*, heretofore a Nunnery, now a fair Mansion House of Colonel *Edward Mountague*, created Earl of *Sandwich* in the twelfth year of the Reign of King *Charles II*; which Colonel married *Jemima* Daughter to *Mr. Crew*, who was created a Baron of *England* the year after. Here his Majesty was treated with Honour and hearty Welcome, as were also the Commissioners and the King's Servants. From *Hinchingbrook* the King went next night to *Childersly*, a House of *Sir John Cuts*, about four miles from

Cambridge ; where, during his Majesty's three days stay, many Masters, Fellows, Graduates and Scholars of that University repaired, to most of which the King was graciously pleased to give his Hand to Kiss, for which Honour they returned their humble and gratulatory Thanks, with a *Vivat Rex*.

Thither also came Sir *Thomas Fairfax* General of the Parliament Army, Lieutenant-General *Cromwel*, Commissary - General *Ireton*, Serjeant - Major-General *Skippon*, Lieutenant-General *Hammond*, Colonel *Lambert*, Colonel *Whaley*, Colonel *Rich*, Colonel *Dean*, and several other Field and Commission Officers of the Army, as also Mr. *Hugh Peters*, Mr. *Dell*, Mr. *Sedgwick*, and others ; some of which, so soon as they came into the Presence, kiss'd his Majesty's Hand ; the General Sir *Thomas Fairfax* in the first place, whom the King took aside ; and for about half

an hour discoursing with him, the General (unask'd) disavowed his Majesty's Seizure by *Joyce* at *Holmby*, as done without his Order or Approbation (but probably by some other powerful Officer of the Army, seeing that the Cornet was neither at a Council of War, nor other where called to Question for it.)

His Majesty being now in the Custody of the Army, was highly caress'd by all the great Officers, who seldom failed to wait and discourse with him as Opportunity offer'd. But the King had most Conference with the General, the Lieutenant-General, and Commissary-General *Ireton* (who indeed had the greatest Influence in the Army) and then behaved themselves with Civility and due Respect to his Royal Person, which made the King sometimes very pleasant in his Discourse with them; nor were the private Soldiers wanting, in their

way, to oblige all that followed the King with Civility.

From *Childersley* the King removed to his House at *New-market*, which was fitted for his Reception, as well as that little Edifice would admit, and where for some weeks he continued ; and thence by Messages, repeating to his two Houses of Parliament, his Desires of a further Treaty for Peace, that at *Uxbridge* concluding without any good Success.

Whilst the King was there, he would be often upon *New-market* Heath to recreate himself, sometimes in his Coach, but most part riding. That Heath, for good Air and Pleasure, gives place to no other in this great Island, insomuch that King *James* took exceeding Delight there in Hunting, Hawking, and Races, both Horse and Foot, and much frequented by former Princes.

The Army Officers, during his Ma-

jesty's Residence at *New-market*, were constantly attending. The Commissioners likewise continued their waiting on the King; who, in this Condition appeared very chearful, having, as 'twas presumed, fair Hopes, as well as Promises, that some of the Grandees of the Army would be instrumental, and, by their undoubted Interest with the two Houses and the Army, endeavour a happy Understanding and Accommodation between him and his Parliament, being in the mean time *sub Dei numine tutus*.

It may not be forgotten, that during his Majesty's Stay at *New-market*, very many of the Gentry and others, Men, Women, and Children, repaired thither, from most parts of *Cambridgeshire*, *Suffolk*, *Essex*, and other neighbouring Counties, to see the King: so that the Presence-Chamber was constantly thronged with People, es-

pecially when his Majesty was at Dinner or Supper, and he seldom or never failed to dine in publick; and when the People saw his Majesty withdraw, their Prayers in loud Acclamations ever followed him. The King still observed his usual Hours for private Devotion; and being acquainted that he was in a few days to remove thence to *Hampton-court*, he seemed much satisfied therewith, both that he might draw nearer his two Houses of Parliament, and for that the Restraint upon him was there to be taken off, and he to have the Exercise of Publick Worship as heretofore, by his Chaplains Attendance; and likewise that those his Servants, who were dismiss'd at *Holmby*, should have liberty to return and wait in their respective Places; willing nevertheless that the Earl of *Pembroke*, and the other Lords and Gentlemen, Members of the House of

Commons, (their Commissioners) should abide with him, as also the other Gentlemen that had attended his Majesty, after his former Servants were discharged by the Commissioners.

The King leaving *New-market*, took not the ready way to *Hampton Court*, his Progress being according to the motion of the Army; so that for the most part he lodged at Noblemen's Houses; save that at *Royston* in his own little House, seldom used but when he hunted in those large open Fields, where King *James* took much Recreation; here his Majesty staid two days, tho the House was capable but of few Attendants, and meanly furnished; the Town nevertheless, being large, made amends, by that good Accommodation it afforded the Commissioners and the General Officers of the Army, as also his Majesty's Followers and Servants, which then were numerous.

Here it was (if my Memory serve right) that a Gentleman, who was Envoy from some *German* Prince (whose dead Father had been a Companion to the Knights of the most noble Order of the Garter) made an Address to his Majesty, with a Letter and Return of the *George and Garter*, which was richly set with Diamonds; and, according to the usual Custom, humbly pray'd to have his Majesty's Directions with whom they should be deposited. The Jewels formerly were sent to the Master of the King's Jewel-house, and the Robes deposited with the Dean of *Windsor*. A military Officer, being in the Room, was so malapert as to interpose, to the end that he might be privy to this affair, and hear what the Envoy had to communicate to the King, who by his Frown express'd his Displeasure for so great a Rudeness towards him, and Incivility to the Stranger; but

Mr. *Babington*, the King's Barber, standing by, and better understanding good Manners, instructed the Army Officer by removing him further off; with which the King was well pleased, and the Officer (no less than a Colonel) had a sound Reproof soon after from Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, the General.

From *Royston* the King removed, *June 26.* to *Hatfield* in *Hartfordshire*, about thirteen miles North of *London*; a very noble House belonging to the Lord *Cecil*, Earl of *Salisbury*, having a Vineyard, Gardens and Walks full of Pleasure, where his Majesty was treated with high Civility and Observance. Here the King staid till the first of *July*; then removing to *Windsor*, and two days after to *Caversham*, a fair House of the Lord *Craven's*, almost opposite to *Reading*, the River of *Thames* interposing; to which place repaired his Highness the *Prince Elector*

Palatine, with several of the *English Nobility*, as also *Sir Thomas Fairfax*, and many Officers of the Army. On the 15th of *July* the King went to *Maidenhead*; and on the 20th to *Woburne*, heretofore a Religious House for the *Cistercians* or *White Monks*, as we call them; now a large and fair House of the Lord *Russel*, Earl of *Bedford*, where his Majesty was honourably and affectionately welcomed, the Commissioners and Attendants entertained with high Civility, as were also the Army Officers; the Earl of *Cleveland* with some other Noblemen were here, and some late Commander of the King's Army attending to kiss his Majesty's Hand, had the freedom to wait and discourse, which was novel, as times then stood, and an Omen of future Harmony, as Well-wishers to Unity and Peace conjectured.

From *Woburne* his Majesty removed

to *Latimers* in *Buckinghamshire*, a little but neat Mansion-house of the Lord *Cavendish* Earl of *Devonshire*, the Earl being then there to entertain the King. His Majesty leaving *Latimers*, 'twas thought he would have removed thence to *Berkhamstead*, a House once belonging to the King, now to the *Cary's*; but being unfurnisht and unfitted to lodge at, others imagin'd he would go to *Ashridge* (not above two miles thence) where the Earl of *Bridgewater* hath a very noble House and Park: but the Head - Quarters being then at *St. Albans*, his Majesty declined that Northern Progress, and rode by *Cheneys* and *Rickmansworth* to *Moore Park*, a Place of much Pleasure, (not above two miles from *Watford*) heretofore a Park and House of Retirement to that most Noble Lord *William Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord Stewart of his Majesty's House, but since purchased by the

Lord *Cary* Earl of *Monmouth*, with the curious Gardens, Water - works, &c. Where having dined, the King removed that night to *Stoke*, being about eight miles from *Moore Park*, a fair House, built by *Henry* Lord *Hastings* Earl of *Huntingdon* and Lord President of the North; but since purchased by the Lord-Chief-Justice *Cook*, whose Daughter by the Lady *Eliz. Cecil* (the Earl of *Exeter's* Daughter and Widow to the Lord Chancellour *Hatton*) being married to Sir *John Villers*, the Dukē of *Buckingham's* Brother, it came to him, who in the year 1619. was created Baron of this Place and Viscount *Purbeck*. The fourteenth day of *August* the King removed from *Stoke* to *Oatlands*, a large and beautiful House of the Queen's upon the River of *Thames*; where, upon the Plaister'd Wall in the Stone-Gallery respecting the Gardens,

were very curiously pourtray'd that Royal Edifice (with *Pontefract Castle, Havering, Eltham, Nonsuch*, and some other Palaces assigned to her Majesty) in like manner as you see at *Fontainebleau*, of several stately Houses of the *French Kings*. But alas! this at *Oatlands*, with *Richmond, Theobalds, Holmby*, and other magnificent Houses in this Kingdom were unhappily soon after pull'd down, to raise Money to satisfie the Arrears of some Regiments of the Army: all which, 'tis believed, did not raise half so much as any of those Princely Houses cost when they were built; such are the miserable Effects of Civil war. During this Progress eleven Eminent Members of the House of Commons (desirous of Peace) were accused of Treason by the Army; moving, that in the interim they might be expelled the House, and accordingly

were secluded for six months, insomuch that some of them, leaving this Kingdom, died beyond Sea.

About the middle of *August* the King removed to *Hampton Court*, a most large and Imperial House, built by that Pompous Prelate Cardinal *Wolsey*, in ostentation of his great Wealth, and enlarged by King *Henry* the Eighth, so as it became a Royal Palace; which, for Beauty and Grandeur, is exceeded by no Structure in *Europe*; unless it be the *Escurial* in *Spain*, which appears so magnificent by having the Addition of a fair Monastery, dedicated to *St. Lawrence*, wherein live a hundred and fifty Monks of the Order of *St. Jerom*, and hath also a College, Schools, and Out-houses built by King *Philip II.* who married our Queen *Mary*.

Hampton Court was then made ready for the Court, and by Mr. *Kinersly*, Yeoman of the Wardrobe, and others,

prepared with what was needful for the Court. And a Court it now appeared to be: for there was a Revival of what Lustre it had formerly, his Majesty then having the Nobility about him, his Chaplains to perform their Duty, the House amply furnished, and his Services in the accustomed Form and State; every one of his Servants permitted to attend in their respective Places; nothing then appeared of Discrimination; Intercourse was free between King and Parliament, and the Army seem'd to endeavour a right Understanding amongst different Parties: also some Treaties passed upon Proposals presented his Majesty from the Parliament, which gave hopes of an Accommodation: The Commissioners also continued their Attendance about the King, and those Gentlemen that waited at *Holmby*, were, by his Majesty's Appointment, kept in their Offices and Places; the

General likewise, and other Military Commanders, were much at Court, and had frequent Conference with the King in the Park, and other where attending him; no offence at any time pass'd amongst the Soldiers of either Party; there was an Amnesty by consent, pleasing, as was thought, to all Parties.

His Majesty, during these Halcyon Days, intimated to the Earl of *Northumberland*, that he desired to see his Children, who, at that time, were under the Government of that Nobleman, and then in his House at *Sion*, which is about Seven Miles from *Hampton-Court*, in the way to *London*. The Relater, amongst other the King's Servants, followed his Majesty to *Sion*, which is denominated from the Holy Mount, so named, near *Hierusalem*. This was first a Monastery for Monks, but they being by King *Henry V.* re-

moved, in their rooms he placed Nuns of *S. Bridget's* Order, and under the same Roof (but separated by several Walls) put so many Priests and Friars as were in number equal to Christ with his Apostles and Disciples. All which Votaries were ejected by King *Henry VIII.* the Church pulled down, and a fair House raised for a retiring Place of the Lord *Seymour*, Duke of *Somerset* (as was his other great Mansion-House in the *Strand*) but at present belonging to the Lord *Piercy*, Earl of *Northumberland*. Here the King met the young Duke of *Gloucester*, and Princess *Elizabeth*, who, so soon as they saw their Royal Father, upon their Knees they begg'd his Blessing, who heartily gave it, and was overjoy'd to see them so well in Health, and so honourably regarded.

The Earl welcom'd the King with a very noble Treat, and his followers had their Tables richly furnished, by his

Behaviour expressing extraordinary contentment, to see the King and his Children together, after such various chances, and so long a Separation. Night drawing on, his Majesty return'd to *Hampton-Court*.

The fairest Day is seldom without a Cloud ; for at this time some active and malevolent Persons of the Army, disguis'd under the specious Name of Agitators, being Two selected out of every Regiment, to meet and debate the Concerns of the Army, met frequently at *Putney*, and places thereabouts ; who of their own accord, without either Authority, (as some aver) or Countenance of the General, upon fair pretences had frequent Consultations ; but intermeddling with Affairs of State, were not unlike those that love to fish in troubled Waters, and being Men very popular in the Army, had thence their Impulse and Approbation. What the

Result of Councils amongst them was, who knows, or by what Spirits agitated? yet about this time the House was rent, and the Speaker went unto the Army, which soon after marched through *London* to the Tower, to which was committed the Lord Mayor, and other dissenting Citizens, in which confusion the King proposing a Treaty, the Agitators, in opposition, published a Book, intituled, *An Agreement of the People, which concerned his Majesty's Person and Safety*. But thence (as was well known) several things in design were rumour'd, which fomented Parties, and created Jealousies and Fears, and by some Artifice insinuated, and a Representation by Letter gave his Majesty an occasion of going from *Hampton-Court* in the Night, and in Disguise with two Grooms of his Majesty's Bed Chamber, Mr. *Ashburnham*, and Mr. *Leg*, as also Sir *John Berkley*; and

about the middle of *November*, *An* 1647. past through a private Door into the Park, where no Centinel was, and at *Thames-Ditton* cross'd the River, to the Amazement of the Commissioners, who had not the least fore-Knowledge or Apprehension of the King's Fear or Intentions, and no less to the astonishment of the Lords, and other his Majesty's Servants, the Commissioners especially, who in this Ignorance expressed great Trouble of Mind, until the Lord *Mountague* open'd a Letter his Majesty left upon his Table, directed to him, giving a hint of what induced him to hasten thence in such a manner, being for Self-preservation, yet kindly acknowledging their Civility to his Person all along, with his good acceptance of their Loyalty and Service.

His Majesty being thus gone from *Hampton-Court*, the King's Servants went with sad Hearts to their several

Homes, and the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Denbigh*, the Lord *Mountague*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *John Cooke*, with the rest of the Commissioners, having acquainted the Parliameut with the King's Departure and the Letter he was pleas'd to leave behind him, they immediately received an invitation from both Houses to return to *Westminster*, which accordingly they observed, and for their long and faithful Service had Thanks from the Parliament.

After few days it was known that the King was gone to *Tichfield*, a fair House of the Earl of *Southampton*, and that upon the 13th of *November* 1647. he had cross'd the Sea, and was safe landed at *Cowes* in the Isle of *Wight*, where Colonel *Hammond*, the Governour was attending, and passing through *Newport* (the principal Town in that Island) the Governour, with Alacrity and Con-

fidence, conducted his Majesty to *Carisbrook* Castle, attended only by Sir *John Berkeley*, and those Two Gentlemen, his Servants, lately mention'd. Sure I am, many that cordially lov'd the King, did very much dislike his going to this Place, it being so remote, and designed neither for his Honour nor Safety; ás the consequence prov'd. A Gentlewoman, as his Majesty pass'd 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 thank'd her for.

Carisbrook Castle is the only place of Defence within that Island, albeit, upon the Marine, the Isle hath many Forts, or Block-Houses. Its Name is derived from *Whitgare*, a Saxon, corruptly contracted to *Garisbrook*. The Isle being subdu'd at the Conquest by *William Fitz Osborne*, Earlof *Hereford*,

he built this Castle, which in King *Henry III.* his time was enlarged by *Isabel de Fortibus*, Sister and Heir to *Baldwyn*, Earl of *Devon* and *Albemarle*, who founded there a Priory, dedicated to *S. Mary Magdalen*, for Benedictines or Black Monks, as we call them. The Castle was new built (or enlarged rather) by Order of King *Henry VIII.* and by Queen *Elizabeth* regularly fortified; so as the Out-works are large, and planted with great Ordnance, and has serv'd as a place of retreat for the Islanders against the *French* and *Spaniard*, when the *English* were in War with them.

Thither (so soon as the King's being there was rumour'd) repair'd several of his old Servants, and some new, such as his Majesty at that time thought fit to nominate (for some Weeks there was no Prohibition, any that were desirous to see his Majesty might without

Opposal) or that, according to the Duty of their Place, were to give their attendance. His Majesty had free liberty to ride and recreate himself any where within the Isle, when and where he pleased; the only Want was, that his Chaplains, Dr. *Sheldon* and Dr. *Hammond*, were not long tolerated to perform their Office, which was no little Grief to him, in regard he had no Disposition to hear those that exercised according to the Directory which was then practised; but hinder'd not his private Devotion, which every day he carefully attended, and the Lord's Day he observed, by reading the Bible, and other Books fitting him for Prayer and Meditation in his Oratory.

Howbeit, this Liberty of Refreshing in the Isle abroad was of no long duration; for about the middle of *February*, Colonel *Hammond*, the Governour (soon after the King arose from Dinner) came

into the Presence, which was under his Majesty's Bed-Chamber, and in solemn manner address'd himself to the King ; and after a short Preamble, said, He was sorry to acquaint his Majesty with the Orders he receiv'd the Night before from his Superiours, and then pausing a while, the King bid him speak out. The Governour reply'd, His Orders were to forbid Mr. *Ashburnham*, Mr. *Leg*, and the rest of his Servants that were with him at *Oxford*, any further waiting on his Person in that Castle and Garrison, the Jealousies and Apprehensions of those Times judging it inconvenient to continue such in their Attendance about his Person.

The King, by his short silence, seem'd surprized, and, by his Countenance, appear'd to be troubled. Such as were at that time in the Presence noted it ; but not knowing the occasion of his

Majesty's Sadness, they seem'd full of Grief, as by their dejected Looks was visible. But the King beckoning with his Hand to Mr. *Ashburnham* and some others, he told them what the Governour had communicated, and what he expected not, nor was agreeable to what some considerable Persons had promis'd. But no Remedy but Patience, which in these Straits he commonly had recourse unto, and is the noble way of overcoming.

His Majesty's Servants were much perplext, and to expostulate with Colonel *Hammond*, knew it would be to no purpose ; the only Comfort remaining was, That they were not excluded their Royal Master's Affection, which supported them. Next day, after the King had dined, those Gentlemen came all together, and prostrating themselves at his Majesty's feet, pray'd God for his

Preservation, and kissing his Hand, departed.

This done, the Day following a Restraint began of the King's going any more abroad into the *Isle of Wight*, his Majesty being then confined to *Carisbrook-Castle* and Line without, albeit within the Works, a Place sufficiently large and convenient for the King's walking and having good Air, and a delightful Prospect both to the Sea and Land : and for his Majesty's Solace and Recreation, the Governour converted the *Barbacan*, (a spacious parading Ground within the Line, though without the Castle) into a Bowling-green, scarce to be equalled, and at one side built a pretty Summer-House, for Retirement. At vacant hours these afforded the King most Recreation, for the building within the Castle Walls had no Gallery; nor Rooms of State, nor Garden,

so as his Majesty, constantly in the Forenoons, exercised himself in the Walks without, and in the Afternoons there also, and in the Bowling-green or *Barbaçan*. Nevertheless both times he carefully observed his usual Times set apart for his Devotion and for Writing. Mr. *Harrington* and Mr. *Herbert* continued waiting on his Majesty in the Bed-chamber: he 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 Scripture was the Book he most delighted in, read often in Bp. *Andrews* Sermons, *Hooker's* Ecclesiastical Policy, Dr. *Hammond's* Works, *Vilalpandus*, upon *Ezekiel*, &c. *Sands'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*

Heroick 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 Prince *Henry* his Master; *Spencer's Fairy 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*, publish'd soon after his Death, and entitled *The King's Pourtraiture, in his Solitudes and Sufferings*, which Manuscript Mr. *Herbert* found amongst those Books his Majesty was pleased to give him (those excepted which he bequeathed to his Children, hereafter mentioned) in regard Mr. *Herbert*, tho he did not see the King write that Book, his Majesty being always private when he writ, and those his Servants never coming into the Bed-chamber, when the King was private, until he called; yet comparing it with his

Hand-writing in other things, found it so very like, as induces his Belief that it was his own Hand-writing, having seen much of the King's Writing before; and to instance Particulars in that his Majesty's Translation of Dr. *Saunderson*, the late Bishop of *Lincoln's* Book *de Juramentis*, or like Title, concerning Oaths, all of it translated into *English*, and writ with his own Hand; and which, in his Bed-chamber, he was pleased to show his Servants, Mr. *Har-rington* and Mr. *Herbert*, and commanding them to examine it with the Original, they found it accurately translated; which his Majesty not long after shewed the Bp. of *London* Dr. *Juxon*, and also Dr. *Hammond*, and Dr. *Sheldon*, his Majesty's Chaplains in ordinary (which first and last were afterwards Archbishops of *Canterbury*) such time as they waited upon him at *Newport* in the *Isle of Wight*, during the Treaty. 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. A Harmony and good Accommodation he heartily desired, and a fair End to all Matters that made this unhappy Separation: mean time alleviating his Mind by an honourable and chearful Submission to the Almighty, who in his Wisdom orders and disposes all things according to his good Pleasure, and who, in all his Tryals during his disconsolate Condition, marvellously supported him with an unparallell'd Patience. In one of his Books he writ 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-monarchick Spirits which predominated at that time;

*Fallitur egregio quisquis sub Principe
credit*

*Servitium ; nunquam Libertas gratior
extat,*

Quam sub Rege pio,—— Claudian.

With many others which are memorable, and express his Delight in Learning. For he understood Authors in the Originals, whether *Greek, Latin, French, Spanish, or Italian*, which three last he spoke perfectly ; and none better read in Histories of all sorts, which render'd him accomplished, and also would discourse well in Arts and Sciences, and indeed not unfitted for any Subject.

Notwithstanding this Restraint, which the Governour was strict in (probably in pursuance of his Instructions) nevertheless several Diseased Persons, troubled with the Evil, resorted thither from remote parts to be touch'd ; and,

after some Stay in *Newport* or other Villages about, made means to get within the Line, and when the King went out of the Castle, towards his usual Walk about the *Barbacan*, they had their wish'd Opportunity to present themselves afore him, and he touch'd them.

About this time one Mr. *Sedgwick* (sometime Preacher in the Parliament Army) came to *Carisbrook-Castle*, and desired Col. *Hammond* the Governour's Leave to address himself to the King. Mr. *Harrington* being acquainted with the Occasion, told his Majesty, That a Minister was purposely come from *London*, to discourse with him about his Spiritual Concerns, and was desirous to present his Majesty with a Book he had lately writ for his Majesty's perusal, which (as the Gentleman said) if his Majesty would please to read, he suppos'd might be of much Advantage

to him, and Comfort in that his uncomfortable Condition. The King thereupon came forth, and Mr. *Sedgwick*, in decent manner, gave his Majesty the Book, the Title whereof was, *Leaves of the Tree of Life*, being an Explication of the second Verse of the 22. Chapter of the Revelation of St. *John*. His Majesty, after he had read some part thereof, returned it with this short Admonition and Judgment, That, by what he had read in that Book, he believed the Composer stood in some need of Sleep. The King's Advice being taken in the best Sense, the Minister departed with seeming Satisfaction.

Next day one Mr. *Harrington*, a Gentleman of a fair Estate near *Bath* in *Somersetshire* (Son to Sir *John Harrington*, afore-mentioned) came in like sort to *Carisbrook-Castle*, upon the same charitable account. But his Majesty, having heard something concerning

him, thank'd him likewise for his good Intentions, having no mind to enter into Discourse with him upon Controversial Points; so as that Gentleman also returned next homewards, having first wish'd the King much Happiness.

His Majesty having thought fit to send a Gracious Message to his two Houses of Parliament, in the Evening he gave it, sealed up, (and directed to the Speaker of the House of Lords *pro tempore*) to his Servant Mr. *Herbert*, with a Letter to his Daughter the Princess *Elizabeth*, who was then at St. *James's*-House near *Whitehal* with her Governess. The Wind was not favourable, so as Mr. *Herbert* had much ado to cross the Sea from *Cowes* to *Southampton*; but in regard the King had ordered to make haste, so as the Letter might be delivered next day before the House rose, no Delay was suffered. Being landed he immediately took Post

for *London*. It may not be forgotten, that at one Stage, the Post-Master (a malevolent Person) having notice that the Pacquet came from the King, and requir'd extraordinary Speed; mounted Mr. *Herbert* upon a Horse that had neither good Eyes nor Feet, so as he usually stumbled very much, which, with the deep Ways (being Winter) and dark Night, in all probability might have abated his Speed, but (through God's Goodness) the Horse (tho 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 deliver'd to the Lord *Grey* of *Warke*, (at that time Speaker to the Lords House) within the time limited; which done, he waited upon the Princess *Elizabeth*, then at *S. James's*, who gave him her Hand to kiss, being overjoy'd 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.

It was upon the 15th of *April*, the Princess *Henrietta* (Wife to the Duke of *Orleans* afterwards) left *Exeter* (the Place of her Birth) and took Ship for *France* to the Queen; and upon the 15th of *April*, Two Years after that, the Duke of *York* escaped from *S. James's*, and went to the Prince, then in *Holland*.

Whilst these things were acting, the *Scots*, to regain their Credit for delivering the King into the Hands of the *English*, (contrary to their Promise when he left *Oxford*, and intrusted himself with them, when they besieged *Newark*, as formerly hinted) upon a pretence to reinthroned the King. In or about *May* 1648. a Committee of Danger (as they term'd it) was by an Assembly of the States, in order thereto, constituted at *Edinburgh*, consisting of Eight Earls,

Eight Barons, and Eight Burgesses, who being assembled, voted the raising an Army of 40000 Men, to be commanded by Duke *Hamilton*, with whom Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and some other Colonels, gave the Duke an assurance to assist with 3000 Horse and Foot. All Expedition was used to raise this Army, that they might make their Invasion with least Opposition; having notice also from *London* and other Parts, that upon the Votes of making no further Address, or receiving any Message from the King, and that a closer Restraint was by Colonel *Hammond* thereupon put upon his Majesty at *Carisbrook* Castle, great Discontents and Murmurs arose amongst the People, in Sundry Parts of the Nation, that broke out into Insurrections; which and with the Intelligence Duke *Hamilton* had, that Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was engaged by the King's Party, in *Kent*,

Surrey, and other Counties about *London*, and that Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* at the same time was busied about the Reducement of *Pembroke* Castle, and other fortified Places in the remotest Parts of *South Wales*, animated the *Scots* the more to quicken their March into *England*, notwithstanding, the number of their Forces were with such difficulty raised, as they lost their Opportunity, as being unable to raise above One Third of the Number they intended ; nor did they enter *England* until the 13th of *July* 1648.

A little before this the *Londoners*, in great Multitudes, petitioned both Houses of Parliament, That the secluded Members might be recalled, and those other released, who were then under restraint, and be permitted to sit, as formerly ; part of their Request was granted, upon their willingness to let Major-General *Skippon* command the

City Militia ; which being granted, several Regiments were quartered in *London*, as also in *Somerset-House* in the *Strand*, the *Mews*, and *White-Hall*, the rest of the Army having Quarters assign'd more remote from *London*. The *Essex* and *Surrey* Men likewise petitioned the Two Houses, That the Army might be satisfi'd their Ar-rears, and then disbanded, and that the late Vote for making no further Address to the King, might be null'd, and that they would comply with his Majesty's Proposal for a personal Treaty.

That word, *Disbanding*, sounded harshly in the Souldiers Ears, insomuch as some of them affronted the Petitioners, so that from words they fell to Blows, which was taken in ill part by many ; but especially by such of their *Kentish* Neighbours, as inclined to the Regal Party, who resenting the bad Usage the *Surrey* Petitioners had

received, made that and the King's Restraint the Pretence of their sudden rising in Arms, insomuch as upwards of 10000 Men, headed by Mr. *Hales*, and some other Persons of Note living there, publicly declar'd for King and Parliament.

This was soon known to that part of Sir *Tho. Fairfax's* Army that quarter'd thereabout; for Col. *Rich*, with his Horse Regiment, and Col. *Hewson*, with his of Foot, fell upon a Party near *Gravesend*, so as in disorder they made towards *Maidstone*, which place they fortifi'd as well as few Hands and little Time gave leave, thô to small purpose, those Regiments marching after them with speed; nevertheless the Dispute was very sharp, the *Kentish* Men stood so well to their Arms, and made such Opposition, so that the Fight was for some hours maintain'd with great Resolution on both sides, and many were

kill'd in the Conflict; howbeit, in conclusion, the Parliament Soldiers had the better of the Day, and took many Prisoners, the rest that escaped march'd towards the *Thames*, and with others rendezvouz'd upon *Black-Heath*, where several Officers and Soldiers that had serv'd in the King's Army repair'd to them, which so increas'd their Number, as induc'd the Lord *Goring*, E. of *Norwich* to command that little Army, who having Intelligence that Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was with several Regiments of Horse and Foot advancing against him, he thought fit to decline the Engagement till he had a Reinforcement, and in order thereto, he cross'd the *Thames* near *Greenwich* into *Essex*, where Sir *Charles Lucas* joyn'd him with 2000 Horse and Foot; amongst which were many principal Commanders, namely, the Lord *Capell*, the Lord *Loughborough*, and other Officers of Note; and being

near 4000 Men, they marched to *Colchester*, where expecting a Siege in short space, with the Help of many Hands, they regularly fortifi'd it.

Sir *Thomas Fairfax* had quick Intelligence of their Proceedings, so as he order'd Colonel *Hewson* and Colonel *Rich* with their Regiments to quiet the *Kentish* Commotion, and with the rest of the Army he drew towards *Colchester*, which he closely besieged, about the middle of *June* —48.

At this time was Lieutenant General *Cromwell* hurried about the Reduce-ment of the strong Castle of *Pembroke* (the utmost part of *South-Wales*) which was defended by Major-General *Langhorn*, Colonel *Powell*, and Colonel *Poyer*, Men of signal Courage and Interest in those Parts.

The *Scots* also, under *D. Hamilton's* Command, about this time (which was the First week in *July* —48.) entered

this Kingdom near to *Carlisle* (Sir *Philip Musgrave* Governour) Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, with his Brigade, joyning with them. Much about this time also a great part of the Navy, by procurement of Vice-Adm. *Batten* (in whose place the Two Houses of Parliament had put Col. *Ranesbrough*) declared for the King, and put themselves under the Command of the Prince of *Wales*, the Duke of *York* going aboard, having in a Disguise, left *S. James's*, and the Earl of *Northumberland*, his Governour, and with One Servant escaped, and got into *Holland* (there being also aboard Prince *Rupert*, and sundry other Noblemen and Gentlemen of Quality, with 2000 Soldiers, who being under sail quickly) the Wind favouring, landed at *Yarmouth*, in expectation of increasing their Numbers in *Norfolk*, and the neighbouring Counties, who had, during the late War, appeared for the King; but

failing to come to his Assistance, and hearing that Colonel *Scroop* was with a considerable Force upon a speedy March thitherward, the Prince by Advice of a Council of War, was perswaded to ship his Men, and to direct his Course toward *Sandwich* or *Deal*, in *Kent*, to countenance those that had declar'd for the King: .but his coming was too late, the Parliament Forces there having worsted the King's Party. So as the Prince finding the Opportunity lost, and his Fleet in want of Provisions, weighing Anchor, he returned into the *Netherlands*.

Nevertheless, about the beginning of *July*, the Earl of *Holland*, seconded by the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Francis Villiers*, his Brother, the Earl of *Peterborough*, and several others of Note, made a Second Attempt in *Kent*, upon his Majesty's Behalf, appearing with a considerable Party of Horse and

Foot, and marching in good Order into *Surrey*, drew up near *Kingston* upon *Thames*, in hopes that several Officers and Private Soldiers, who had served the King, would have come into their Rendezvouze; but few appearing to reinforce them, they marched towards *Rygate*, about a dozen miles from *Kingston*, which, e'er they could reach, they were engaged by Colonel *Rich* his Regiment of Horse, and after a sharp Skirmish, forc'd to retreat back towards *Kingston*, and endeavouring to make good a Pass between *Ewel* and *Non-such-Park*, the Fight was on either side maintained with extraordinary Fierceness and Valour, in which there were many Gentlemen slain on both sides, amongst which was the Lord *Francis Villiers*, who that day expressed much Courage, and as report goes, was offer'd but refus'd Quarter.

The King's Party being thus over-

come, such as were not Prisoners of War (of which were several of the better sort) the rest shifted for themselves the best they could. Nevertheless, the Earl of *Holland*, with a small Party, got to *Kingston* upon *Thames*, which place, though favouring the King's Friends, and so near neighbouring *Hampton-Court*, durst not in that condition, warrant the Earl's stay, the Parliament Forces being in pursuit; so as leaving that place, he hastened towards *Huntingdon*, thinking to find security there, at least for some time; but by the way, Colonel *Scroop* interposing with two Regiments of Horse and Foot from *Norfolk*, the Earl after some resistance near *S. Neots*, seven Miles from *Huntingdon*, was taken Prisoner, and thence, under a Guard of Horse, sent to *Warwick-Castle*, where he remain'd till he was brought to *London*. The D. of *Buckingham*, in this interim,

pass'd through the County of *Lincoln*, to the Sea-Coast, where happily finding a small Vessel, he adventur'd the Sea, and having a favourable Gale of Wind, in few Hours arrived safely in *Holland*, where he found the Prince.

Whilst these things were in agitation, Duke *Hamilton*, upon the 13th of *July* (as hath been hinted) invaded *England* with his *Scots*, who were far short of the Number the Committee of Danger voted at *Edinburgh*, as formerly mentioned; but was supply'd by the Splendour of his own Equipage, his Army (as some report) was not 15000 Horse and Foot; yet by that Addition from Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and which Sir *Philip Musgrave*; and other *English* Officers brought, he was 20000 Men, or thereabouts. The *Scots* Army march'd as far as *Appleby*, in *Westmoreland*, without Opposition, where Major-General *Lambert* was

quarter'd; near which, after a short Dispute, the *Scots* made the *English* Party to retire, first to *Kirkby Steven*, and then to *Bowes*, so as the *Scots* (to refresh themselves) stay'd a few Days in *Kendal*, expecting more Force out of *Scotland*, which fail'd them.

Nevertheless, with the Army he had, and animated with his late success, he marched into *Lancashire*, thinking there to be reinforced by many, that, during the late War, had appear'd opposite to the Parliament Forces; but the Report of Lieutenant-General *Cromwell's* Approach, disanimated several Persons of Note in those Parts; so that Duke *Hamilton* failed much of his Expectations. The Sequestration of Men's Estates was so great a Terror to many; nor did Major-General *Monroe*, with his Forces, follow the Duke, as was intended, he and the Marquess of *Montrosse* having enough to do at home, by op-

posing the Marquess of *Argile*, who, with General *Lesly*, were against Duke *Hamilton's* invading *England*.

Nor was the Rumour of Lieutenant-General *Cromwell's* March towards the *Scots* false ; for so soon as he had Intelligence of the Duke's coming to *Perith*, he quickly dispatch'd his Leager at *Pembroke*, which was surrendered ; and, as with a flying Army, made all haste possible to joyn with Major-General *Lambert* and Col. *Harrison* to fight the *Scots*. The Duke therefore thought it his best Course to adventure a speedy Engagement : In order whereto he marched to *Preston* in *Lancashire*, and upon the 17th day of *August* (having notice by his Scouts that the Parliament Forces observ'd his Motion, and were drawing up towards him) he drew up in *Battalia*, upon a Moor about Three Miles from *Preston*, where both Armies faced each other ; Major *Smithson* com-

manded the Forlorn, and worsted a part of the Van of the *Scots* Army, so as the Armies immediately engaged: For two Hours space the Fight was equally maintain'd, and fought with marvellous Fierceness and desperate Courage, so as many were slain; but at length the *Scots* gave ground, and the greatest part of their Army marched back towards *Lancaster*, the lesser part towards *Preston*. The Parliament Forces marched close after the *Scots*, who at *Ribble-Bridge* (which is not far from *Haughton-Tower*) made a stand, as resolving to make good that Passage, which accordingly they for some Hours maintain'd with great Courage, but being overpower'd by the *English* Cavalry, who press'd upon the *Scots* with great Resolution, and gain'd the Pass, the Duke (contrary to Common Sense) declin'd his Retreat Northwards, towards *Lancaster*, whither the other part of his

Army was gone, and marched Southwards to *Wigan* (a small distance from *Lathom*, the Earl of *Darby's* noble House) and the next day to *Warrington*, water'd by the River *Marsee*, over which there is a Bridge, and where the *Scots* disputed that Pass with signal Courage. But the Duke's Army being much weakened through want of that part which went to *Lancaster*, and interposed by some Regiments of the *English* Army, and Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* being some time before come up to reinforce Major-General *Lambert* and Colonel *Harrison* with a numerous Party, the finding his Army much discouraged, and much inferiour in Strength to his Adversaries, as in Despair, he left the Foot to shift for themselves, who being thus deserted, about Four Thousand of them threw down their Arms, having Quarter; the Duke, with Three Thousand Horse,

escaping to *Nantwich* in *Cheshire*; where, and by their disorder'd March, the greatest part were snapt by the Country People and some Soldiers that follow'd the Chase. Duke *Hamilton*, hasting into *Staffordshire*, at *Utoxiter* yielded himself Prisoner to the Lord *Grey* of *Grooby*, who with a Convoy sent him to *Ashby de la Zouch* (of which the Earl of *Huntingdon* is Lord) and shortly, with many other of the *Scots*, Prisoners to *London*.

The *Scots* Army being thus overcome, Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*, with his Forces, advanced into *Scotland* without Opposition, hearing that *Monroe* was with 8000 Horse and Foot ready to follow Duke *Hamilton's* Army; but having notice of his Defeat, he thought good to hearken to the Earl of *Argile's* Advice, which was to forbear his March, insomuch as Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* entered *Scotland* with his Forces

unopposed, and at *Edinburgh* was amicably received, and treated with all demonstrations of Affection; such are the strange Effects and Vicissitudes of War.

All this time *Colchester* held out, though straitly besieg'd by Sir *Thomas Fairfax* with his Army, where much Gallantry and Valour appeared on both sides; yet at length the Besieged, being in want of Powder and other Provisions, and having certain Intelligence of Duke *Hamilton's* Overthrow, as also hopeless of Help from Abroad, or a Supply of what the Town and Garrison extremely wanted, and how unsuccessful the King's Parties had been in several Places, having call'd a Council of War, it was resolved that Commissioners should be nam'd to treat with Sir *Thomas Fairfax* upon certain Articles, which being agreed, *Colchester* was deliver'd up to the Parliament's General the 27th day

of *August* 1648. *Sir Thomas Fairfax* forthwith removing to *S. Albans*, which for some time he made his head Quarter.

These military Proceedings happening during his Majesties Confinement at *Carisbrook* - Castle, I thought pertinent to intermix with other Occurrences, which otherwise should have been omitted.

Now in regard it hath been suggested by some, that the King was not ignorant of Duke *Hamilton's* Preparations and Intentions, by force of Arms to set his Majesty at Liberty, and settle him in his Throne, and that the King, by a Letter from the Queen, was acquainted therewith, which Letter was intercepted, the Seal violated, and the Letter read by some great Officers of the Army, Members of the Commons House, who, during his Majesty's being with the Army after his remove from *Holmby*,

had (upon valuable Considerations of Wealth and Honour) undertaken, by their Interest in both places, to restore the King, upon condition that he would wholly confide in them, without having Recourse to other Means; which his Majesty consenting to, they carried on their Design until they met with the Queen's Letter, which startled them; so as closing it very artificially, and conveying it into the King's Hands, he could not perceive the Letter had been intercepted, or the Seal broken, whereby the Intelligence the Queen gave might be known to any but himself. Upon their Discourse soon after with the King, asking him, if he knew that Duke *Hamilton* was with a powerful Army of *Scots*, preparing to do that by Force which they had undertaken to effect by their Interest with both Houses of Parliament and Army, in no wise doubting to compass it for his happy Restoration.

The King not acquainting them with the Contents of her Majesty's Letter concerning the Duke's Invasion, they were thenceforth distrustful of him, which totally alter'd their former Resolution, in order to his Re-establishment and Freedom.

This, as I said before, hath been suggested ; but assuredly little Credit is given to this Report, especially by un-biassed Persons.

For, albeit, some great Commanders in the Army, by the Influence they had also in both Houses, might probably, upon a right Prospect of Peace, and Expectation of Preferment (a powerful Magnet) confirm the King in his Belief (Credulity being rather a Fault than an Offence, seeing it hurts none but itself) they both could and would use their best Endeavours to accommodate him by a speedy Composure of all those Differences that secluded him from

exercising his Regal Power, the thing aim'd at, and by sober Persons cordially desired; yet is not to be presumed, his Majesty would dissemble or falsifie his Word and Promise, to depend upon them, the Business being so much to his Satisfaction, and may be supposed, that his Majesty might at *Hampton-Court* (where it is pretended the Letter was intercepted) having the opportunity to acquaint the Queen with the fair Hopes and Intentions of the Army to encline the Two Houses to agree the Differences, and remove the Jealousies that occasion'd this late War, and restore Peace to a distracted Kingdom, which it's probable her Majesty would be glad to hear, and acquiesce in the King's Prudence; so as it is unlikely the Queen would hazard his Restoration any other way, especially by the *Scots*, who, if Success should smile upon them in that Attempt, would in all proba-

bility have insisted upon his Majesty's taking and confirming the League and Covenant, which the King was averse to. Nor had his Majesty Confidence in Duke *Hamilton*, as appear'd by that his Presage; that if the Duke would in a hostile way enter this Kingdom, he was a lost Person; and if such a thing should happen, he charged all such as had been of his Party in the War, to forbear joyning with the *Scots*. Nor can it rationally be granted, that the Queen could, at the King's Residence at *Hampton - Court*, have such quick Intelligence of Duke *Hamilton's* Design, the time of this intercepted Letter being near Eleven Months before the Committee of Danger was formed, which was previous to the Duke's Preparations, or any thing in order to it. Moreover, granting there was such a Letter, yet that it should be intercepted, seems strange, being presun'd it

would be sent by a trusty Person ; and the Court at that time being without any Restraint, none forbidden Access unto the King : also no less incredible, that her Majesty's Seal being broken, could be so artificially clos'd, as the King (who was accurate in observing Seals and Curiosities of all sorts) should not discern the Fraud. And as to the Discontent those Army - Officers expressed by absenting themselves from Court ; this Relater observed no such thing, but that, as at other times, they frequented it, so as until the King in disguise went thence, the Military Men did not withdraw, nor till the Commissioners departed, as did all the King's Servants, who, as Men amaz'd, stood for some time gazing one upon another ; for being then without a Master, the Diet ceased, and with sad Hearts they went thence to their several Homes ; so that upon the whole matter

it may be believed, the Report concerning the Letter of Intelligence from the Queen is fictitious, only design'd to asperse the King, and to blemish his Integrity, which (as he himself hath declar'd) he highly priz'd ; and indeed a Saying of his is worthy to be writ in Letters of Gold, *That he could more willingly lose his Crowns than his Credit, his Kingdoms being less valuable to him than his Honour and Reputation.*

Faith, assuredly, is the Foundation upon which Justice and Truth are built, saith *Cicero* the Orator, and great Statesman, who (albeit the *Romans* of all Men got most by War) hath this Assertion, That an unjust Peace is preferable to a just War ; and it was a generous saying of King *Henry IV.* of *France*, our King's Father in Law, *That it was a barbarous thing, yea, contrary to Christianity and Nature, to make War for the Love of War ; a Christian*

King never refusing Peace, if not wholly disadvantageous. For a King's Honour and Justice are, and ought to be like a Rock of Diamonds, that remains impenetrable. It was an excellent and Memorable Expression of the King, such time as he signed the Petition of Right, he did it with a good Heart; *For (saith he) Prerogative is to defend the Subjects Liberty and Freedom, seeing their Freedom strengthens the King's Prerogative.* Thus much I have thought fit to say, to wipe off that Aspersion of Double-Dealing, and to vindicate injur'd Innocence.

Return we now to the Isle of *Wight*.

I formerly hinted, that during the time that Dr. *Sheldon* (afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*) and Dr. *Hammond*, his Majesty's Chaplains in Ordinary, were permitted to wait at *Carisbrook-Castle*, they performed the Service afore the King; howbeit their

stay was but short, the Governour giving them unexpectedly a Dismiss ; so as the King thenceforth was Chaplain to himself, not thinking fit to accept any Minister of the Presbytery, albeit he return'd them Thanks, and was civil to them.

Amongst others of that Judgment (conforming to the Directory) was one Mr. *Troughton*, a young Man, and I think, a Graduate in one of our Universities, who (during his Majesty's Confinement in *Carisbrook* - Castle) was Chaplain to the Governour, and Preacher to the Officers and Soldiers in that Garrison. He seldom fail'd to be in the Presence - Chamber, when the King dined, delighting to see the King, and though he was but young, yet was he a Student, and could argue pretty well in defence of some Tenets he held in opposition to some Ceremonies he had seen practised in Churches and Discipline in

the Episcopacy. The King usually, after Meals, would walk for near an Hour, and take many turns in the Presence-Chamber, and pleasurably enter into Disputation with Mr. *Troughton*, who was very earnest in maintaining his Arguments, and the King never discouraged him, but being the better Logician, had the Advantage; and being better read in History and Controversial Points, gained Ground of his Opponent. The King always parted merrily, and was very pleasant; but one time, during their Discourse, this young Disputant standing at one end of the Room, between a Lieutenant of Foot (who had his Sword in his Hand, and was earnestly hearkening to their Debate) and a Gentleman that was not known to many there; the King in the heat of his Discourse, took the Officer's Sword out of his Hand so unexpectedly, as made the Officer look strangely, and

then drawing it, affrighted the Disputant, he not imagining the reason, untill the Gentleman (better understanding the meaning) fell presently upon his Knee, and his Majesty laying the Sword upon his Shoulder, conferr'd upon him the Honour of Knighthood, telling him, It was to perform a Promise to his Relations. That * young Gentleman is since advanced to greater Honour and Office under our Sovereign.

* Sir John Duncomb.

From *Carisbrook-Castle* his Majesty sent some Proposals to the Parliament, who return'd Four Preliminary Articles (which the *Scotch* Commissioners disrelish'd) and the King disliked, as improper to precede a Treaty, which occasion'd a stricter Guard, and that Vote of making no further Address, which nevertheless was soon after repeal'd. And about the middle of *August*

1648. the Earl of *Middlesex* was sent by the House of Lords, and Sir *John Hipplesly* and Mr. *John Bulkeley* from the House of Commons, to present the King with the Votes of both Houses of Parliament, for a personal Treaty with his Majesty, upon the Propositions tendered at *Hampton-Court*, and a Committee of Lords and Commons, at such time as his Majesty should think fit to appoint, and to be with Honour and Safety to his Royal Person.

The King, in the first place, gave them his Hand to kiss, and then told them, That their Address being in order to Peace, doubled their Welcome, Peace being the thing he earnestly desired; assuring them withal, that if upon the Treaty Peace did not ensue, it should be no Fault of his, he would not be blamed.

In order thereto, his Majesty was pleased to write back unto his Parlia-

ment, signifying the receipt of their late Votes ; declaring withall, That he would treat with such of their Members as they should think fit to nominate and appoint to meet at *Newport* in the *Isle of Wight* ; engaging withall, his Royal Word, that he would not depart out of the Island during the Treaty (which was limited to Six Weeks time) nor in Three Weeks after.

Pursuant whereto, several Lords and Members of the House of Commons, namely, the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, and *Middlesex*, Viscount *Say and Seal*, the Lord *Winman*, Mr. *Pierpoint*, Mr. *Hollis*, Mr. *Crew*, Sir *Henry Vane*, jun. Sir *Harbottle Grimstone*, Sir *John Potts*, Serjeant *Glynne*, Serjeant *Browne*, Mr. *Bulkeley*, with some others, were appointed by the Two Houses of Parliament, to repair forthwith to *Newport*, and treat with his Majesty upon certain Propositions.

His Majesty (as soon as he was advertis'd that the Commissioners were on their way) removed from *Carisbrook* (which was to him a place of Cares) to a Gentleman's House in *Newport*, which was accommodated to his business so well as that small place would afford, albeit disproportionate, and of small receipt for a Court. The King's old Servants having then liberty to attend, several Lords and Gentlemen of the Bed - Chamber, namely, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hartford*, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Lindsey*, Lord High-Chamberlain, with others of the Nobility, likewise repaired thither, as also the Grooms of the Bed-Chamber, Pages of the Back-Stairs, and other Servants that had Offices; all which were permitted their Attendance. Several of the King's Chaplains came thither also; (*viz.*) Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *Juxon*, Dr. *Holdsworth*,

Dr. *Sanderson*, Dr. *Turner*, as also Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, Mr. *Holborn*, Mr. *Palmer* and *Vaughan*, &c. and with the Commissioners came Mr. *Marshall*, Mr. *John Carill*, Mr. *Richard Vines*, and Mr. *Seaman*. Mr. *Nye* was there also, and some others, who (as Occasion required) preached afore the Commissioners ; and albeit the King would not accept of them amongst his Chaplains either praying or preaching, his Majesty was nevertheless affable to them, and said, They were welcome, always desiring (as he has published) those pious Assistances, which holy and good Ministers either Prelates or Presbyters could afford him, especially in those Extremities, which God had pleased to permit some of his Subjects to reduce him to.

Great Rejoycing there was on all hands for this Convention, and fair

Hopes appear'd that God would vouchsafe to give his Blessing to it.

The Court being thus settled, and the most convenient House *Newport* could afford prepar'd (the Town indeed is large, and of many Streets, but the Building none of the best, yet gave sufficient Accommodation to that great Concourse of Men, as also to some Foot-Companies that were quarter'd there) the King, so soon as the Lords and Gentlemen that came from the two Houses of Parliament had kiss'd his Majesty's Hand, and repos'd a little while after their Land and Sea-Travel, met them at the appointed place, where being set, the King under a State at the end of the Room, and the Parliament-Commissioners at some distance on either side the Board, several Lords, and the King's Chaplains, *viz.* Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *Holdsworth*, Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Sanderson*, Dr. *Turner*, and

the Bishop of *London*, as also Dr. *Morley*, standing behind the King's Chair; he forthwith entred to treat with them upon their Proposals, and a fair Progress was made therein by his Majesty's ready Condescension, especially in what related to Civil Affairs; wherein the Commissioners, were pursuant to their Instructions, principally concerned. His Majesty had also some Conferences with the Assembly Divines. Mr. *Marshall*, and the other Three lately nam'd, in which was controverted some different Judgments referring to the ingenuous and true Sense the Primitive Fathers had of Bishop and Presbyter, how understood as to their Administrations; for as to the Office of Deacons, that was agreed by both, but in the other their Opinions differ'd. However, in these Debates there were no Heats on either side, but manag'd with great Sobriety and Mode-

ration. And in all this Treaty his Majesty was observ'd in the whole Transaction, both with the Commissioners and Divines, to keep a constant Decorum, with great Prudence, Cautiousness, and good Order. And albeit he was single, and obliged to answer what the Commissioners (who were many) had in Proposition or Objection, his Majesty's Answers were pertinent, and deliver'd without any Perturbation or show of Discomposure, albeit he had to do with Persons, as of high Civility and Observance to the King, so of great Parts and Understanding in the Law and Affairs of State, and both for their Ingenuity and fair Carriage much commended by the King, as Occasion afterwards offered.

The Propositions sent from the Two Houses of Parliament to treat upon with the King, were Eleven in Number.

The *First* was, That the King should

forthwith call in all such Proclamations and Declarations as his Majesty had at any time, during the late War, issu'd against the Proceedings of the Two Houses of Parliament; to which the King agreed, provided, that neither this Concession, nor any other of his upon this Treaty, should be of any force, unless the whole were agreed.

The *Second* was concerning the Settlement of the Church, as to his confirming the Assembly of Divines sitting in the Abby of *Westminster*, and to a settling of the Directory, and establishing of the Presbyterian Government for Three Years, reserving, nevertheless, to himself and his Party a Liberty to use the old Form, his Majesty agreed. But as to the abolishing Episcopacy and that Hierarchy, or to the alienating the Church-Lands, or any part thereof, his Majesty would by no means give his Assent.

To the *Third* Proposal, his Majesty was willing to permit the Parliament to have the Militia in their Hands for Twenty Years.

To the *Fourth*, for nulling the Cessation in *Ireland*, and leaving for some time the Government both Civil and Military in the Hands of his Two House of Parliament, the King agreed.

To the *Fifth* and *Sixth* Proposals, for vacating Titles of Honour conferr'd since his Majesty's Great Seal was carried from *London* to *Oxford*; and for Payment of publick Debts, the King gave his Assent.

To the *Seventh*, That Delinquents (that is) those of his Party should submit unto a Fine, and be prohibited Access unto the Court; as also, unto the Council without the Parliament's Consent; and likewise, that for Three Years they should be disabled and

debarr'd from sitting in either House of Parliament without their consent ; and also to undergo a legal Tryal, if the Two Houses of Parliament thought fit, and to suffer according to merit, if convicted by due course of Law. Thus far his Majesty was willing to agree ; but as to the charging them, or any of them, with Treason ; or as to the taking away their or any of their Lives or Estates for acting things by his Commission during the late War in a military way or any other (save such as after a legal Proceeding should be found guilty of breaking the establish'd Laws of the Land) the King positively refus'd to give his Assent.

To the *Eighth* Proposal his Majesty agreed, That the Parliament should have power to confer all Offices in his Kingdom, and likewise constitute Magistrates for Twenty Years.

To the *Ninth*, for his confirming their new Broad Seal, with all Grants and Commissions past under the same, the King agreed.

To the *Tenth* Proposal, That all Charters, Grants, Privileges, and Immunities, with power to dispose of the Tower of *London* be ratified, the Militia there confirm'd, and the Citizens of *London* exempted from military Duty and Service out of their Liberties, unless order'd by the Two Houses of Parliament, the King agreed.

To the *Eleventh*, That the Court of Wards should be abolished, his Majesty having yearly One Hundred Thousand Pounds paid him in Composition or Compensation thereof, his Majesty agreed. This is a Breviate of them.

The Treaty having this fair Aspect, it was the Judgment, as well as Wishes, of all such as were Lovers of Peace, that King and Parliament would now

unite; and the rather, for that the Lords, upon the Report made unto them by their Commissioners in this Negotiation, voted, That what the King had condescended to seem'd to them satisfactory; and in the Commons House, after a long and sharp Debate, it was carried by majority of Voices, That his Majesty's Answers and Concessions were a Ground sufficient and satisfactory for the Parliament to proceed upon, in order to a Settlement of the Kingdom's Peace.

These Resolves made most Men likewise verily believe there would be a happy Union and Agreement between his Majesty and the Parliament; and that these long and sharp Contests in Civil-War (if it may properly be so called, where Families are sadly divided, and Estates unnaturally destroy'd) would now be wound up in a peaceful Conclusion.

But as his Majesty well observed, Jealousies are not so easily allay'd as rais'd. For albeit, his Heart, (he said) inclined sincerely to whatsoever might advance Piety and Peace amongst his People, yet the crying Sins of this Nation (as the Sequel manifested) had so heightened God's Indignation, as those good Hopes and Expectations were suddenly blasted. Peace, upon that score, being by some unquiet Spirits, then in Power, judged unsafe and inconvenient; so as the Object, be it never so beautiful, if it do but thwart their Design, shall be look'd upon as deformed. And his Majesty has this Expression upon Record, *God knows, and time will (certainly) discover, who are most to blame for the Unsuccessfulness of that Treaty, the Product of many succeeding Calamities.*

His Majesty was vehemently perswaded by some to leave the Island for

his more safety, the Times having an ill aspect towards him ; but no Arguments could prevail with him to violate his Parole, as formerly hinted.

Now, in regard there are sundry Relations published of the Matters that ensu'd, as also of the Force that was soon after put upon the House of Commons, by some Officers of the Army, and whence influenc'd, as also of their garrisoning *White-Hall* with Two Foot Regiments, and upon what Design, is needless to be repeated here, the Scope of this Relation being only to give the Occurrents of such Court Passages as this Relater was an Eye-Witness to, and in reference to his Observation of the sad and direful Effects following.

While Matters hung thus in suspense, the King nevertheless seem'd confident, that for as much as his Concessions were voted satisfactory to the Majority of Both Houses of Parliament, the Con-

clusion would be answerable, as to a firm and lasting Peace. But, alas! In Opposition thereto, Lieutenant Col. *Cobbit*, an Officer in Colonel *Fortescue's* Regiment (*Joyce* like) came unexpectedly to *Newport* with a commanded Party of Horse, and, in the first place made enquiry for Colonel *Hammond's* Quarters in the Town; having order to secure him, the reason unknown, unless from an apprehension the despo- tick Agitators had, that he was too much a Courtier, which they approved not of. Howbeit, being premonish'd, he evaded him, though very narrowly. But in this conjecture they were mistaken; for albeit, by his constant walking and discoursing with the King, whensoever his Majesty, for Refreshment, walked about the Works at *Carisbrook*, there being none so fit nor forward as he, being Governour; which gave him the opportunity to ingratiate

himself into his Majesty's Favour, and made the Army Officers jealous of him, being solely intrusted with the Person of the King. Nevertheless he forfeited the King's good Opinion, by that uncomly Act of looking into his Scrutore, to search for some supposed Papers of Intelligence from the Queen, and Correspondency with others, wherein he miss'd his aim. Mr. *Harrington* and Mr. *Herbert*, were then in the Green, waiting on the King, who finding the weather somewhat cold, the King bid Mr. *Herbert* go for his Cloak; and entering the Bed-Chamber, found the Governour ready to come forth, with one other Officer in company, and Mr. *Reading*, who then waited as Page of the Back-Stairs, and by Insinuation had let him in. Mr. *Herbert*, as he was returning to the Green with his Majesty's Cloak, gave the Page a sharp Rebuke, which the Governor being ac-

quainted with, threatned Mr. *Herbert* to give him a Dismiss, for censuring that Act of his ; and without doubt, had expell'd him the Castle, if his Majesty, of his Goodness, had not pass'd it by, without either reproaching the Governour, or taking notice thereof. Those, with some other Aggravations, made the King design an Escape, Horses being provided and laid near the Castle, and a Vessel made ready for his transportation ; but by a corrupted Corporal in the Garrison, took not effect ; and a Providence was therein, his person being hazarded, if he had made the Attempt ; and for which an Officer had his Tryal afterwards by due course of Law, upon a Charge of High Treason, as the History of those Times mentions. But to return ; Lieutenant-Colonel *Cobbit*, failing of his first Design of apprehending Colonel *Hammond*, he made a higher flight in the next place, making an

abrupt Address unto the King, letting him know, that he had Orders to remove him forthwith from *Newport*. The King beheld the Lieutenant-Colonel with Astonishment, and interrogated him Whether his Order was to remand him back to his Prison at *Carisbrook*? The Lieutenant said, No. Whither then, said the King? Out of the *Isle of Wight*, reply'd the Colonel; but the place he was to remove the King unto, he was not to communicate. I pray Sir, by your favour (said the King) let me see your Orders. As to that, the Lieutenant-Colonel desired to be excused; This Business (said he,) is of no ordinary Concernment, so as I may not satisfie any Man's Enquiry, until a fitter season. Now was verified his Majesty's Maxim, That such as will assume the Boldness to adventure upon a King, must not be thought over modest or timorous to carry on his Design. His Majesty being

thus deny'd a sight, demanded, If his Orders or Instructions were from Parliament, or General of their Army? his Answer was, He had them from neither, neither from any else. It may be so, (said the King) seeing you are afraid to shew them. But that he had Orders, or secret Instructions for this bold Act, is not to be doubted; for though there was but One General, yet things were at that time so much out of frame, both in the Commons House and Army, as there were many Commanders.

The Duke of *Richmond*, the Lord High-Chamberlain, the Lord Marquis of *Hartford*, with others of the Nobility, several venerable Persons, and many of the King's Household-Servants at that time attending, were in a manner confounded at this Surprize and unexpected Accident; yea, not a little affrighted with Ideas and Apprehensions of Danger to His Majesty's Person; and the

more for that the Lieutenant-Colonel refus'd to satisfie any, to what place he would go, or what he intended to do with the King, other than that no Harm or Violence should be offer'd him.

The Lieutenant-Colonel press'd the King to take Coach; the Coach accordingly was made ready, and brought to the Door where the King lodged.

Never, at one time, 'tis 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 other his Majesty's Servants, approach'd 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 chearful, at his parting from his

Friends shew'd Sorrow in his Heart, by the Sadness of his Countenance ; a real Sympathy.

The King now ready to take Coach, asked the Lieutenant-Colonel, Whether he was to have any Servants with him ? Only such (said he) as are most useful. The King then nominated Mr. *Harrington* and Mr. *Herbert* to attend in his Bed - Chamber, 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 D. of *Richmond* to send one of his Servants to see in what Condition he then was, and if any thing well, to come along with him. The Gentleman the Duke sent found him sweating ; but so soon as he receiv'd the Message, 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 Lieutenant - Colonel offering to enter the Coach uninvited, his Majesty (by opposing his Foot) made him sensible of his Rudeness, so as with some shame he mounted his Horse, and follow'd with a Guard of Horse, the Coachman driving as he directed.

The King in this Passage shewed 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 serv'd to make his Majesty smile at their innocent Conjectures; otherwhile could comfort himself with what he had granted at his late Treaty with the Commissioners, whom he highly prais'd for their Ingenuity and fair Deportment at *Newport*, as formerly mentioned.

The Coach (by the Lieutenant-Colo-

nel's Directions) went Westwards towards *Worsley-Tower* in *Fresh-Water-Isle*, a little beyond *Yarmouth Haven*; thereabout his Majesty rested, until the Vessel was ready to take him aboard, with those few his 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 cross'd that narrow Sea in Three Hours, and landed at *Hurst-Castle* (or *Block-House* rather) erected by order of King *Henry VIII.* upon a spot of Earth a good way into the Sea, and joyned to the firm Land by a narrow neck of Sand which is covered over with small loose Stones and Pebbles, and upon both sides the Sea beats, so as at Spring-Tides and stormy Weather the Land-Passage is formidable and hazardous. The Castle has very thick Stone-Walls, and the Platforms are regular, and both have

several Culverines and Sakers mounted, which if their Shot doth not reach such Ships as pass that narrow Strait that is much frequented, they threaten them; nevertheless a dismal Receptacle or Place for so great a Monarch, the greatest part of whose Life and Reign had been prosperous and full of earthly Glory; but by his Example, we are taught, that greatest Persons many times meet with adverse Changes, and are forced to bow under the Stroaks of Misfortune, yea, in their highest Exaltation are the usual Marks at which the Instruments of Envy and Malice are levell'd: So as we see plainly, there is no state of Man's Life so happy as hath not some Cross, evidencing the Uncertainty of worldly Enjoyments, and that real Comforts are elsewhere to be expected.

The Captain of this wretched place was not unsuitable; 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 Partizan in his Hand, and (*Switz-like*) had a great Basket-hilt Sword by his side ; hardly could one see a Man of a 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 design'd for Mischief, especially when he vapour'd, being elevated with his Command, and puff'd up by having so Royal a Prisoner, so as probably he conceived, he was nothing inferiour to the Governour of the Castle at *Milan* ; but being complain'd of to his superiour Officer, appear'd a Bubble ; for being pretty sharply admonish'd, he quickly became mild and calm, a Posture ill-becoming such a Rhodomont, and made it visible that this Humour (or Tumour

rather) was acted to curry Favour, wherein also he was mistaken: For to give the Lieutenant-Colonel 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 toward such as in Loyalty and Love came to see the King, and to pray for him; as sundry out of *Hampshire* did, and the neighbouring Counties.

His Majesty (as it may well be granted) was very slenderly accommodated at this place. The Room he usually eat in, was neither large nor lightsome; at Noon-day (in that Winter-Season) requiring Candles; and at Night he had his Wax Lamp set (as formerly) in a Silver Bason, which illuminated his Bed-Chamber. This sad Condition makes me call to mind a Relation you once imparted to me well worth the

Remembrance, That the late Earl of *Lindsey* (being one of the Gentlemen of his Majesty's Bed-Chamber) one Night lying on a Pallate by the King's Bed-side (not long before his leaving *Oxford*, and going thence to the *Scots*) at the foot thereof (as was usual every Night) was placed a Lamp, or round Cake of Wax in a Silver Bason set upon a Stool; the Earl awaking in the Night, observ'd the Room to be perfectly dark, and thereupon raising himself up, looked towards the Lamp, and concluded that it might be extinguished by some Water got into the Bason by some Creek; but not hearing the King stir, he forbore rising, or to call upon those that lay in the next Chamber to bring in another Light, fearing to disturb the King's rest; and about an hour after he fell asleep again, and awakened not till Morning; but when he did awake, he discerned the Lamp bright burning,

which so astonish'd him, that taking the Boldness to call to the King (whom he heard by his stirring to be awake) he told him what he had observed; whereupon the King reply'd, *That he himself awaking also in the Night, took notice that all was dark; and to be fully satisfi'd, he put by the Curtain to look at the Lamp; but some time after he found it light, and concluded the Earl was risen, and had set it upon the Bason lighted again.* The Earl assured his Majesty he did not. The King then said, *He did consider it as a Prognostick of God's future Favour and Mercy towards him or his; that although he was at that time so eclipsed, yet either he or they might shine out bright again.* To return.

In this ecliptic Condition was the King (the Place and Military Persons duly consider'd) sequestred in a manner from the Comfort Earth and Air affords;

and in some sort from the Society of Men; the Earth confining his Majesty to that Promontory or Gravel-Walk over-spread with loose Stones a good depth, which rendered it very uneasy and offensive to his Feet; but endur'd it with his accustomed Patience and Serenity of Spirit, and with more Alacrity than they that followed him.

The Air was equally noxious, by reason of the marish Grounds that were about, and the unwholsom Vapours arising from the Sargasso's and Weeds the Salt Water constantly at Tides and Storms casts upon the Shoar, and by the Fogs that those marine Places are most subject to; so as the Dwellers thereabouts find by Experience, how that the Air is insalubrious, and disposing to Diseases, especially aguish Distempers. Nevertheless, in this dolorous place the King was content to walk above Two Miles in length, but a

few Paces in breadth ; the Governour one time, Captain *Reynolds* at another, discoursing, and Mr. *Harrington* or Mr. *Herbert*, by his Majesty's Order, and their Duty, ever attending him. That which made some Amends, was a fair and uninterrupted Prospect a good way into the Sea, a View into the *Isle of Wight*, one way, and Main Land the other, with the sight of Ships of all sizes daily under sail, with which his Majesty was much delighted.

During his Majesty's Confinement at *Hurst-Castle*, it so happened, that Mr. *Harrington*, being one Morning in company with the Governour and some other Officers of the Army, he fell into some Discourse with them concerning the late Treaty at *Newport*, wherein he magnifi'd the King's Wisdom in his Arguments with the Commissioners upon the Propositions and Satisfaction the Parliament had in his Concessions,

and probability of a happy Event, if this Force in removing him had not interven'd, and made an unhappy Fracture, which created Parties; enlarging upon his Majesty's learned Disputes with Mr. *Vines*, and the other Presbyterian Divines, with such Moderation, as gained Applause from all those that heard them argue: which Discourse, how inoffensive soever, and without Exception, at any other time and place, it appears that Truth is not at all times seasonable nor safe to be spoken, as by Mr. *Harrington's* Example was evidenced; for those captious Persons with whom he held Discourse, being full of Jealousies, and apt to wrest his Words to the worst Sense, they withdrew a little, and at their return told him plainly, They were dissatisfi'd with what he had said. He pray'd them to instance wherein. They reply'd, In all particu-

lars ; which, when he began to repeat for his own Justification and their better Understanding, they interrupted him, and told him in plain terms, They could not suffer his Attendance any longer about the King. With which Proceeding and Dismiss, without acquainting him with the occasion, was ill resented by the King, who had Mr. *Harrington* in his good Esteem, being a Gentleman qualifi'd with special Parts, and having found him trusty, his Service was the more acceptable ; but blam'd him nevertheless for not being more wary amongst Men, that at such a time were full of Jealousies, and very little obliging to his Majesty.

There was none now left to wait upon the King in his Bed-Chamber but Mr. *Herbert*, and he *in motu trepidationis*, who, nevertheless held out, by his careful observing his Majesty's

Instructions, without which (as the Times then were) it had been impossible for him to have kept his Station.

His Majesty being thus reduc'd to this deplorable Condition, he could not choose but have some melancholy Apprehensions, and accordingly about Midnight there was an unusual Noise, that awakened the King out of his sleep, and was in some marvel to hear the Draw-bridge let down at that unseasonable Hour, and some Horse-Men enter, who being alighted, the rest of that Night was in deep silence. The King being desirous to know the matter, he before break of Day rung his Silver Bell, which, with both his Watches, were usually laid upon a Stool near the Wax Lamp, that was set near them in a large Silver Bason; upon which Call, Mr. *Herbert* opened the Bed-Chamber Door, to know his Majesty's Pleasure. The King told

him, He would rise ; and as he was making ready, he ask'd him, If he heard the Noise that was about midnight ; Mr. *Herbert* answer'd, He did, as also the falling of the Draw-bridge ; but being shut up in the back Stair-Room, next the Bed-Chamber, and the Door, by the Governour's Order being bolted without, he neither could nor would, without his Majesty's Order, adventure out at such a time of Night. The King then bad him go and learn what the matter was ; and accordingly Mr. *Herbert* went, and knocking at the back-Stair Door, the Soldiers unbolted it without, and he within, and entering into the next Room, he happily found Captain *Reynolds* there alone by a Fire ; and after some Discourse, he enquired of the Captain, Who they were that came so very late into the Castle, and their Errand ? The Captain, in a joaking way, bad him be wary in carrying

News to the King, he was amongst suspicious Superintendants, and his Comrade serv'd for his Example. Mr. *Herbert* thank'd him for his friendly Caution, and at length got out of him who the Commander was that came so late into the Castle, but would not discover what his Business was.

Mr. *Herbert* speedily returning to his Majesty, told him, It was Major *Harrison* that came so late into the Castle. Are you sure it was Major *Harrison*, said the King? May it please your Majesty (said Mr. *Herbert*) Captain *Reynolds* told me so. Then I believe it, said the King; but did you see Major *Harrison*? No, Sir, said Mr. *Herbert*. Would not Captain *Reynolds*, (saith the King) tell you what the Major's Business is? Mr. *Herbert* reply'd, He did what he could to be inform'd, but all he could then learn from the Captain was, The Occasion of *Harri-*

son's coming would be known speedily. The King said no more, but bad him attend in the next Room, and went to Prayer. In less than an hour the King open'd the Bed-Chamber Door, and beckon'd to Mr. *Herbert* to come in and make him ready. Mr. *Herbert* was in some Consternation to see his Majesty so much discompos'd, and wept; which the King observing, ask'd him the meaning of it? Mr. *Herbert* reply'd, Because I perceive your Majesty so much troubled and concern'd at the News I brought. *I am not afraid,* (said the King) *but do not you know that this is the Man who intended to assassinate me, as by Letter I was informed, during the late Treaty. To my knowledge I never saw the Major, though I have heard oft of him, nor ever did him Injury. The Commissioners, indeed, hearing of it, represented it from Newport to the House of Lords; what Satisfaction he gave them I cannot tell; this I can, that I trust*

in God, who is my Helper, I would not be surpriz'd ; this is a place fit for such a purpose. Herbert, I trust to your care ; go again, and make further Enquiry into his Business. Mr. Herbert immediately went out, and finding an opportunity to speak in private with Capt. Reynolds, (who being a Gentleman well educated, and at all Essays expressed Civility towards the King, with whom he most times walked on the stony ground, formerly mention'd, and was courteous to his Servants) he told him, That the Major's Business was to remove the King thence to *Windsor-Castle* within Three Days at farthest. Mr. Herbert believing that the King would be well pleas'd with the Exchange, by leaving the worst to enjoy the best Castle in *England*, return'd to his Majesty with a mirthful Countenance, little imagining (God knows) the sad Consequence. And so soon as the King heard

Windsor named, he seem'd to rejoyce at it.

Major *Harrison* staid Two Nights at *Hurst*; and when it was dark (having given Orders for the King's Removal) he returned from whence he came, without seeing the King, or speaking with any that attended his Majesty,

Two Days after, Lieutenant-Colonel *Cobbit* came and acquainted his Majesty with the Orders he had receiv'd for his remove thence to *Windsor-Castle* forthwith. The King told him, He was more kind now than he was at *Newport*, when he would not gratifie him or any other with the knowledge of the place he was to go to. *Windsor* was a place he ever delighted in, and would make amends for what at *Hurst* he had suffered.

All things being in short time made ready, he bad solitary *Hurst* adieu; and having pass'd the narrow Passage (which reaches well nigh from *Hurst*

to *Milford*, Three long Miles) there appeared a Party of Horse belonging to that Army, and had then their Winter-Quarter at *Lind-Hurst*, and were ordered to convoy the King to *Winchester*; but going first to *Ringwood*, then through the new Forrest to *Rumsey* (where is a fair Church, being the Remains of a dissolv'd Nunnery, founded by great King *Edgar*, about the Year of our Lord 970,) went from thence to the City of *Winchester*, which was heretofore the Royal Seat of the *West-Saxon* Kings, the Bones of many of them being shrin'd in little gilded Coffers; by Bishop *Fox*, and placed upon the top of some Walls within the Choire of the Cathedral, first built by *Kinelwalch* a *West-Saxon* King; upon the Subversion of a Monastery of Monks, which, during the *Roman* Empire flourish'd; but that decaying, it was with greater Magnificence re-edifi'd by succeeding Bishops, since

the Conquest, and all the West part by Bp. *Wickham*, from the Choire. And amongst other famous Prelates here born, were *St. Swithin*, Bishop of this See, *Anno Dom.* 840. and *William* (the son of *Herbert*, who was Lord-Chamberlain to King *Henry I.*) made Archbishop of *York* by King *Stephen*, *Anno Dom.* 1145. and canoniz'd in the Year of our Lord 1226. by *Honorius* the Pope.

At the King's Entrance into *Winchester*, the Mayor and Aldermen of the City (notwithstanding the Times) receiv'd the King with dutiful Respect, and the Clergy did the like; yea, during his short stay there, the Gentry, and others of inferiour Rank, flock'd thither in great numbers to welcome his Majesty; some out of curiosity to see, others out of Zeal to pray for his Enlargement and Happiness; with which the King was much satisfi'd, and was pleas'd to many

of them to give his hand to kiss. Thence his Majesty rode to *Alton*, and then to *Alesford*; the Inhabitants round about making haste to see his Majesty pass by, and with joyful Acclamations accompanying him likewise with Prayers for his Preservation, a sure Evidence of Affection. From *Alesford* the King pass'd to *Farnham*, betwixt which Two Towns (being about Seven Miles asunder) another Troop of Horse was in good order drawn up, by which his Majesty pass'd: It was to bring up the Rear. In the Head of it was the Captain gallantly mounted and armed; a Velvet Monteir was on his Head, a new Buff-Coat upon his Back, and a Crimson Silk Scarf about his Waste richly fringed; who as the King pass'd by with an easie Pace (as delighted to see Men well hors'd and arm'd) the Captain gave the King a Bow with his Head all *a-Soldade*, which his Majesty

requited. This was the first time the King saw that Captain.

Mr. *Herbert* riding a little behind the King (who made no use of his Coach since he came from *Hurst-Castle*) he call'd him to come near, and asked him who the Captain was; and being told it was Major *Harrison*, the King view'd him more narrowly, and fix'd his Eyes so steddily upon him as made the Major abash'd, and fall back to his Troop sooner than probably he intended. The King said, *He look'd like a Soldier, and that his Aspect was good, and found him not such a one as was represented; and that having some Judgment in Faces, if he had observ'd him so well before, he should not have harbour'd that ill Opinion of him; for oft-times the Spirit and Disposition may be discerned by the Countenance; yet in that one may be deceived.*

That Night the King got to *Farnham*,

where he was lodg'd in a private Gentleman's House in the Town. The Castle is upon the ascent, and belongs to the Bishop of *Winchester*; but being then a Garrison, was no fit place for the King's Accommodation; nor was the Bishop there, or at that time in a condition to pay his Observance (as in Duty he otherwise would) unto his Majesty.

A little before Supper, his Majesty standing by the Fire in a large Parlour wainscoted, and in Discourse with the Mistress of the House, the King (albeit the room was pretty full of Army-Officers, and Country-People that crowded in to have a sight of the King) nevertheless discovered Major *Harrison* at the far end of the Room talking with another Officer; the King beckoned to him with his Hand to come nearer him; which he did with due Reverence. The King then taking him by his Arm,

drew him aside towards the Window, where, for half an hour, or more they discoursed together; and amongst other things, the King minded him of the Information concerning him, which if true, rendered him an Enemy in the worst sense to his Person; to which the Major in his Vindication assured his Majesty, that what was so reported of him was not true; what he had said, he might repeat, *That the Law was equally obliging to great and small, and that Justice had no respect to Persons;* or words to that purpose; which his Majesty finding affectedly spoken, and to no good End, he left off further Communication with him, and went to Supper, being all the time very pleasant, which was no small rejoicing to many there, to see him so chearful in that Company, and such a Condition.

Next day the King rode from *Farnham*, to *Bagshot*, where, at the Lord

Newburgh's House, he dined ; and so through part of the Forest to *Windsor-Castle* ; his usual Bed-Chamber in the Palace, towards the far end of the Castle-Ward being prepared for him.

Colonel *Whitchcott* was at that time Governour of the Castle, which was then garrison'd with some Foot Companies. Here the King seem'd to take more Delight than at any place he had been since his leaving *Hampton-Court*. Here he had the Liberty to walk where and when he pleased, within the Castle, and in the long Terrace, without, that looks towards the fair College of *Eaton*. This Terrace is of great length, upon the North-side of that most magnificent Structure. It was begun by Queen *Elizabeth*, and enlarged by succeeding Princes. And albeit you have a larger Prospect from the Keep ; yet from the Terrace you have also a delightful

View of the River of *Thames*, of many pleasant Hills and Valleys, Villages and fair Houses, far and near; so as no place in this Kingdom may compare with it, save the little Castle or Lodge in *Greenwich-Park*, which has the sight of the great and noble City of *London*, River of *Thames*, and Ships of great Burthen daily under Sail passing to and fro; with other things enumerated by *Barclay* in his *Argenis*. The greatest part of the Forenoon the King spent in Prayer and other Exercises of Piety; part of the Afternoon he set apart for Health, by recreating himself in walking, and usually in the long Terrace. The Governour here, as in other places (after the Commissioners were gone) being for the most part in his Company, for want of others to discourse with. None of the Nobility, nor few of the Gentry, were suffer'd to come into the Castle to see the King, save

upon the *Sundays* to Sermon in St. *George's* Chapel, where the Chaplain to the Governour and Garrison preached. Col. *Whitchcott* behav'd himself nevertheless very civilly towards the King, and his Observance was taken notice of by his Majesty; as also the Soldiers there, who, in their places, gave no Offence either in Language or Behaviour to the King, or any that served him.

Whilst his Majesty staid at *Windsor*, little passed worth the taking notice of; notwithstanding, some thing may be remembred: One Night, as the King was preparing to go to Bed, as his custom was, he wound up both his Watches, one being Gold, the other Silver, he miss'd his Diamond-Seal, a Table that had the King's Arms cut with great Curiosity, and fixt to the Watch; Matter and Work were both of considerable Value. The Seal was

set in a Collet of Gold, fastened to a Gold Chain. His Majesty could not imagin either when or where it dropt out; but thought he had it the day before when he look'd upon his Watch, as he walk'd in the long Terrace, which being the most probable place to find it in, he bade Mr. *Herbert* look there the next Morning; which, so soon as the King was ready, and had given him his *George* and Garter (which his Majesty never fail'd to wear) the King went to his Devotion, and his Servant to search for the Diamond, and for near an Hour's space walked upon the Terrace, casting his eye every where, but could not find it. Some Officers of the Garrison were then upon the Terrace, who observ'd how intent he was; so as they imagin'd he had lost something, and were inquisitive to know what it was; but he, apprehending the Danger in telling them, and Hazard it would run

if they should find it, let them know nothing concerning it. He in like manner sought in the Presence, Privy-Chamber, Galleries, *St. George's-Hall*, and every Room the King had been in; but all to no purpose. So as with an anxious Look he returned with this Account, That he had diligently searched every where in likely places, and could not find it, and to acquaint any other he durst not (in regard his Majesty's Arms were engraven in it) unless his Majesty had so directed. The King perceiving *Mr. Herbert* troubled at this Accident, bid him not vex himself about it.

Next Night, a little before his Majesty went to Bed, a good Charcoal Fire being in the Chamber, and Wax-Lights burning, the King cast his Eye to one end of the Room, and saw something sparkle, and pointing with his Finger, bade *Mr. Herbert* take a Candle and see what it was; by good Providence

it was the Diamond, which he took up, and found his Majesty's Arms in it, and with joy brought it to the King. Another Night his Majesty appointed Mr. *Herbert* to come into his Bed-Chamber an Hour sooner than usual in the Morning ; but it so happened, that he overslept his time, and awaken'd not untill the King's Silver Bell hasten'd him in. *Herbert*, (said the King) *you have not observ'd the Command I gave last Night.* He acknowledg'd his Fault. *Well* (said the King) *I will order you for the future ; you shall have a Gold Alarm-Watch, which, as there may be cause, shall awake you ; write to the Earl of Pembroke to send me such a one presently.* The Earl immediately sent to Mr. *East*, his Watchmaker in *Fleet-street*, about it ; of which more will be said at his Majesty's coming to *S. James's*.

Another Accident happen'd about this time, which might have prov'd of

ill Consequence, if God in Mercy had not prevented it. Mr. *Herbert* lodg'd in a little Back Room near the Bed-Chamber, towards *Eaton-College*; it had a back Stair, but was at this time ramm'd up with Earth, to prevent any Passage that way. In this Room he had a Pallat, which (for the Weather was very sharp) he laid somewhat too near the Chimney, and there were Two Baskets fill'd with Charcoal, for the use of his Majesty's Bed-Chamber; and being asleep in Bed, a Basket took fire, either from some Spark of the Charcoal on the Hearth, or some other way he knew not of; but the Room was soon hot, and the Fire got to the Pallat-Bed, which quickly rouz'd Mr. *Herbert* out of sleep, who, in Amazement ran to the King's Chamber-Door, and in a frightful manner, with that Noise, awakened the King. Those in the Anti-Chamber without, being Soldiers, hearing the

King's Chamber was on Fire, desired entrance (for the Door was bolted within, as the King order'd) pretending that they might help to quench it; but through the Goodness of God, without other Assistance, those within suppress'd it, by stifling it with Clothes, and confining it to the Chimney, which was spacious. Mr. *Herbert* humbly beg'd his Majesty's Pardon for the Disturbance he gave, not knowing how to help it. The King said, *He did but his Duty.*

Soon after this, the Governour acquainted his Majesty, he understood how that within few Days he was to be removed thence to *White-Hall*. To this his Majesty made little Reply; seeming nothing so delighted with this Remove, as he was with the former; but turning him about, said, *God is every where alike in Wisdom, Power, and Goodness.*

Some Information he had, how preposterously things went in both Houses of Parliament, wherein he was concerned ; and how that the Army-Officers had then published a Remonstrance, designing thereby an Alteration of the Government, and tryal of his Person by some way that was extraordinary and unpresidented ; so that immediately he retired into his Bed-Chamber, and was a good while private in his Addresses to God, ever having recourse to him by Prayer and Meditation, in what condition soever he was, as being the surest way to find Comfort.

The Day prefix'd being come, he took Coach near the *Keep* (a high Mount, on which is a Tower built in the middle-ward betwixt the two great Courts within the Castle) a Guard being made all along of Muskets and Pikes ; both Officers and Soldiers expressing Civility as he passed by ; and

at the great Gate a Party of Horse, commanded by Major *Harrison*, were drawn up in the Market-place and *Pease-cod-street* End, who followed the Coach, which passed thro' *Brainford*, *Hammersmith*, and the direct way to his Majesty's House at *St. James's*, where his Chamber was furnished by Mr. *Kinnersly*, his Servant, strict Guards placed, and none suffer'd to attend in his Majesty's Bed-Chamber, save Mr. *Herbert*. Nevertheless, his usual Diet was kept up, and the Gentlemen that formerly waited were permitted to perform their respective Services in the Presence, where a State was placed, and for a few Days all things with Decency and Honour observ'd. Sir *Fulke Grevile* being Cup-bearer, gave it upon his Kneè; Mr. *Mildmay* was Carver; Captain *Preston* sometimes Sewer, and kept the Robes; Mr. *Ansty* Gentleman-Usher; Capt. *Burroughs*, Mr. *Firebrass*, Mr.

Muschamp had their Places : Capt. *Joyner* was Cook ; Mr. *Babington* Barber ; Mr. *Reading* Page of the Backstairs ; and some others also waited. The King's Dishes were brought up covered, the Say was given, and all things performed with Satisfaction in that Point. But to return a little. It is well worth Observation, that so soon as the King came to his Bed-Chamber, before he either eat or drank, or discoursed with any, he went to Prayer and reading in his Bible.

Whilst he was in this sorrowful Condition, none of the Nobility, no Chaplains, no Councillours, nor any of his old Attendants having the liberty to repair unto him, about the latter end of *December* his Majesty had private notice, how that the House of Commons, in a Resolve, had declared, *That by the Laws of England, it was Treason in the King to levy War against the Parlia-*

ment and Kingdom ; which Resolve they sent up unto the Lords for their Concurrence. The Lords, so soon as they had heard it read, rejected it ; and after some Debate, passed Two Votes, First, *That they could not concur with the House of Commons in their Declaratory Resolve* ; and Secondly, *As to that Vote of the Commons, or Order for Tryal of the King, they could by no means consent unto it.* Whereupon the House of Commons passed another Vote, *viz. That the Commons of England, in Parliament assembled, have the Supream Power.* And pursuant thereto, passed an Act for Tryal of the King.

His Majesty also had Information from private Hands of the late Proceedings in the House of Commons, both as to a violent secluding and seizure of several Members by force, being some of those, that upon the 6th of *December*,

—48. voted, That his Majesty's Concessions were satisfactory for a Settlement of the Kingdom's Peace, acted by Colonel *Pride*, and some other eminent Army-Officers, under a Notion of Purg- ing the House ; as also of their Votes passed concerning him ; by which his Majesty was apprehensive of their ill Intentions towards his Person and Government, and did believe his Enemies aim'd at his Deposing and Confinement in the Tower, or some such like place ; and that they would seat his Son the Prince of *Wales* in his Throne, if he would accept of it. But as to their taking away his Life by Tryal in any Court of Justice, or (*subdiu*) in the face of his People, that he could not believe, there being no such President, or mention in any of our Histories. 'Tis true, his Grandmother, the Queen of *Scots*, suffered under Queen *Elizabeth* ; but in *England* she was no

Sovereign, but a Subject to Law. Indeed, that some Kings of *England* have been lamentably murdered by Ruffians in a clandestine way, our Chronicles inform us ; but the facts were neither own'd nor approv'd of by any King. Such were his Majesty's Imaginations, until he came to his Tryal in *Westminster-Hall* ; for then he alter'd his Opinion. Nevertheless, his Faith overcoming his Fear, he continu'd his accustomed Prudence and Patience, so as no outward Perturbation could be discerned, with Christian Fortitude submitting to the good Pleasure of the Almighty, sometimes sighing, but never breaking out into a Passion, or uttering a reproachful or revengeful Word against any that were his Adversaries ; saying only, *God forgive their Impiety.* For about a Fortnight after his Majesty's coming to *St. James's*, he constantly dined publickly in the Presence-

Chamber, and at Meals was served after the usual State, the Carver, Sewer, Cup-bearer, and Gentlemen Usher attending and doing their Offices respectfully; his Cup was given upon the Knee, as were his cover'd Dishes; the Say was given, and other accustomed Ceremonies of State observed, notwithstanding this his dolorous condition; and the King was well pleased with the Observance afforded him. But then the case alter'd; for the Officers of the Army (being predominant) gave order at a Court of War, *That thenceforth all State-Ceremony, or accustomed Respect to his Majesty at Meals should be forborn, and his Menial-Servants (though few in number) be lessened.* And accordingly the King's Meat was brought up by Soldiers, the Dishes uncover'd, no Say, no Cup upon the Knee, nor other accusom'd Court-State was then observed; which was an uncouth Sight

unto the King, saying, that *The Respect and Honour deny'd him, no Sovereign Prince ever wanted; nor yet Subjects of high Degree, according to ancient practice; further expressing. Is there any thing more contemptible, than a despised Prince?* But seeing it was come to such a pass, the best expedient he had to reconcile it, was to contract his Diet to a few Dishes out of the Bill of Fare, and to eat in private. And his eating being usually agreeable to his Exercise, this Abstemiousness was in no wise displeasing, his Temperance preserving his Health, as in these two last Years of his Life and Reign he kept in perfect Health, without any Indisposition, or recourse to Physick; so as in all probability, had not his Thread of Life been immaturely cut, he might have surpassed the Age of any of his Royal Ancestors.

Upon *Friday* the 19th of *January*

1648. his Majesty was removed from St. *James's* to *White-Hall*, and lodged in his usual Bed-Chamber ; after which a Guard of Musqueteers were placed, and Centinels at the Door of his Chamber ; thenceforth Mr. *Herbert* (who constantly lay in the next Room to the King, according to the Duty of his Place) by his Majesty's Order, brought his Pallat into his Majesty's Bed-Chamber, to be nearer his Royal Person, where every night he rested.

The next day the King was in a Sedan or close Chair, removed from *White-Hall* to Sir *Robert Cotton's* House, near the West-end of *Westminster-Hall* ; Guards were made on both sides *King Street*, all along the *Palace-Yard* and *Westminster-Hall*, as his Majesty was from the Garden-door at *White-Hall* carried to *Cotton-House*, none but Mr. *Herbert* going bare by the King ; no other of his Majesty's

Servants going along *King Street* or *Westminster-Hall*, the Soldiers hindering them. At *Cotton-House* there was a Guard of Partizans, Colonel *Hacker* sometimes, and Colonel *Hunks* other sometimes commanding them. His Majesty being summoned by Colonel *Hacker* to go to the Court that was then in *Westminster-Hall*, where Serjeant *Bradshaw* was President, and seated in a Chair; also about Threescore and Twelve other Persons, Members of the House of Commons, Officers of the Army, and Citizens of *London*, sate upon Benches some Degrees over one another, as Judges: *Hacker*, by Order of the Court (which was erected in the same place where the Judges of the King's-Bench every Term us'd to hear Causes) brought his Majesty to a Velvet-Chair, opposite to the President; Mr. *Cook*; the Solicitour being plac'd on the King's Right-Hand. I shall

pretermit the Judges Names, the Formalities of the Court, and the Proceedings there, by way of Charge, as also his Majesty's Replies, in regard all those Particulars have been published at large by sundry Writers ; nor indeed was much to be observed, seeing his Majesty, having heard their Allegations, would sometimes smile ; and not having his Learned Council to advise with, nor other Help, he would not acknowledge their Jurisdiction, or that by any known Law they had any Authority to proceed in that manner against their King ; it being without Example also. Whereupon the Court made no further Proceedings that Day.

His Majesty being return'd to *Cotton-House*, where by *Sir Thomas Cotton*, the Master of the House, and *Mr. Kinnersly* of the Wardrobe, the King's Chamber had the best Accommodation could so suddenly be made. The

Soldiers that were upon the Guard were in the next Chamber to the King's. His Majesty commanded Mr. *Herbert* to bring a Pallat, and being laid on the matted Floor, at one side of the King's Bed there slept.

Sunday the 21st of January, Dr. *Juxon*, that good Bishop of *London* had (as his Majesty desired) the liberty to attend the King, which was much to his Comfort, and (as he said) no small refreshing to his Spirit, especially in that his uncomfortable condition. The most part of the Day was spent in Prayer and preaching to the King.

Monday the 22d. of January, Col. *Hacker* brought his Majesty the Second time before the Court, then sitting, as formerly in *Westminster-Hall*. Now the more noble the Person is, the more heavy is the Spectacle, and enclines generous Hearts to a Sympathy in his Sufferings ; here it was otherwise ; for

so soon as his Majesty came into *Westminster* - Hall, some Soldiers made a hideous Cry for Justice, Justice ; some of the Officers joyning with them. At which uncouth Noise the King seem'd somewhat abash'd, but overcame it with Patience. *Sure, to persecute a distressed Soul, and to vex him that is already wounded at the Heart, is the very pitch of Wickedness ; yea, the utmost Extremity Malice can do, or Affliction suffer,* saith Dr. *Andrews*, the learned Bishop of *Winchester*, in one of his Sermons upon the Passion, preach'd before Queen *Elizabeth* upon *Good-Friday*, and here applicable.

As his Majesty returned from the Hall to *Cotton-House*, a Souldier that was upon the Guard, said aloud, as the King pass'd by, *God bless you, Sir.* The King thank'd him ; but an uncivil Officer struck him with his Cane upon the Head ; which his Majesty observing, said, *The Punishment exceeded the*

Offence. Being come to his Apartment in Cotton-House, he immediately, upon his Knees, went to Prayer. Afterwards he asked Mr. Herbert if he heard that Cry of the Soldiers for Justice? Who answer'd, He did, and marvell'd thereat. So did not I (said the King) for I am well assur'd the Soldiers bear no Malice to me; The Cry was, no doubt, given by their Officers, for whom the Soldiers would do the like, were there occasion.

His Majesty likewise demanded of him, How many there were that sate in the Court, and who they were? He replied, They were upwards of Three-score, some of them Members of the House of Commons, others were Commanders in the Army, and other some Citizens of London; some of them he knew, but not all. The King then said, He view'd all of them, but knew not the Faces of above Eight, and those he named.

Tuesday the 23d of January, the King was the Third time summon'd, and, as formerly, guarded to the Court; where (as at other times) he persisted in his Judgment, That they had no legal Jurisdiction or Authority to proceed after that manner against him. Upon which, the Solicitor began to offer something to the President of the Court, but was interrupted by the King, gently laying his Staff upon the Solicitor's Arm, the Head of which being Silver, happen'd to fall off, which Mr. *Herbert* (who as his Majesty appointed, waited near his Chair) stoop'd to take up; but falling on the contrary side, to which he could not reach, the King took it up himself. This by some was look'd upon as a bad Omen.

The Court sate but a little while that day; the King not varying from his Principle. At his going back to *Cotton-House*, there were many Men and

Women, who (not without some Hazard) crowded into the Passage behind the Soldiers, that as his Majesty pass'd, said aloud, *God Almighty preserve your Majesty.* The King return'd them Thanks for their Prayers.

The 27th day of *January*, the President came to the Hall in his Scarlet-Gown. The King had quickly notice the Court was set ; and being call'd, he forthwith went ; and observing him in his red Gown, by that sign he imagin'd it would be the last Day of their sitting, and therefore earnestly press'd the Court, *That although he could not acknowledge their Jurisdiction, for those Reasons he had given, nevertheless desired that he might have a Conference in the Painted-Chamber, with a Committee of Lords and Commons, before the Court proceeded any farther.* Whereupon the President arose, and the Court withdrew ; in which Interval the King like-

wise retired to *Cotton-House*, where he and *Dr. Juxon* were private for about an Hour, and then Colonel *Hunks* gave notice that the Court was set.

The King being seated in the Chair, the President told his Majesty, *That his Motion for a Conference with a Committee of Lords and Commons had been taken into consideration, but would not be granted by the Court, in regard he would not own their Jurisdiction, nor acknowledge them for a lawful Assembly.* Whereupon the King with Vehemency insisted, *That his reasonable Request might be granted; that what he had to offer to a Committee of either House might be consider'd before they proceeded to Sentence.*

His Majesty had the former day moved the President, *That the Grounds and Reasons he had put in writing for his disowning their Authority might be publickly read by their Clerk; but*

neither would that Desire of his be granted.

The President then gave Judgment against the King, who at the President's pronouncing it, was observ'd to smile, and lift up his Eyes to Heaven; as appealing to the Divine Majesty, the most supreme Judge.

The King, at the rising of the Court, was with a Guard of Halberdiers returned to *White-Hall* in a close Chair, through *King-street*, both sides whereof had a Guard of Foot-Soldiers, who were silent as his Majesty pass'd. But Shop-Stalls and Windows were full of People, many of which shed Tears, and some of them with audible Voices pray'd for the King, who through the Privy-Garden was carried to his Bed-Chamber; whence, after Two Hours space, he was removed to *St. James's*, Nothing of the Fear of Death, or Indignities offer'd, seem'd a Terror, or

provok'd him to Impatience, nor utter'd he a reproachful Word reflecting upon any of his Judges (albeit he well knew that some of them had been his Domestic-Servants) or against any Member of the House, or Officer of the Army ; so wonderful was his Patience, though his Spirit was great, and might otherwise have expressed his Resentments upon several Occasions. It was a true Christian-Fortitude to have the Mastery of his Passion, and Submission to the Will of God under such Temptations.

The King now bidding farewell to the World, his whole business was a serious Preparation for Death, which opens the Door unto Eternity ; in order thereunto, he laid aside all other Thoughts, and spent the remainder of his time in Prayer and other pious Exercises of Devotion, and in conference with that meek and learned Bishop Dr. *Juxon*, who, under God, was a great Support

to him in that his afflicted condition : and resolving to sequester himself so, as he might have no Disturbance to his Mind, nor Interruption to his Meditations ; he order'd Mr. *Herbert* to excuse it to any that might have the desire to visit him. *I know* (said the King) *my Nephew, the Prince-Elector, will endeavour it, and some other Lords that love me, which I would take in good part, but my time is short and precious, and I am desirous to improve it the best I may in Preparation ; I hope they will not take it ill, that none have Access unto me but my Children. The best Office they can do now, is to pray for me.* And it fell out accordingly : for his Electoral - Highness, accompany'd by the Duke of *Richmond*, the Lord Marquis of *Hartford*, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Lindsey*, with some more, having got leave, came to the Bed-Chamber Door, where Mr. *Herbert*,

pursuant to the King's Command, acquainted the Prince-Elector, and those Noblemen, with what the King gave him in charge; wherein they acquiesced, and presenting their humble Duty to his Majesty, with their Prayers, they returned with Hearts full of Sorrow, as appear'd by their Faces. The Prince also (then in *Holland*) by the States Ambassadors interceded with the Parliament, and used all possible means with the Army to prevent, or at least for deferring of Execution.

At this time also came to S. *James's* Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Vines*, Mr. *Caryll*, Mr. *Dell*, and some other *London*-Ministers, who presented their Duty to the King, with their humble Desires to pray with him, and perform other Offices of Service, if his Majesty pleas'd to accept of 'em. The King return'd them Thanks for their Love to his Soul, hoping that they, and all other his good Subjects,

would, in their Addresses to God, be mindful of him. But in regard he had made choice of *Dr. Juxon* (whom for many Years he had known to be a pious and learned Divine, and able to administer ghostly Comfort to his Soul, suitable to his present condition) he would have none other. These Ministers were no sooner gone, but *Mr. John Goodwyn* (Minister in *Coleman-street*) came likewise upon the same account, to tender his Service, which the King also thank'd him for, and dismiss'd him with the like friendly Answer.

Mr. Herbert about this time going to the Cockpit near *White-Hall*, where the Earl of *Pembroke's* Lodgings were, he then, as at sundry other times, enquired how his Majesty did, and gave his humble Duty to him, and withal, ask'd him, If his Majesty had the Gold Watch he sent for, and how he liked it. *Mr. Herbert* assured his Lordship, the

King had not yet received it. The Earl fell presently into a Passion, marvelling thereat ; being the more troubled, lest his Majesty should think him careless, in observing his Commands ; and told Mr. *Herbert*, at the King's coming to St. *James's*, as he was sitting under the great Elm - Tree, near Sir *Benjamin Ruddier's* Lodge in the Park, seeing a considerable Military-Officer of the Army pass towards St. *James's*, he went to meet him, and demanding of him, If he knew his Cousin *Tom Herbert*, that waited on the King ? The Officer said, He did, and was going to St. *James's*. The Earl then deliver'd to him the Gold Watch that had the Alarm, desiring him to give it Mr. *Herbert*, to present it to the King. The Officer promised the Earl he would immediately do it. My Lord (said Mr. *Herbert*) I have sundry times seen and pass'd by that Officer since, and do

assure your Lordship he hath not deliver'd it me according to your Order and his Promise, nor said any thing to me concerning it, nor has the King it I am certain. The Earl was very angry; and gave the Officer his due Character, and threatened to question him. But such was the severity of the Times, that it was then judged dangerous to reflect upon such a Person, being a Favourite of the time, so as no notice was taken of it. Nevertheless, Mr. *Herbert* (at the Earl's desire (acquainted his Majesty therewith, who gave the Earl his Thanks, and said, *Ah! Had he not told the Officer it was for me, it would probably have been delivered; he well knew how short a time I could enjoy it.* This Relation is in prosecution of what is formerly mention'd, concerning the Clock or Alarm-Watch his Majesty intended to dispose of, as is declared.

That Evening, Mr. *Seamour* (a Gen-

tleman then attending the Prince of *Wales* in his Bed-Chamber) by Colonel *Hacker's* permission, came to his Majesty's Bed-Chamber Door, desiring to speak with the King from the Prince of *Wales*; being admitted, he presented his Majesty with a Letter from his Highness the Prince of *Wales*, bearing date from the *Hague* the 23d day of *January* -48. (Old Stile). Mr. *Seamour*, at his Entrance, fell into a Passion, having formerly seen his Majesty in a glorious State, and now in a dolorous; and having kiss'd the King's Hand, clasp'd about his Legs, lamentably mourning. *Hacker* came in with the Gentlemen and was abash'd. But so soon as his Majesty had read his Son's sorrowing Letter, and heard what his Servant had to say, and imparted to him what his Majesty thought fit in return, the Prince's Servant took his leave, and was no sooner gone, but the

King went to his Devotion, Dr. *Juxon* praying with him, and reading some select Chapters out of sacred Scripture.

That Evening the King took a Ring from his Finger, and gave it Mr. *Herbert*; it had an Emerald set between two Diamonds, and commanded him as

* *She was the King's late as it was to go with
Laundress, and Wife it from St. James's
to Sir W. Wheeler. to a* * Lady living

then in *Channel-Row*, on the backside of *King-street*, in *Westminster*, and give it her, without saying any thing. The Night was exceeding dark and Guards set in several places, as the House, Garden, Park, Gates near *White-Hall*, *King-street*, and other where.

Nevertheless, getting the Word from Colonel *Tomlinson*, (then there, and in all places wherever he was about the King so civil both towards his Majesty and such as attended him, as gain'd

him the King's good Opinion ; and as an Evidence thereof, gave him his Gold Pick-Tooth-Case, as he was one time walking in the Presence-Chamber) Mr. *Herbert* pass'd currently, though in all places where Centinels were, he was bid Stand, till the Corporals had the Word from him. Being arrived at the Lady's House, he deliver'd her the Ring ; *Sir* (said she) *give me leave to show you the way into the Parlour*, where she desired him to stay till she returned, which in a little time she did, and gave him a little Cabinet which was closed with Three Seals ; two of them being the King's Arms, the third was the Figure of a *Roman* ; praying him to deliver it to the same Hand that sent the Ring, which was left with her.

The Word secured Mr. *Herbert's* Return unto the King. When the Bishop being but newly gone to his

Lodging in Sir *Henry Hen's* House near St. *James's* Gate, his Majesty said to Mr. *Herbert*, He should see it open'd in the Morning.

Morning being come, the Bishop was early with the King, and after Prayers his Majesty broke the Seals open, and shew'd them what was contain'd in it; there were Diamonds and Jewels, most part broken Georges and Garters. *You see* (said he) *all the Wealth now in my Power to give my Two Children.* Next day Princess *Elizabeth*, and the Duke of *Gloucester*, her Brother, came to take their sad Farewel of the King their Father, and to ask his Blessing. This was the 29th of *Jan.* The Princess being the elder, was the most sensible of her Royal Father's Condition, as appear'd by her sorrowful Look and excessive weeping; and her little Brother seeing his Sister weep, he took the like Impression, though by reason of

his tender Age he could not have the like Apprehension. The King rais'd them both from off their Knees; he kiss'd them, gave them his Blessing, and setting them on his Knees, admonish'd them concerning their Duty and Loyal Observance to the Queen their Mother, the Prince that was his successor, Love to the Duke of *York*, and his other Relations. The King then gave them all his Jewels, save the George he wore, which was cut in an Onyx with great Curiosity, and set about with 21 fair Diamonds, and the Reverse set with the like Number; and again kissing his Children, had such pretty and pertinent Answers from them both, as drew Tears of Joy and Love from his Eyes; and then praying God Almighty to bless 'em, he turned about, expressing a tender and fatherly Affection. Most sorrowful was this Parting, the young Princess shedding Tears and crying

lamentably, so as mov'd others to Pity, that formerly were hard-hearted ; and at opening the Bed - Chamber Door, the King return'd hastily from the Window and kiss'd 'em and bless'd 'em ; so parted.

This Demonstration of a pious Affection exceedingly comforted the King in this his Affliction ; so that in a grateful Return he went immediately to Prayer, the good Bishop and Mr. *Herbert* being only present.

It may not be forgotten, that Sir *Henry Herbert*, Kt. Master of the Revels, and Gentleman in Ordinary of his Majesty's Honourable Privy-Chamber (one that cordially lov'd and honour'd the King his Master, and during the War, suffer'd considerably in his Estate by Sequestration and otherwise) meeting Mr. *Herbert* his Kinsman in *St. James's Park*, first enquir'd how his Majesty did? he then presented his

humble Duty to the King, with an assurance that himself and many others of his Majesty's Servants fervently pray'd for him, and requested that his Majesty would please to read the Second Chapter of *Ecclesiasticus*; for he would find Comfort in it, aptly suiting his present Condition. Accordingly Mr. *Herbert* soon after acquainted the King therewith, who thank'd Sir *Henry*, and commended him for his excellent Parts, being a good Scholar, Soldier, and an accomplish'd Courtier; and for his many years faithful Service much valu'd by the King, who presently turn'd to the Chapter, and read it with much Satisfaction.

That day the Bishop of *London*, after Prayers, preach'd before the King, his Text was the Second Chapter of the *Romans*, and Sixteenth Verse; the Words are, *At that day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ,*

&c. inferring from thence, that although God's Judgments be for some time deferred, he will nevertheless proceed to a strict Examination of what is both said and done by every Man ; yea, the most hidden things and Imaginations of Men will most certainly be made to appear at the Day of Judgment, when the Lord *Jesus Christ* shall be upon his high Tribunal ; all Designs, tho' conceal'd in this Life, shall then be plainly discover'd ; he then proceeded to the present sad occasion, and after that, administered the Sacrament. That day the King eat and drank very sparingly, most part of the day being spent in Prayer and Meditation ; it was some hours after Night, e'er Dr. *Juxon* took leave of the King, who willed him to be early with him the next Morning.

That Night, after which Sentence was pronounc'd in *Westminster-Hall*, Colonel *Hacker* (who then commanded

the Guards about the King) would have plac'd two Musqueteers in the King's Bed-Chamber, which his Majesty being acquainted with, he made no Reply, only gave a Sigh; howbeit the good Bishop and Mr. *Herbert*, apprehending the Horrour of it, and Disturbance it would give the King in his Meditations and Preparation for his Departure out of this uncomfortable World; also representing the Barbarousness of such an Act, they never left the Colonel till he reversed his Order by withdrawing these Men.

After the Bishop was gone to his Lodging, the King continu'd reading and praying more than two Hours after. The King commanded Mr. *Herbert* to lie by his Bed-side upon a Pallat, where he took small rest, that being the last Night his Gracious Sovereign and Master enjoy'd; but nevertheless the King for Four Hours or thereabouts, slept

soundly, and awaking about Two Hours afore day, he opened his Curtain to call Mr. *Herbert*; there being a great Cake of Wax set in a Silver Bason, that then as at all other times, burned all Night; so that he perceiv'd him somewhat disturb'd in sleep; but calling him, bad him rise; *For*, (said his Majesty) *I will get up, having a great Work to do this Day*; however he would know why he was so troubled in his sleep? He reply'd, May it please your Majesty I was dreaming. I would know your Dream, said the King; which being told, his Majesty said, *It was remarkable*. Herbert, *this is my Second Marriage-Day; I would be as trim to day as may be; for before Night I hope to be espoused to my blessed Jesus*. He then appointed what Cloaths he would wear; *Let me have a Shirt on more than ordinary*, said the King, *by reason the season is so sharp as probably may make me shake,*

which some Observers will imagine proceeds from fear. I would have no such Imputation. I fear not Death! Death is not terrible to me. I bless my God I am prepar'd.

These, or Words to this effect, his Majesty spoke to Mr. *Herbert*, as he was making ready. Soon after came Dr. *Juxon* Bishop of *London* precisely at the time his Majesty the Night before had appointed him. Mr. *Herbert* then falling upon his Knees, humbly beg'd his Majesty's Pardon, if he had at any time been negligent in his Duty, whilst he had the Honour to serve him. The King thereupon gave him his Hand to kiss, having the day before been graciously pleased, under his Royal Hand, to give him a Certificate, expressing, That the said Mr. *Herbert*, was not impos'd upon him, but by his Majesty made choice of to attend him in his Bed-Chamber, and had serv'd

him with Faithfulness and Loyal Affection. At the same time his Majesty also deliver'd him his Bible, in the Margin whereof he had with his own hand writ many Annotations and Quotations, and charged him to give it the Prince so soon as he returned ; repeating what he had enjoyned the Princess *Elizabeth*, his Daughter, That he would be dutiful and indulgent to the Queen his Mother (to whom his Majesty writ two days before by Mr. *Seymour*) affectionate to his Brothers and Sisters, who also were to be observant and dutiful to him their Sovereign ; and for as much as from his Heart he had forgiven his Enemies, and in perfect Charity with all Men would leave the World, he had advised the Prince his Son to exceed in Mercy, not in rigour ; and, as to Episcopacy, it was still his Opinion, That it is of Apostolique Institution. and in this Kingdom exercised from the Primitive

Times, and therein, as in all other his Affairs, pray'd God to vouchsafe him, both in reference to Church and State, a pious and a discerning Spirit ; and that it was his last and earnest Request, that he would frequently read the Bible, which in all the time of his Affliction had been his best Instructor and Delight ; and to meditate upon what he read ; as also such other Books as might improve his Knowledge. He likewise commanded Mr. *Herbert* to give his Son, the Duke of *York*, his large Ring Sun-Dial of Silver, a Jewel his Majesty much valu'd ; it was invented and made by Mr. *Dela-
maine*, an able Mathematician, who projected it, and in a little printed Book shew'd its excellent Use, in resolving many Questions in Arithmetick, and other rare Operations to be wrought by it in the Mathematicks. To the Princess *Elizabeth* Doctor *Andrews's* Sermons (he was Prelate of the most noble Order

of the Garter, as he was Bishop of *Winchester*), Archbishop *Laud* against *Fisher* the Jesuit, which Book (the King said) would ground her against Popery, and Mr. *Hooker's* Ecclesiastical Polity. To the Duke of *Gloucester*, King *James's* Works, and Dr. *Hammond's* Practical Catechism. *Cassandra* to the Earl of *Lindsey*, the Lord High Chamberlain. And his Gold Watch to the Duchess of *Richmond*. All which, as opportunity serv'd, Mr. *Herbert* deliver'd.

His Majesty then bade him withdraw; for he was about an hour in private with the Bishop; and being call'd in, the Bishop went to Prayer; and reading also the 27th Chapter of the Gospel of St. *Matthew*, which relateth the Passion of our Blessed Saviour. The King, after the Service was done, ask'd the Bishop, *If he had made choice of that Chapter, being so applicable to his*

present Condition ? The Bishop reply'd, *May it please your Gracious Majesty, it is the proper Lesson for the Day, as appears by the Kalendar ;* which the King was much affected with, so aptly serving as a seasonable Preparation for his Death that Day.

So as his Majesty, abandoning all Thoughts of earthly Concerns, continu'd in Prayer and Meditation, and concluded with a chearful Submission to the Will and Pleasure of the Almighty, saying, He was ready to resign himself into the Hands of Christ Jesus, being with the Kingly Prophet, *shut up in the hands of his enemies ;* as is expressed in the 31st *Psalm*, and the 8th Verse.

Colonel *Hacker* then knock'd easily at the King's Chamber Door. Mr. *Herbert* being within, would not stir to ask who it was ; but knocking the second time a little louder, the King bade him

go to the Door. He guess'd his Business. So Mr. *Herbert* demanding, Wherefore he knock'd? The Colonel said, he would speak with the King. The King said, *Let him come in.* The Colonel in trembling manner came near, and told his Majesty, It was time to go to *White-Hall*, where he might have some further time to rest. The King bad him go forth, *he would come presently.* Some time his Majesty was private, and afterwards taking the good Bishop by the Hand, looking upon him with a cheerful Countenance, he said, *Come, let us go;* and bidding Mr. *Herbert*, take with him the silver Clock, that hung by the Bed side, said, *Open the Door, Hacker has given us a Second Warning.* Through the Garden the King pass'd into the Park, where making a stand, he ask'd Mr. *Herbert* the Hour of the Day; and taking the Clock into

his Hand, gave it him, and bade him keep it in memory of him ; which Mr. *Herbert* keeps accordingly.

The Park had several Companies of Foot drawn up, who made a Guard on either side as the King passed, and a Guard of Halberdiers in company went some before, and other some followed ; the Drums beat, and the Noise was so great as one could hardly hear what another spoke.

Upon the King's Right-Hand went the Bishop, and Colonel *Tomlinson* on his left, with whom his Majesty had some Discourse by the way ; Mr. *Herbert* was next the King ; after him the Guards. In this manner went the King through the Park ; and coming to the Stair, the King passed along the Galleries unto his Bed-Chamber, where, after a little Repose, the Bishop went to Prayer ; which, being done, his Majesty bid Mr. *Herbert*, bring him some

Bread and Wine, which being brought, the King broke the Manchet, and eat a Mouthful of it, and drank a small Glassfull of Claret-Wine, and then was sometime in private with the Bishop, expecting when *Hacker* would the third and last time give warning. Mean time his Majesty told Mr. *Herbert* which Satin Night-Cap he would use, which being provided, and the King at private Prayer, Mr. *Herbert* address'd himself to the Bishop, and told him, The King had ordered him to have a White Satin Night-Cap ready, but was not able to endure the sight of that Violence they upon the Scaffold would offer the King. The good Bishop bid him then give him the Cap, and wait at the end of the Banqueting-House, near the Scaffold, to take care of the King's Body; for (said he) that, and his Interment, will be our last Office.

Colonel *Hacker* came soon after to

the Bed-Chamber-Door, and gave his last signal; the Bishop and Mr. *Herbert*, weeping, fell upon their Knees, and the King gave them his Hand to kiss, and help'd the Bishop up, for he was aged.

Colonel *Hacker* attending still at the Chamber-Door, the King took notice of it, and said, *Open the Door*, and bade *Hacker* go, he would follow. A Guard was made all along the Galleries and the Banqueting-House; but behind the Soldiers abundance of Men and Women crowded in, though with some Peril to their Persons, to behold the saddest sight *England* ever saw. And as his Majesty pass'd by, with a chearful Look, heard them pray for him, the Soldiers not rebuking any of them; by their silence and dejected Faces seeming afflicted rather than insulting. There was a Passage broken through the Wall, by which the King pass'd unto the Scaffold; where, after his Majesty

had spoken a little, the fatal Stroke was given by a disguised Person.

Mr. *Herbert*, during this, was at the Door lamenting ; and the Bishop coming thence with the Royal Corps, which was immediately coffin'd, and covered with a black Velvet-Pall ; he and Mr. *Herbert* went with it to the Back-Stairs to be embalmed. Mean time they went into the Long-Gallery, where chancing to meet the General, he ask'd Mr. *Herbert*, how the King did ? Which he thought strange (it seems thereby that the General knew not what had passed, being all that Morning (as indeed at other times) using his Power and Interest to have the Execution deferr'd for some days, forbearing his coming among the Officers, and fully resolv'd, with his own Regiment, to prevent the Execution, or have it deferr'd till he could make a Party in the Army to second his Design ; but being with the Officers of

the Army then at Prayer, or Discourse in Colonel *Harrison's* Apartment (being a Room at the hither end of that Gallery looking towards the Privy-Garden) His Question being answer'd, the General seem'd much surprized; and walking further in the Gallery, they were met by another great Commander, *Cromwell*, who knew what had so lately passed; for he told them, They should have Orders for the King's Burial speedily.

The Royal Corps being embalmed and coffined, and those wrapt in Lead, and covered with a new Velvet-Pall, was removed to the King's House at *St. James's*, where was great pressing by all sorts of People to see the King, or where he was: A doleful Spectacle! but few had leave to enter and behold it.

Where to bury the King was the last Duty remaining. By some Historians

it's said, That the King spoke something to the Bishop concerning his Burial.

Mr. *Herbert*, both before and after the King's Death, was frequently in Company with the Bishop, and affirms, that the Bishop never mentioned any thing to him of the King's naming any place where he would be buried ; nor did Mr. *Herbert* (who constantly attended his Majesty, and (after his coming from *Hurst-Castle*) alone in his Bed-Chamber) hear him at any time declare his mind concerning it ; nor was it in his Life-time a proper Question for either of them to ask, albeit they had oftentimes the opportunity, especially when his Majesty was bequeathing to his Royal Children and Friends what is formerly related. Nor did the Bishop declare any thing concerning the place to Mr. *Herbert*, which doubtless he would, upon Mr. *Herbert's* pious Care

about it, which being duly consider'd, they thought no place more fit to interr the Corps than in King *Henry VII's* Chappel, at the East end of *Westminster-Abbey*, out of which King's Loins King *Charles* was lineally extracted, and where several Kings and Queens descending from King *Henry VII.* are interred, namely, King *Edward VI.* Queen *Mary*, Queen *Elizabeth*, *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, King *James*, Prince *Henry*, and other Princes of the Royal Stem.

Whereupon, Mr. *Herbert* made his Application to such as were then in power, for leave to bury the King's Body in King *Henry the VII's* Chappel, among his Ancestours; but his Request was deny'd, this Reason being given, That probably it would attract infinite Numbers of People of all sorts thither, to see where the King was buried; which (as the times then were) was

judged unsafe and inconvenient. Mr. *Herbert* acquainting the Bishop therewith, they then resolved to bury the King's Body in the Royal Chappel of *St. George* within the Castle of *Windsor*, both in regard his Majesty was Sovereign of the most noble Order of the Garter; and that several Kings, his Ancestors are there interred, namely, King *Henry VI.* King *Edward IV.* and King *Henry VIII.* It was also a Castle and place his Majesty took great Delight in, as in Discourse he oft times expressed as occasion offered; and withal, for that the Royal Chappel of *St. George* was, tho' founded by King *Edward III.* rebuilt by King *Edward IV.* with much more Magnificence.

Upon which Considerations Mr. *Herbert* made his Second Address to the Committee of Parliament, who, after some Deliberation, gave him an Order bearing date the 6th of *February* —48.

authorizing him and Mr. *Mildmay* to bury the King's Body there, which the Governor was to observe.

Accordingly the Corps was thither carried from St. *James's* in a Hearse covered with black Velvet, drawn by Six Horses also cover'd with black ; after which, Four Coaches followed, two of them covered likewise with black Cloth, in which were about a Dozen Gentlemen and others, most of them being such as had waited on his Majesty at *Carisbrook-Castle* and other places, since his Majesty's going from *New-Castle*, all of them being in black.

Being come to *Windsor-Castle*, Mr. *Herbert* shew'd the Governour, Col. *Whitchcott*, the Committee's Order for permitting Mr. *Herbert* and Mr. *Mildmay* to bury the late King in any place within *Windsor Castle* they should think meet.

In the first place in order thereto,

they carried the King's Body into the Dean's House, which all was hung with black by *Richard Harrison*, and then to his usual Bed-Chamber, which is within the Palace; after which they went into St. *Georges's*-Chappel to take a view thereof, and of the most fit and honourable place for the Royal Corps to rest in. Haveing taken a View, they at first thought, that the Tomb-House would be a fit place; it was erected by the magnificent Prelate Cardinal *Woolsey* (much about the same time he built his stately House at *Hampton-Court*, in which Tomb - House he begun a glorious Monument for his great Master King *Henry VIII.* but this Place, though adjoining, yet not being within the Royal Chappel, they waved it. For if King *Henry VIII.* were buried there (albeit to that day the place of his burial was unknown to any) yet in regard his Majesty (who was a real Defender of

the Faith, and as far from censuring any as might be) would upon occasional Discourse express some Dislike of King *Harry's* Proceedings, in misemploying those vast Revenues the suppressed Abbeys, Monasteries, and other religious Houses were endowed with, and by demolishing those many stately Structures (which both expressed the Greatness of the Founders, and preserved the Splendour of the Kingdom) might at the Reformation have in some measure been kept up and converted to sundry pious Uses. Upon Consideration thereof, those Gentlemen declin'd it, and pitcht upon the Vault where King *Edward IV.* is interr'd, being in the North-side of the Choire, near the Altar, as formerly remembred, that King being one his late Majesty would many times make mention of, and from whom his Majesty was lineally propagated, which induced Mr. *Herbert* to give order to

have that Vault opened, to bury the King's Body near his Ancestor King *Edward IV.* who is interred under a fair large Stone of Tuke, raised within the opposite Arch, having a range of Iron Bars gilt, curiously cut according to Church-work ; there is no Sculpture or Inscription, only the Royal Badge painted on the inside of the Arch in several places.

But as they were about this Work, some Noblemen came thither, namely, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hartford*, since Duke of *Somerset*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Earl of *Lindsey*, Lord High-Chamberlain, with Dr. *Juxon*, Lord Bishop of *London* (Archbishop of *Canterbury* afterwards) who had leave to attend the King's Body to his Grave ; and being fit to submit and leave the Choice of the Place of Burial to those great Persons, they in like manner viewing the Tomb-House, and the Choire, one of those Lords beating

gently upon the Pavement with his Staff, perceiv'd a hollow sound, and ordering the Stones and Earth thereunder to be removed, discover'd a descent into a Vault, where two Coffins were laid near one another, the one very large of antique form, the other little, suppos'd to contain the Bodies of King *Henry VIII.* and Queen *Jane Seymour*, his Third Wife, and Mother of King *Edward VI.* of whom in the Year 1537. she dyed in childbed; and may be credited; for as Mr. *Brook*, *York-Herauld*, in his Catalogue of the Nobility, p. 40. observes, no other of King *Harry's* six Wives was buried at *Windsor*; the Velvet - Palls that were over them seemed fresh, albeit laid there 130 Years and upwards. The Lords agreeing that the King's Body should there be interr'd (being about the middle of the Choire, over against the Eleventh Stall upon the Sovereigns side) they gave

order to have the King's Name, and Year he dyed, cut in Lead, which whilst the Workman was about, the Lords went out, and gave the Sexton order to lock the Chappel-Door, not suffering any to stay till further notice. The Sexton did his best to clear the Chappel; nevertheless (he said) a Foot-Soldier had hid himself so as was not discern'd, and being greedy of Prey, got into the Vault, and cut so much of the Velvet-Pall, as he judg'd would hardly be missed, and wimbled a hole into the Coffin that was largest, probably fancying there was something well worth his Adventure. The Sexton, at his opening the Door, espy'd the sacrilegious Person, who being searched, a Bone was also found about him; which, he said, he would haft a Knife with. The Governour gave him his Reward. But this manifests that a real Body was there, which some that have hard

Thoughts of King *Harry*, have scrupled.

The Girdle or Circumscription of Capital Letters in Lead put about the Coffin, had only these Words,

KING CHARLES,
1648.

The King's Body was then brought from his Bed-Chamber down into St. *George's* Hall, whence, after a little stay, it was with a slow and solemn Pace (much Sorrow in most Faces discernable) carried by Gentlemen that were of some Quality, and in Mourning, the Lords in like Habits follow'd the Royal Corps. The Governour and several Gentlemen and Officers and Attendants came after.

This is memorable, that at such time as the King's Body was brought out of St. *George's* Hall; the Sky was serene

and clear, but presently it began to snow, and fell so fast, as by that time they came to the West-end of the Royal Chappel, the black Velvet-Pall was all white (the colour of Innocency) being thick covered over with snow. So went the white King to his Grave, in the 48th Year of his Age, and the 22d Year and 10th Month of his Reign. Letting pass *Merlyn's* Prophecies, some make it allude to the white Sattin his Majesty wore, when he was crowned in *Westminster-Abbey* in the Year 1625. former Kings having on purple Robes at their Coronation. The King's Body being by the Bearers set down near the Place of Burial; the Bishop of *London* stood ready with the Service - Book in his Hands to have performed his last Duty to the King his Master, according to the Order or Form for the Burial of the Dead, set forth in the Book of Common-Prayer, which the Lords likewise

desired, but would not be suffered by Col. *Whitchcott* the Governour, by reason of the Directory to which (said he) he and others were to be conformable.

This brief Narrative shall conclude with the King's own excellent Expression, *Crowns and Kingdoms are not so valuable as my Honour and Reputation; those must have a Period with my Life, but these survive to a glorious kind of Immortality, when I am dead and gone; a Good Name being the Embalming of Princes, and a sweet Consecrating of them to an Eternity of Love and Gratitude amongst Posterity.*

*The Copy of a LETTER written to
me, Sir William Dugdale, Knight
(Garter-Principal King of Arms)
by Sir THO. HERBERT, Baronet,
the Author of the preceding Nar-
rative, bearing date at York 3.
Novemb. 1681.*

Honoured S I R,

“ **I** Shall now give you all the Satis-
 “ faction I can, as to the Reality,
 “ of his late Majesty’s Burial, in
 “ his Royal Chapel at *Windsor*, of
 “ which (as I perceive by your Letter)
 “ his Majesty is somewhat doubtful,
 “ which Scruples probably arise from
 “ some Misinformation.

“ That the Royal Corps was em-
“ balmed and coffin'd in Lead, you find
“ truly related in my Narrative ; I was
“ also assur'd thereof by Mr. *Trapam*,
“ the Chirurgeon, who came to me for
“ Linen, which I furnished him with,
“ of what was my own, both Shirts
“ and Sheets, being very fine Holland.
“ He either would not apply to the
“ Commissioners then appointed for
“ the King's Burial (being Colonel
“ *Harrison, Cornelius Holland*, and
“ others) or was so delay'd that he ap-
“ ply'd to me ; and accordingly I sup-
“ ply'd him agreeable to a pious Duty.
“ This Circumstance I mention, as a
“ Testimony that the Corps was un-
“ doubtedly coffin'd, which the Chi-
“ rurgeon, and *W. Hammond*, that
“ made the Wood, and saw the Body
“ laid in the Sheet of Lead, then
“ averr'd.

“ The Body being removed from
 “ *White-Hall*, in a Chariot to St.
 “ *James's*, there remain'd till the 7th
 “ of *February*, during which, it was
 “ expos'd to publick View ; as you find
 “ writ by Sir *Richard Baker*, in his
 “ *Chronicle*, pag. 502. printed in the
 “ Year 1660.

“ The Chirurgeon reported, That
 “ at the Body's laying into the Coffin,
 “ there came several to see the King,
 “ and would have given him any Money
 “ for Locks of his Hair, which he re-
 “ fused.

“ In my Narrative I told you, That
 “ I begg'd heartily of the Committee.
 “ for leave to interr the Royal Corps in
 “ King *Henry VII's* Chapel at *West-*
 “ *minster*, but it would not be granted.
 “ The Reasons they gave me, you have
 “ set down in that Narrative. Where-
 “ upon, I petition'd them for leave to

“ bury him at *Windsor*, which was
“ granted, and an Order made the
“ 7th of *February* 1648. by the Com-
“ mittee appointed for the Interring of
“ the Body of the King, thereby licenc-
“ ing me and Captain *Mildmay* to carry
“ his Corps to *Windsor* (taking along
“ those Gentlemen and Servants that
“ waited upon the King) and to interr
“ the Corps in such place as Mr.
“ *Herbert*, and Mr. *Mildmay* should see
“ most convenient; for Defray of the
“ Charge whereof 200*l.* was paid us by
“ Captain *Falconberg* the 8th of *Febru-*
“ *ary* 1648. which Sum falling short,
“ we had 29*l.* 5*s.* more paid by Colonel
“ *Harrison* the 20th day of *February*;
“ the Total amounting to 229*l.* 5*s.* out
“ which was 130*l.* paid to Seventeen
“ Gentlemen and other inferiour Ser-
“ vants for Mourning; amongst which
“ was Mr. *Murry*, who was Coachman
“ to the King; and then drove the

“ Chariot that had the Hearse ; and for
 “ his faithful Service was continu'd in
 “ that place to our Sovereign that now
 “ is, and I think can testifie, That the
 “ Royal Corps was carried from St.
 “ *James's* to *Windsor*. I know not
 “ whether he be yet alive.

“ Three Pounds were paid Capt.
 “ *Joyner*, for Three Dozen of Torches;
 “ 15s. to some Men for Bearing the
 “ Body from the Gate at *Windsor*-
 “ Castle to the Bed-Chamber ; 7*l.* to
 “ *John Harrison*, for removing the Body
 “ thrice, and for hanging the Deans
 “ Hall with Black 10s.

“ To *Samuel Clarke*, for opening
 “ King *Edward IV's* Vault (where
 “ we thought to have interr'd the King)
 “ and setting it right again—

“ Upon the Lords coming the next
 “ day, King *Henry the VIII's* Vault
 “ was open'd by *Nicholas Harrison*,
 “ for which he had 10s. 5s. 6*d.* to

to Sir William Dugdale, &c. 213

“ Widow *Puddifat* and *Isaac* the Sexton,
“ her Man, who had Charge of the
“ Chapel-Door ; the rest of the Money
“ was disburs’d for Diet, and to the
“ Gentlemen and Servants of the
“ 16th of *February*, at which time it
“ ceased.

“ The Accompt being examin’d and
“ proved, I had a Discharge.

“ In this Manuscript I now send you
“ by Mr. *Waller*, I have in the Margin
“ named the inferiour Attendants. I be-
“ lieve Mr. *Firebrace*, Mr. *Dowset*, and
“ Mr. *Levet*, know most of them ; and
“ if any of them be alive, I verily
“ think they were Eye-Witnesses of
“ the late King’s being coffin’d and
“ clos’d in Lead, when he was remov’d
“ from *St. James’s* to *Windsor* ; and
“ then no Legerdemain was or could
“ be used to take the Body out of
“ the Coffin, I can assure you, I being
“ intrusted with the Corps sacred.

“ Some of these particulars you may
“ judge superfluous or impertinent ; but
“ I know to whom I write, a Flower-
“ gatherer, one I highly honour for your
“ entire Love to the Memory of that good
“ King.

“ And those that came along with
“ us from *St. James's*, and had Mourn-
“ ing given them, were Persons so
“ quick-sighted and inquisitive, that
“ if the King's real Body had not been
“ there, they would have discover'd
“ the Fallacy. But there was no
“ Whisper, no Word of such a thing
“ amongst any of them, that I could
“ hear.

“ To evidence the Truth more fully,
“ the Relation which Doctor *Durell*,
“ the present Dean of *Windsor*, gave
“ you, is unquestionably, proceed-
“ ing from so worthy a Person, that
“ the old Sexton of the Royal Chapel
“ affirm'd to him, upon the Question,

“ That the Coffin being brought thi-
“ ther (whilst the King’s Name was
“ cutting in Capital Letters, to be put
“ about it) the Plumber, at the desire
“ of one of the Noblemen, that had
“ the Parliament’s leave to attend the
“ King’s Body to the Grave open’d it,
“ so as they perfectly discerned his
“ Face; the Sexton likewise seeing it.
“ So as all these put together make
“ a full Proof thereof.

“ I have nothing to add save that
“ it was not Mrs. *Jane Whorwood*, to
“ whom I gave the Ring his Majesty
“ sent by me, as you find related in
“ my short Narrative of some Occur-
“ rents during the two last Years of
“ the late King’s Reign. She was Wife
“ to a Knight, and if it be desired I
“ should give you her Name, I shall
“ satisfie you therein; mean time
“ wishing you many happy Days, and

216 *Sir Tho. Herbert's Letter, &c.*

“ Leasure to publish your Collections
“ concerning our famous Cathedral and
“ Collegiate Churches in this Diocese,
“ am till Death

*Your truly affectionate Friend,
and obliged Servant,*

THO. HERBERT.

It was thought proper to print the following Letter of Sir THOMAS HERBERT, obligingly communicated by Mr. HARRIS, Librarian to the Royal Institution, from a Copy in that Library; particularly as it related so immediately, and so personally, to Sir Thomas's Royal Master.

At the end of this Letter is written, "sent to me by Dr. Rawlinson, 24. Feb. 1729.—T. C." [Thos. Carte.]

A Copy of a Letter from Sir THOMAS HERBERT to Dr. SAMWAYS, and by him sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. SANDCROFT; referred to in p. 524, l. 73, of vol. II. of Athenæ Oxonienses, edit. 1692, and in p. 701, l. 39, of the same vol. edit. 1721; found in a Copy of that Book, lately in the hands of the Lord Viscount PRESTON.

SIR,

Y[ork] 28 Aug. 1680.

“ **A**FTER his late Majesty's
 “ remove from Windsor to St.
 “ James's, albeit according to
 “ the duty of my place, I lay in the next

“ room to the bed-chamber, the King
“ then commanded me to bring my
“ pallate into his chamber, which I ac-
“ cordingly did, the night before that
“ sorrowful day. He ordered what
“ cloaths he would wear, intending that
“ day to be as neat as could be, it being
“ (as he called it) his wedding-day ;
“ and, having a great work to do
“ (meaning his preparation to eternity),
“ said, he would be stirring much
“ earlier than he used.

“ For some hours his Majesty slept
“ very soundly ; for my part I was so
“ full of anguish and grief, that I took
“ little rest. The King, some hours
“ before day, drew his bed-curtain to
“ awaken me, and could by the light
“ of wax-lamp perceive me troubled in
“ my sleep. The King rose forthwith ;
“ and as I was making him ready, Her-
“ bert (said the King) I would know
“ why you were disquieted in your

“ sleep? I replied, May it please your
“ Majesty, I was in a dream. What
“ was your dream? said the King, I
“ would hear it. May it please your
“ Majesty, said I, I dreamed, that as
“ you were making ready, one knocked
“ at the bed-chamber door, which your
“ Majesty took no notice of, nor was
“ I willing to acquaint you with it,
“ apprehending it might be Colonel
“ Hacker. But knocking the second
“ time, your Majesty asked me, if I
“ heard it not? I said I did; but did
“ not use to go without his order. Why
“ then go, know who it is, and his
“ business. Whereupon I opened the
“ door, and perceived that it was the
“ Lord Archbp. of Cant. Dr. Laud, in
“ his Pontifical Habit, as worn at
“ Court; I knew him, having seen him
“ often. The Archbp. desired he might
“ enter, having something to say to
“ the King. I acquainted your Majesty

220 *Letter from Sir T. Herbert*

“ with his desire ; so you bad me let
“ him in. Being in, he made his obey-
“ sance to your Majesty in the middle
“ of the room, doing the like also when
“ he came near your person ; and, fall-
“ ing on his knees, your Majesty gave
“ him your hand to kiss, and took him
“ aside to the window, where some dis-
“ course pass’d between your Majesty
“ and him, and I kept a becoming dis-
“ tance, not hearing any thing that was
“ said, yet could perceive your Majesty
“ pensive by your looks, and that the
“ Archbishop gave a sigh ; who, after
“ a short stay, again kissing your hand,
“ returned, but with face all the way
“ towards your Majesty, and making
“ his usual reverences, the third being
“ so submiss, as he fell prostrate on his
“ face on the ground, and I imme-
“ diately stept to him to help him up,
“ which I was then acting, when your
“ Majesty saw me troubled in my sleep.

“ The impression was so lively, that I
“ look’d about, verily thinking it was
“ no dream.

“ The King said, my dream was re-
“ remarkable, but he is dead ; yet, had
“ we conferred together during life, ’tis
“ very likely (albeit I loved him well)
“ I should have said something to him
“ might have occasioned his sigh.

“ Soon after I had told my dream,
“ Dr. Juxon, then Bishop of London,
“ came to the King, as I relate in that
“ narrative I sent Sir William Dugdale,
“ which I have a transcript of here ;
“ nor know whether it rests with his
“ Grace the Archbishop of Cant. or Sir
“ William, or be disposed of in Sir
“ John Cotton’s Library near West-
“ minster Hall ; but wish you had the
“ perusal of it before you return into
“ the North. And this being not com-
“ municated to any but yourself you

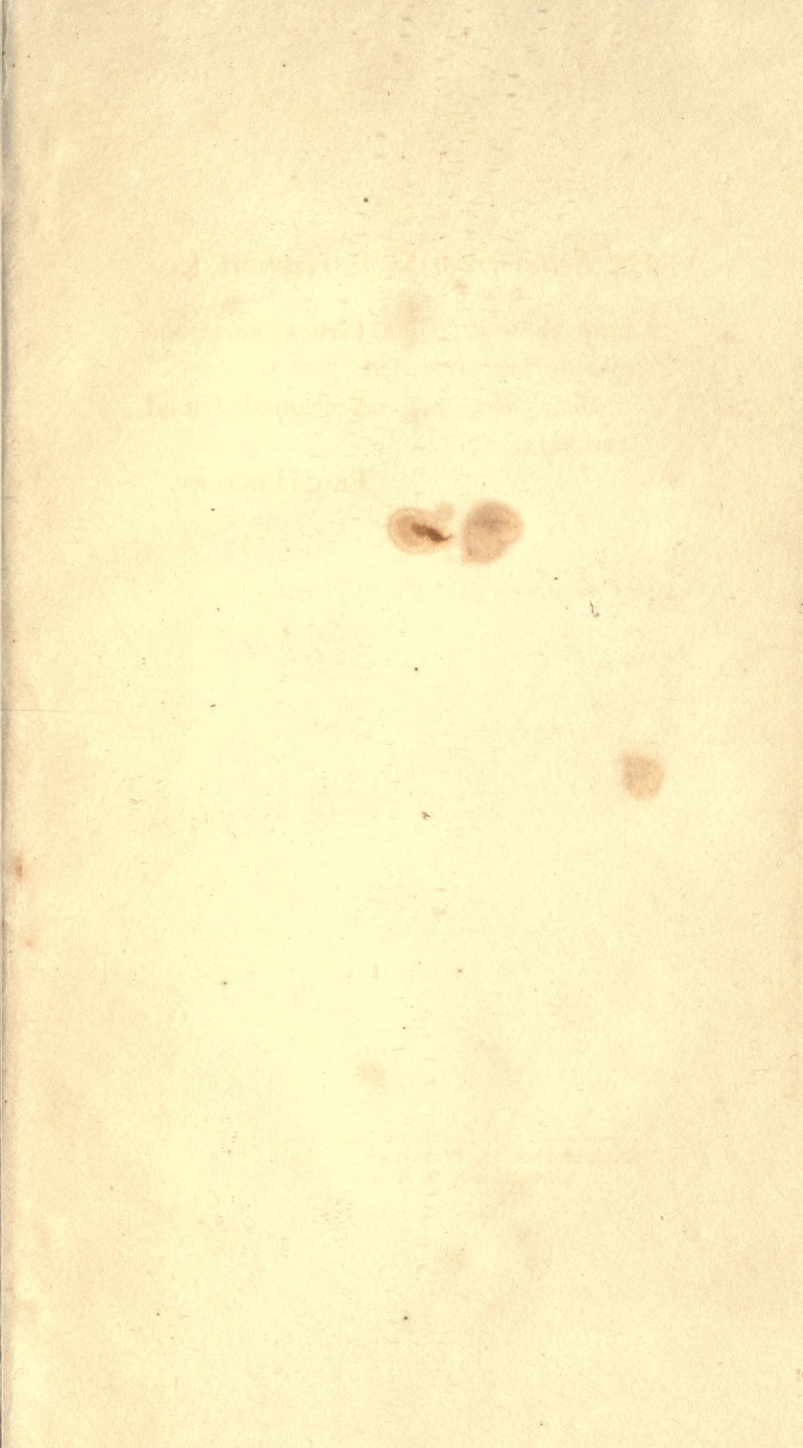
222 *Letter from Sir T. Herbert, &c.*

“ may shew it to his Grace, and none
“ else as you promised.

“ Sir, your very affectioned friend
“ and servant,

THO. HERBERT.”

*Finished reading this Book May 25. 1838.
in a good deal of our own matter and
words many examples of Charles' Patience
in a very many*



1822 Letter from Mrs. Herbert, &c.

May show it to the Grand, and
make as good a use of it.

Be your very affectionate friend
and servant,

Geo. H. H. H.





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Herbert, (Sir) Thomas
Memoirs of the two la
years of the reign of Ki
Charles I

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