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# King Monmouth

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*The Duke of Monmouth.*

# King Monmouth

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1649-1685

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*THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH*  
*AND QUEENSBERRY*  
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## INTRODUCTION

ALL writers upon this eventful period of English History since George Roberts' excellent biography of the Duke of Monmouth was published over fifty years ago, must acknowledge their indebtedness to the considerable amount of research as well as much valuable local knowledge and tradition contained in that work.

Macaulay drew the graphic details of his attractive description of the rebellion of 1685 almost entirely from this book, but, strange to say, that great historian kept the unpretentious Lyme Regis schoolmaster,<sup>1</sup> to whom he owed so much, almost entirely in the background, one reference only being made to the "Life of James Duke of

<sup>1</sup> Roberts was for many years headmaster of Lyme Grammar School, and was elected mayor of the town in 1848-49 and in 1854-55. Subsequently he removed to London and thence to Brighton, where he died in 1860, alas! in very reduced circumstances. His memory is much respected in his native town, and some of the oldest residents still speak of his good parts and kindly nature.

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Monmouth" in a footnote relative to the battle of Sedgemoor ; and this is the more surprising when we consider that Roberts aided the production of this portion of the famous "History of England" to no inconsiderable degree by the loan of some of his own private collections when that work was in course of preparation.

It was my original intention to re-edit this comparatively little known biography and bring it up to date, with the aid of the many interesting documents which have come to light since 1844, when Roberts' "Life" was published ; but for reasons which need not here be entered upon this idea was abandoned. I have nevertheless found it necessary to introduce much material that has before been utilised, from the mere fact that it is too important to be omitted. This, I would point out, mainly has reference to contemporary letters and documents.

With regard to the fresh matter I have mentioned, the most important MSS. I have reproduced in facsimile. Of these the most interesting are Monmouth's supposed intercepted letter, sent by him from the Tower to King James II., and the original declaration signed by the duke in the presence of the bishops, affirming that the title of king was forced upon him and that Charles II. was not married to his mother, Lucy Walter.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Both these documents are now in the Bodleian Library. A MS. copy of the first is among the Drayton Papers.

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The latter is mentioned in the contemporary published account of Monmouth's execution.<sup>1</sup>

Of deeper interest is the little pocket book that was found upon the duke when he was captured on the Woodlands estate in Dorsetshire after the battle of Sedgemoor, which, according to the account of his arrest issued by the king's command, was one of four manuscript books he had in his possession at the time.<sup>2</sup>

The other volumes appear to have been upon fortification and military tactics, "The Yearly Expense of his Majesty's Navy and Land Forces," &c. William III.'s physician, James Welwood, by some chance (which is not specified in his "Memoirs") had access to one of these manuscript books that contained the duke's diary, and copied from it certain passages, but which of the four books included this diary is uncertain. Possibly it was in the above-mentioned little pocket book, and that the pages containing it were removed by James II. before the volume, and other of his papers, was deposited by him shortly before his death in the Scottish College in Paris.

The abdicated king no doubt took the suggestion thrown out by Welwood with regard to the many "dark passages" and "some clear enough"

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Appendix F.

<sup>2</sup> Harleian "Miscellany," vol. vi. p. 322.

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that the book contained, who further remarks that though "they shall be eternally buried for me" — "perhaps it had been for King James' honour to have committed them to the flames as Julius Cæsar is said to have done upon a like occasion."

The "Memoirs" were published soon after William III.'s accession, and the third edition<sup>1</sup> before James' death; therefore it is evident the author's hint was not thrown away upon the Stuart monarch, who was so desirous that his own memoirs should be preserved to posterity.

With regard to these a word must be said to throw some light upon the discovery of Monmouth's pocket-book. At the time of the French Revolution, the President of the English College at Paris suggested that James II.'s manuscript books should be removed there, with the object of sending them to England. This was decided upon, and a parcel containing them was sent, to prevent suspicion, to the house of a Frenchman who was imprisoned while the negotiation was in progress. His wife, fearing the consequences in the event of the parcel being discovered, first had the Royal Arms, &c., upon the bindings cut out, the books were then buried, but afterwards were dug up and burned.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The third edition is dated 1700.

<sup>2</sup> These particulars are given in Clarke, "Life of James II.," which was compiled from the Stuart Papers, obtained by George IV. from the Abbé James Waters or Walters (said to be a collateral

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Monmouth's pocket-book (minus the diary), though not included in Fox's list of ten folio and quarto books left by James II. to the Scotch College, probably was in the parcel intended for St. Omer and escaped the fate of the larger volumes after it had been shorn of its armorial bearings.

In 1827 it was picked up on a Paris bookstall by an Irish divinity student, and after changing hands once or twice was acquired by the British Museum in 1851.<sup>1</sup> As will be seen from the illustration (same size as the original<sup>2</sup>) the space occupied by the arms has been filled with another piece of leather. This is the case upon both sides of the binding. In every particular the book is the same as when found in 1827; the sockets of the silver clasps are there but the clasps themselves are missing. In the Appendix I have given various extracts which give a curious insight into the weakness of Monmouth's character. Accom-

descendant of Lucy Walter), Procurator-General of the English Benedictines at Rome, sole executor of the Duchess of Albany, who found the manuscripts in the library of her father, Prince Charles Edward. The MS. volumes from which James' "Life" was drawn were copied extracts of the king's original "Memoirs," destroyed (as shown above) at the time of the French Revolution.

<sup>1</sup> The student gave it to a priest of Kerry, at whose death it became the property of Mr. John Barrette, and from him it passed into the hands of Mr. Robert Rae, of Altairlla, Killoryhia, co. Kerry, who sold it to the museum on May 24, 1851. The book is now among the Egerton MSS. (No. 1527). In the volume is the following inscription: "This book was found in — of the English College in Paris among other MSS. deposited there by James II."

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix B.

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panying astrological charms and prophesies, songs and trivial receipts, it is worthy to note that there are many pages of prayers—the concluding one: “Mercy, mercy, good Lord,” probably was the last entry made by the unhappy duke.

An important addition to the history of the Monmouth rebellion, especially with regard to the movements of the Royalist army, is obtained from the valuable collection of manuscripts at Drayton House, Northamptonshire, which the owner, Mrs. Stopford-Sackville, has most kindly sent for my perusal. In Part III. of the 9th Report of the Historical MSS. Commission, many extracts from them are given, but it is necessary to point out one or two slight errors. A document, for example, bearing the signature of Goodenough, the paymaster of Monmouth’s army, commanding labourers to attend upon “the king’s business” is (though dated July 2) referred to as significant of the Bloody Assize! Again to the Rector of Chedzoy (whose account of the battle of Sedgemoor is well known, being quoted by most historians) is attributed the diary of Feversham’s Marches, which was written by an attaché of the Royalist army. The Rev. Paschall remained in his parsonage at Chedzoy until a week before the battle, when, owing to the depredations and assaults of the rebels, he and his family removed to Bridgewater.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the Appendix of Heywood’s “Defence of Fox.”

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The plan of Sedgemoor fight, which I reproduce in facsimile from the Drayton manuscripts, is in Paschall's own writing, and tallies with the letter that accompanies it, and, though unendorsed, presumably was directed to Sunderland, the Secretary of State. "In ye want I am at present," he commences, "of a skilful hand that might enable me to serve yor l<sup>d</sup>ship with a exact draught of this place (to w<sup>ch</sup> God be praised we are returned in safety) I have imployed some of my neighb<sup>rs</sup> to measure the distances according to the enclosed paper, and I make no doubt but they have done it with care." Another plan of the batt<sup>l</sup>efield resembling it in many respects is among the Ballard MSS. at the Bodleian Library, but the writing differs from Paschall's. Possibly it may be the work of one of the "neighbours" referred to.<sup>1</sup>

These plans altogether give one a clearer idea of the relative positions of the royal and rebel armies, &c., than the plans by Edward Dummer in the Pepysian Library. The journal kept by Dummer (one of Feversham's artillerymen) is quite a distinct thing from the record of the general's marches, before mentioned, which is unsigned.

<sup>1</sup> MS. Ballard 48, fol. 74. It has been reproduced in facsimile in vol. iii. of the Oxford Historical Society's "Collectanea," in an interesting contribution to Monmouth literature by C. E. Doble, M.A.

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The former, with the plans, is at Cambridge, but an eighteenth-century transcript of it is among the additional manuscripts at the British Museum (No. 31,956).

Another curious document in the Drayton collection is a paper containing a list of the names of the leaders of the rebel army, and the "managers of ye Duke Monmouth's buisnes in Holland." It is described as having been found in young Hewling's pocket at the time of his arrest.

The Drayton manuscripts include despatches from Albemarle, Pembroke, Lumley, &c., documents from the hand of "the proud duke" (Somerset) down to Robert Hampton, "servant to late the Duke of Monmouth as his butler for about fourteen years before his death." Most of the letters appear to have been sent either direct or as enclosures to Lord Sunderland, and it was through the marriage of his grand-daughter with Lord Bateman that the papers may be traced into the possession of Mrs. Stopford-Sackville's ancestors.

A valuable collection of Monmouth papers and manuscripts is in the possession of E. W. Hennell, Esq., to which, thanks to his kindness, I have had free access. In this collection is the original draft of the pardon granted in 1671 by Charles II. to his son for "all murders," &c., including the unfor-

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tunate beadle killed in a street brawl off Holborn ; the receipt of Lawrence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, for the estates of Ford, Lord Grey, forfeited for his implication in the Rye House Plot, and a most interesting letter from Skelton, the English envoy in Holland, concerning Lady Wentworth. It is to be regretted that I have been unable to obtain permission to quote or reproduce certain papers in private hands respecting Henrietta Wentworth, but the Domestic State Papers in the Record Office supply some particulars concerning her, as they do also of Lucy Walter. I have abbreviated the biographical addenda and supplementary additions originally at the conclusion of Roberts' work, and introduced them with other information as footnotes to the text for easier reference. With the existence of so excellent a publication as the "Dictionary of National Biography," there is no call for lengthy notices of the more important historical characters, such as Argyll, Shaftesbury, Sunderland, &c.

Of the documents dealing with the Monmouth rebels subsequent to the battle of Sedgemoor that have been discovered since the publication of Roberts' "Life," the gaol-books preserved at Taunton are of chief importance. Mr. Inderwick was the first to bring these records into notice in 1889, in a transcript of the whole, which forms the appendix to his work "The Side Lights of the

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Stuarts"; and thanks are due to him for making the sentences, &c., attached to the names of the rebels intelligible. In some places the star affixed to those condemned has been omitted, and there seems to be a serious discrepancy with regard to the Taunton list, judging from the Treasury minute referred to by Macaulay, and the Hardwicke manuscript in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 31,957).

The former document is now in the Record Office, and bears the same endorsement as the Hardwicke volume, viz., "An account of the proceedings against the rebels and other prisoners in the Severall Countyes of South(amp)ton, Wilts, Dorsett, Devon and Somersett by vertue and General Gaole delivery, &c."

Another important manuscript dealing with the Bloody Assize is a volume recently acquired by the British Museum, originally picked up at a sale at Dorchester—"The Presentment at the Assize of all the names, occupations, &c., of those suspected of implication in the Rebellion, and the villages to which they belonged." The county of Devon, it may be judged from this, was seriously involved, and Macaulay's assertion that "the civil war had barely grazed the frontier of Devonshire" is here shown to be very far from what was really the case. Hotten's lists of emigrants, exiles, &c., between the years 1600-1700, published in 1874, from the documents in the Public Record

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Office, throw some additional light upon the transportation of Monmouth's adherents, and of their sale in Barbados as slaves.

The names are here given of the rebels who were shipped, their several purchasers, the captains of the vessels, and the names of the vessels themselves. The recorded mortality upon any of the voyages does not exceed thirteen, all of which are duly accounted for by both captain and officers, comparing favourably with John Coad's account of his experiences.

I may state here that the original manuscript of this (for imperfect contemporary copies are in existence) was sent at Roberts' suggestion to Macaulay, when he was compiling the "History of England," and being thus brought to notice was published shortly afterwards by the owner.<sup>1</sup>

A prefatory introduction describes this curious vellum-bound volume as having been discovered in an old trunk at the death of John Coad's great-grand-daughter (in 1808) at the Hospital of St. Cross.

Much valuable information also about the Sedgemoor slaves appears in "A Relation of the Great Sufferings and Strange Adventures of Henry Pitman, Chirurgeon to the late Duke of

<sup>1</sup> Macaulay states his indebtedness to the possessor of the MS., but omits any mention of Roberts in the transaction. *Vide* a paper read by Roberts to the Society of Antiquaries, Dec. 18, 1851 ("Archæologia," vol. xxx.).

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Monmouth." It has been reprinted in full in vol. vii. of Arber's "English Garner" (pp. 333-378).

Some documents formerly in the Plantation Office, now transferred to the Public Record Office, prove that the pardon granted by William III., five years before the expiration of the allotted term of bondage of Monmouth's unfortunate followers, was through the efforts of Sir William Young.<sup>1</sup>

Several Monmouth relics are still in existence. In the charter room of the old Palace of Dalkeith are preserved the gorgeous saddle and horse trappings presented to the duke in 1668, upon the occasion of his promotion to Master of the Horse; a garment worn upon a more melancholy occasion—his execution—is here also; the identical shirt with its deep lace collar and wrists, as well as his handkerchief, night cap, cape, &c. In this mansion are also to be seen Charles II.'s wedding presents to the Duke and Duchess of Monmouth; three elaborate cabinets, two of which were originally given to Charles by Louis XIV., and a massive mirror bearing the monogram of Duchess Anne. The duke's sword,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Dorset Antiquarian Field Club "Transactions," vol. v. Sir William Young was not, however, as here stated, Monmouth's host at Colyton.

<sup>2</sup> There is no actual *proof* that the sword found near Woodyates Inn belonged to the duke, though there is strong evidence that it may have been his (see chapter xvii.).

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silver buckle, and plume of black ostrich feathers are now severally at Cheltenham, Taunton, and Bath; his pistols and gauntlets cannot now be traced; the former disappeared mysteriously from their home at Lyme Regis a few years ago; the latter are now unknown at Warwick Castle, though stated by Roberts to have been there in 1844. Of the Sedgemoor relics the Stradling collection from Chilton Priory is now at Taunton Museum, the Bridges' sword at Ealing, and the rustic scythe weapons may still be seen in the Tower Armoury.

Of the old country houses where "the Protestant duke" was entertained upon his progresses, it is pleasing to think that after the lapse of over a couple of centuries, most of them remain to this day in perfect preservation, and can speak for themselves of their past associations; some of them, Brympton House, Barrington Court, Ford Abbey and Longleat in particular, being among the finest and most picturesque examples of domestic architecture we possess.

Fortunately I photographed the famous White Lackington tree only a few months before it was blown down by the great gale of March 1897. Two other old trees of more melancholy interest are still alive and flourishing; that at Woodlands in Dorsetshire beneath the branches of which the miserable fugitive from Sedgemoor was crouching.

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among the ferns and bramble when he was discovered by his pursuers; and that in Toddington Park, Bedfordshire, upon which Henrietta, Lady Wentworth's name was "carved by the hand of him she loved too well." A portion of the old manor house also remains, of which I give some particulars.

The original portraits reproduced in this volume will, I think, constitute its chief attraction. Numerous portraits of Monmouth are in existence, of which it may not be out of place to say a few words. Dalkeith alone possesses eight. Of the well-known full-length by Lely engraved by Blooteling, there are two copies. A replica of these hangs in the master's drawing room at the Charter House, London, which, according to tradition there, was left with the other full-length portraits of Buckingham, Shaftesbury, &c., by Monmouth's widow. What truth there may be in this I cannot say; but the fact that the master of 1677-85 was the duchess' uncle (*vide* Evelyn's Diary, Nov. 19, 1681) looks as if he at least had temporary care of them, and it is not unlikely they were removed there from the duke's house in Soho Square.

A large equestrian portrait (at Dalkeith) by T. Wyck, with Monmouth in full costume as Master of the Horse, accompanied by a page, with a battle-piece in the background, is said to have

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been the duchess' favourite representation of her husband. Another fine painting (by Lely) represents Monmouth at the age of about fifteen as St. John the Baptist, with a lamb. A portrait in armour by Riley has been engraved in "Lodge's Portraits." A smaller equestrian portrait of the duke is in the collection of the Marquis of Bute. It was exhibited in the Stuart Exhibition, as was also the beautiful head of Monmouth as a youth, by Lely, in the possession of the Duke of St. Albans. Of the two portraits in the National Portrait Gallery, Lely's represents him at the age of about seventeen, in classical costume; his face is handsome but effeminate. Wissing's is the more characteristic likeness, and though weakness is very perceptible there is also a certain amount of pluck and devilry in his expression. A replica of this is in the Earl of Essex's collection at Cassiobury, but the features are somewhat harder. This has been engraved in the "Antiquarian Repertory," but it is a poor reproduction of the painting. The portrait of Lucy Walter holding the miniature of her son I have mentioned in the first chapter of the book. The young Monmouth here is shown as a pretty boy aged about nine or ten, not unlike the John the Baptist portrait before mentioned. At Montagu House, Whitehall, there is a full-length portrait of the duke by Kneller painted in 1679. (Here also

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is the original head in an oval by Lely, engraved life-size by Blooteling.)

Walpole tells us that Kneller was first brought into notice by Monmouth's private secretary, Mr. Thomas Vernon,<sup>1</sup> who saw some of his work when he first came over to England in 1674. The artist was introduced by him to the Duke of Monmouth, who gave him a sitting, and the king and the Duke of York afterwards sat for their portraits, from which time he became established as a court painter.

Shortly before he left Holland for his ill-advised insurrection, Monmouth gave Jansen's son (who followed the artistic profession of his father in Holland) a sitting, and it has been suggested that the fine full-length in armour with "an astrologer" pointing to England on a terrestrial globe, in the Earl of Clarendon's collection at "The Grove" may be the portrait in question. Lady Lewis mentions this picture in her "Lives of Friends, &c., of Lord-Chancellor Clarendon," and suggests the possibility of the so-called astrologer being none other than the notorious Ferguson; but the published description of Monmouth's evil genius in the *London Gazette*, Aug. 6, 1683, speaks of him as a tall lean man, about forty-five years of age, thin

<sup>1</sup> Vernon afterwards became secretary to the Duke of Shrewsbury, and was advanced in William's reign to Principal Secretary of State. He died in 1727, aged 83. Some time before his death he retired to Twickenham Park, which estate was purchased from his heirs in 1743.

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jawed, with a great Roman nose, and his periwig drawn close down to his eyes ; whereas the figure in " The Grove " picture is short and stout, and considerably older. The duke's mysterious companion is therefore probably the fortune-teller mentioned by James II., who had predicted prosperity should Monmouth survive St. Swithin's day ;—the same who, as the duke told Colonel Legge when he was being brought to London after his capture, had, " some years before in Scotland," provided the " astrological figures " entered in his pocket-book.

A three-quarter-length portrait of Monmouth in armour at Dalkeith bears a striking resemblance to the " Grove " picture.

On the staircase at Hatfield is a weird portrait of the Duke of Monmouth peering over the shoulder of one of the Marquis of Salisbury's ancestors. Many years ago a curious shade was noticed upon the lighter side of the painting, and upon being cleaned Monmouth's head became visible. It is pretty evident that at one time the portrait of " King Monmouth " was not a desirable appendage to a collection of ancestral portraits in the houses of noble families, and in this instance was painted out in favour of a more respectable member of society, which, after all, was better than the indignity the duke's portrait suffered at Cambridge, where, notwithstanding the efforts of the

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town beadle's wife (who is said to have had a partiality for the original), it suffered martyrdom upon a bonfire.<sup>1</sup> In Tyssen's half-length of the duke in armour and buff jerkin in Lord Lyttelton's collection, the melancholy expression gives him a stronger resemblance to the Stuarts (in particular to Henry, Duke of Gloucester) than most of his portraits, excepting that at Brympton D'Eversy. He is here shown in a magnificent yellow gown, and the face is remarkably like that of Charles II. A vigorous head of the duke painted by Mary Beale is at Woburn Abbey; it is haughty in expression, and the eyes are strikingly like those of the Lucy Walter at Knebworth. There is a portrait at Warwick Castle bearing a strong resemblance to John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester.<sup>2</sup>

One of the most remarkable pictures is at Woodcote Manor House, Hants—a most impressive picture of the unfortunate duke's head after decapitation. It was discovered some years ago in a farm-house, near Sevenoaks. When it came into the market it was purchased by Sir Seymour Haden, who, though no inscription was then perceptible upon any part of the picture, felt convinced that it was the head of Monmouth; and so it turned out to be, for upon the removal

<sup>1</sup> See contemporary poem by Stepney, quoted in Cooper's "Annals of Cambridge."

<sup>2</sup> Another portrait of Monmouth is at Chillingham Castle, Northumberland.

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of a thick coat of dirt at the back the following inscription could be made out, written in an old-fashioned hand :

“From Miss Wray and to her father, Sir William Ultethorne Wray, the son of Sir Cecil Wray of Lincolnshire, in whose possession it was originally. Monmouth.”

The ancient family of Wray is now extinct. They appear to have been located at Ashby, in Lincolnshire. A Rev. Sir Wm. Ultethorne Wray died in 1808, and his son William James Wray, the fifteenth and last Baronet of Glenworth, survived him only a year.<sup>1</sup> In the seventeenth century, Margaret, daughter of a Sir William Wray (*ob.* 1670), married the Rev. Dr. Jeffreys, Prebendary of Canterbury, the brother of the Lord Chancellor. At this space of time it is difficult to conjecture for whom this interesting picture was painted. The linked names of Jeffreys and Wray might suggest the influence of the hero of “the Bloody Assize.” Who can tell but the notorious judge might have liked to preserve a souvenir of his “campaign” in the west? It has been suggested that “the decollated head” was the work of some artist commissioned by Henrietta Lady Wentworth; but she presumably was in Holland at the time of the execution

<sup>1</sup> See Betham's “Baronetage” vol. i. pp. 139, 320. Burke's “Extinct Peerage” and “The Wrays of Glenworth,” by Chas. Dalton.

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of her lover, or she would certainly have interceded for his life.

After the execution, the Duchess of Monmouth had the disposal of the body—and the head also, for that matter. May we not reasonably infer that she was the original possessor of the picture?

Again, it is possible the picture once belonged to Lawrence Hyde (whose daughter married Monmouth's son), as the Hyde and the Wray families were connected.

Many miniatures of Monmouth exist. In the Duke of Buccleuch's magnificent collection at Montagu House there are four. A tiny enamel by Boit represents him at the age of about six. A copy of the unfinished Cooper (reproduced in Green's "Short History") and one by Dixon, also show him as a boy a few years older. At Welbeck is a miniature by Crosse. In the recently dispersed Probert collection, and at the Stuart Exhibition were other examples. The latter (painted on silver) was in the possession of J. E. Hodgkin, Esq. Two others were exhibited in the loan collection at South Kensington in 1865, and one (by Petitot) by the late Alfred Morrison in the Winter Exhibition of 1879.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A portrait of Monmouth, formerly in the possession of Sir Peter Lely, and presented by him to Mrs. Bracegirdle, appeared in the Garrick sale of 1823. Congreve had the picture from that actress, and from him it passed to the comedian Wilks, from whose relative, Thomas Wilks, it passed to Garrick.

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So far as I have been able to discover, there are only two original paintings of Henrietta, Lady Wentworth in existence, and neither of these is like the only known two engravings of her—viz., one by Williams (here reproduced) from a full-length-portrait by Kneller, and the head and bust after Lely, dated 1675 (described, when published, as in the possession of Mr. Richardson, 1708). The latter of these engravings represents a stern and not too prepossessing-looking lady, which certainly may be the fault of the engraver.

Through the courtesy of Thomas Vernon Wentworth, Esq., I am able to reproduce the painting by Lely at Wentworth Castle. Lady Wentworth is here represented as a young girl, both handsome and dignified, and in general appearance not unlike Charles I.'s daughter, the Princess Mary, when young. The other original painting is in the possession of Lady Ann Blunt, sister to the Earl of Lovelace.

At the eleventh hour my attention has been called to a very able article upon Monmouth literature by Mr. A. L. Humphreys in the "Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society for 1892," and had I seen this earlier my labours would have been greatly minimised, as there is reference made to many of the documents to which I call attention.

The writer, however, falls into one or two of

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the traps of Part III. of the Ninth Report of the Historical Manuscript Commission, but with this exception (and transferring Dummer's MS. from Oxford to Cambridge) it is carefully compiled. One thing is new to me. A pack of Monmouth cards here mentioned, which Mr. Humphreys says is the only complete though made-up pack extant. It was in the possession of Lady Charlotte Schreiber, and is now in the British Museum.<sup>1</sup>

Ferguson figures as the knave of clubs, preaching from the 22nd chapter of Joshua. Upon the ten of hearts are depicted the Nonconformist ministers persuading the Protestant duke to set up as king. On other cards may be seen "devils in the air bewitching Monmouth's army"; the duke writing to Albemarle; scenes from the whippings and hangings in the western counties, &c.

It but remains for me to express my indebtedness for facilities, help, and information I have received from various sources. For the inspection of the treasures of Dalkeith Palace and Montagu House I am under great obligations to his Grace the Duke of Buccleuch, and W. Walter Whitmore, Esq. I am also greatly indebted to Lord Archibald Campbell, the Earl

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Lawrence Binyon, of the Department of Prints and Drawings, informs me that the pack of cards is reproduced in Lady Schreiber's book.

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of Clarendon, Earl Spencer, Lady Lytton, Mrs. Stopford Sackville, and my friends E. W. Hennell, Esq.; Seymour Lucas, Esq., R.A.; and Ernest Crofts, Esq., R.A. To these must be added the names of Captain J. S. Swann, Major H. B. Rudyerd, Hubert Hall, Esq., F.S.A.; Lord Strafford, Lady Verney, the late Earl Powlett, Samuel Dobree, Esq.; Miss F. M. Parker, A. Francis Steuart, Esq.; W. Phelips, Esq.; Sir Spencer Ponsonby Fane, Sir Seymour Haden, Rev. A. J. Roberts, Thos. Vernon Wentworth, Esq.; S. H. H. Isaacson, Esq.; Rev. J. F. Lee; W. C. Cooper, Esq.; G. F. Hill, Esq.; W. L. Stradling, Esq.; Rev. T. Perkins; Rev. M. L. Jones; and Rev. C. G. Paget.

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NOTE.—In going to press I am informed by Mr. Walter Crouch that he possesses what claims, by tradition, to be the Oxford University portrait of Monmouth by Kneller, which, like that at Cambridge, was condemned to be burned, but was saved from that indignity.

About a century ago the picture belonged to an old gentleman who had apartments at Hampton Court, and who claimed to be a descendant of Monmouth. The Duke is represented (at the age of about twenty) in armour, with a military camp in the background.



## CHAPTER I

### "MRS. BARLOW"

"A BROWNE, beautifull, bold, but insipid creature." Thus briefly the staid Evelyn summarised the notorious mother of the future Duke of Monmouth.

That Lucy Walter<sup>1</sup> (not Walters, as she is frequently named) had many personal charms there is no doubt; even Clarendon and James II. admit so much. "A private Welshwoman of no good fame, but handsome," says the former; the latter, however, points to her paucity of grace and wit, both necessary attributes, one would imagine, to captivate the "Merry Monarch."

Whatever Evelyn may have said to the contrary,<sup>2</sup> there is undoubted proof that she came of a good stock; the family of Walter, of Roch and Trefran, Pembrokeshire, had certainly fallen upon evil days owing to the ravages of the civil wars, and their ancestral home, Roch Castle, was now a heap of ruins, having, after holding out for the Royalists, been taken in 1644 and burnt by Cromwell's soldiers.

<sup>1</sup> The family came originally from Essex, but for many generations had been located in Pembrokeshire. For their early pedigree, *vide* Dwnns, "Heraldic Visitations of Wales," vol. i. p. 228 (1846 ed.).

<sup>2</sup> Evelyn speaks of her low parentage. See "Diary," July 15, 1685.

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Lucy's parents are thus described in an old pedigree, dated 1684<sup>1</sup>: "William Walters [Walter]<sup>2</sup> of Roche Castell, Esquier, and Elisabeth Prothro da tho [to] the Esqueir of Hawkesbroke (co. Carmarthen), a niece of John Vaughan, 1st Earl of Carbery."



ROCH CASTLE

Whether Roch Castle (of which a picturesque tower exists, romantically situated near the road between Haverfordwest and St. David's) was Lucy's birthplace is doubtful. Tradition points

<sup>1</sup> Seize Quartiers of James, Duke of Monmouth, from "The Theatre of Europe," 1684, by Joachim Frederick van Bassen, *vide* "Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica," vol. iv. p. 264-65.

<sup>2</sup> Her father has often been described as "*Richard Walters*," the name of one of his sons who married Bridget, daughter of Henry Middleton, of Middleton Hall [Carmarthen]. See *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, vol. ii. p. 375, also G. S. Steinman, "Althorp Memoirs," p. iii.



COL. ROBERT SIDNEY



## “ Mrs. Barlow ”

to “ the Great House ” at Rhôsmarket, some twelve miles away, where in the last century were considerable remains of a stately mansion appertaining to the family. All that is now left is a small portion incorporated in a shed, but a few years ago there was part of a stable, a dovecot and a cockpit !

Nothing is known of Lucy’s career previous to the year 1648, when Algernon Sidney, then an officer in the Protector’s army, met her in London and “ trafficked for her for fifty broad pieces,” but his regiment being ordered away, she afterwards, in Holland, fell into the hands of his brother, Colonel Robert Sidney,<sup>1</sup> third son of Robert, Earl of Leicester, and was living under his protection at the Hague, when she attracted the attention of the young exiled King, to whom the gallant Colonel handed over his lady-love with the uncourtly remark ; “ Let who’s will have her—she’s already sped ! ”<sup>2</sup>

From this time forward Lucy adopted the name of Barlow, a family with whom the Walters had intermarried.<sup>3</sup> John Barlow, of Slebeck (a great-

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Macpherson, “ Original Papers,” vol. i. p. 76. N.B.—Many writers have alluded to Colonel Robert Sidney as “ the Handsome Sidney ” of De Gramont fame, which name was given to his younger brother Henry, Master of the Horse to Anne Hyde, Duchess of York (afterwards 1st Earl of Romney).

<sup>2</sup> The Countess Dunois says in her “ Memoirs ” (1707) that Charles first saw “ Mrs. Barlow ” in Wales, for which assertion there is no foundation.

<sup>3</sup> Lucy’s brother Richard had married a member of the Middleton family who were connected by marriage with the Barlows. Also a member of the Walter family (Joseph) had married the daughter of Thomas Barlow. See *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, vol. ii. p. 375. [Note.—The pedigree here given has been compiled from Downns’ “ Visitations ” (which terminates in 1609) and an old volume of Pembrokeshire descents, of which a copy made by the late

## King Monmouth

grandson of Bishop Barlow's brother Roger), in March 1648 accompanied Lord Glamorgan to Paris, and at the same time, it has been suggested, acted as Lucy's chaperon to the Continent.<sup>1</sup>

"James" (*alias* Crofts, *alias* Scott) made his appearance in the world at Rotterdam on April 9, 1649, and the parentage fell upon and was acknowledged by King Charles (then aged 19), who had, on September 4, 1648, arrived from his brief expedition to England.<sup>2</sup>

As to the actual father, the Duke of York, Evelyn, and general report gave Colonel Sidney the preferment. "The knowing world, as well as myself," wrote James II., "had many convincing proofs to think he was not the king's son but Robert Sydney's. After her being with the King, she proved so soon with child, and came so near the time, that the world had cause to doubt whose son Monmouth was. When he grew a man he proved the likest thing I ever saw, even to a very wart on his face."<sup>3</sup>

There was a certain amount of truth in this, as the Colonel's portrait at Althorp will testify.

Admiral Tucker was in possession of the correspondent to *Notes and Queries*, the late John Pavin Phillips, Esq., of Haverfordwest. As I have before stated, Richard (Lucy's brother) has been confounded with his father William Walter, the confusion having originated probably from the fact that the son also had a daughter named Lucy, quoted in the above pedigree erroneously as:

"Luce, married King Charles II<sup>nd</sup> England."

<sup>1</sup> See E. Laws, "History of Little England beyond Wales," 1888, p. 353.

<sup>2</sup> Charles is said to have had a son, born in Jersey, after his sojourn there in 1646, who afterwards went by the name of Don Giacomo Stuart. The name of the mother is unknown.

<sup>3</sup> Macpherson, "Original Papers," i. p. 76; see also Clarke's "Life of James II."

## “ Mrs. Barlow ”

It has been questioned whether “Mrs. Barlow” accompanied Charles and his small Court into Jersey in September 1649. This is possible, but Chevalier, the discreet chronicler of the island at this period, is silent upon that point.<sup>1</sup> It would have been better for her future and her reputation had she been able to follow him in his wanderings, for it was during his absence in Scotland<sup>2</sup> and England that her loose way of living ruined her prospects. She proved so unfaithful that, upon the king’s return after his escape from Worcester, he refused to have any communication with her. “She used in vain,” says James, “all her little arts; she tried to persuade Dr. Cozins that she was a convert, and would quit her scandalous way of life, but had at the same time a child by the Earl of Carlington (born May 6, 1651), who grew up to be a woman, and was owned by the mother to be hers, as like the Earl as possible.”<sup>3</sup>

Of this half-sister to Monmouth I shall speak later.

From the first “Mrs. Barlow” would have it believed that a marriage ceremony with the king had taken place. Her mother being censured by a member of the family—a Dutch merchant named Gospritt or Gosfright, who lived at St. Dunstan’s-in-the-West—for leaving her daughter “abroad

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Hoskins, “Charles II. in the Channel Islands.”

<sup>2</sup> A curious entry among the king’s expenses at Aberdeen is perhaps worthy of note: “To gold and silver ribands and other articles to the maiden &c. 129. o. 4 Scots.” See Kennedy, “Annals of Aberdeen,” vol. i. p. 227.

<sup>3</sup> Macpherson, “Original Papers,” vol. i. p. 76. See also chap. vi. of this work.

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in an ill way of living," was assured he was mistaken, for "her said daughter was *married* to the king."<sup>1</sup> And certainly many believed that a ceremony had been duly solemnised at Liège, and witnesses were not wanting, among them Sir George Parry and Sir Henry Pomeroy, though the latter was not certain whether the marriage had taken place "before or after the birth of Mrs. Barlow's son."<sup>2</sup> Captain Aldridge declared in after years, when Monmouth in vain tried to prove his legitimacy, that the king was particularly anxious to keep a certain Page out of the way,<sup>3</sup> but who he was does not transpire. From one of James II.'s letters we learn that Sir Henry de Vic was persuaded by Lucy Walter to accompany her to Brussels that she might "ask leave to marry" Charles, and in allusion to this the Queen of Bohemia sarcastically inquires (December 21, 1654), "I pray let me know when that marriage may be."<sup>4</sup>

A remarkable document is preserved at Dysart House, Fife: "The journal of John Paterson, Archbishop of Glasgow," written in an interleaved copy of "Merlinus Liberatus—being an Almanack for the year of our blessed Saviour's Incarnation, 1696." Under the date February 20 is the following entry:

"Sr J. Cooke told me that E. Newburgh told him that he was witness to K. C<sup>h</sup> marriage w<sup>th</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Add. MSS. (British Museum) 28094, f. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Stowe MSS. 186.

<sup>4</sup> See Macpherson, "Original Papers," vol. i. p. 76, and Evelyn, "Diary," App. 156-58.

## “ Mrs. Barlow ”

D. Monmouth mother, and that Progers<sup>1</sup> & Anoy<sup>r</sup> also werr so too.”<sup>2</sup>

In the letters to her brother the Princess of Orange invariably wrote “ wife ” in alluding to Mrs. Barlow, presumably with more delicacy than with real significance. A postscript, dated Nov. 9, 1654, runs as follows: “ Your mothere says that the greatest thanfulnes shee can show for the honnour of your kind remembrance is to have a speciall care of you wife for feare her husband<sup>3</sup> here may make her forget them that are absent. Your wife thanks you in her own hand and still (*sic*) though she begs me very hard to help her.”<sup>4</sup>

Another letter, dated June 21, 1655, says: “ Your wife desires me to present her humble duty to you, which is all shee can say. I tell her ’tis because she thinks of another husband, and does not follow your example of being as constant a wife as you are a husband. ’Tis a frailty they say is given to the sex ; therefore you will pardon her, I hope.”<sup>5</sup>

How the rumour of the king’s marriage gained ground in later years under the machinations of the crafty Shaftesbury will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter.

The various stories of Lucy’s inconstancy were, no doubt, intentionally exaggerated by the king’s ministers in the hope of getting him free from the

<sup>1</sup> Edward Progers, the king’s confidant in his intrigues, and afterwards groom of the bed-chamber.

<sup>2</sup> Fraser, “Scotts of Buccleuch,” vol. ii.

<sup>3</sup> Colonel Thomas Howard, mentioned hereafter.

<sup>4</sup> Cal. of Clarendon State Papers, vol. iii. p. 419 (dated from the Hague).

<sup>5</sup> Thurloe State Papers, vol. i. p. 665 (dated from “Hounslerdike”).

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*liaison* and public scandal ; but, notwithstanding the many rumours afloat, he continued to keep her in affluence. She was lodged at the house of Mr. John Harvey at Antwerp (a nephew of the great physician), and her son meanwhile was put out to nurse at Schiedam, near Rotterdam, at the house of a merchant named Claes Ghyson.<sup>1</sup>

When quite an infant the first of a series of attempts to abduct him was made.

The story is related at some length in a quaint booklet of the seventeenth century, briefly to this effect.<sup>2</sup>

Upon one of the mother's occasional visits to Schiedam to see her boy, a gentleman attendant accompanying her (acting under some secret orders, perhaps, from the queen-mother, who from the first took an active interest in the child's welfare, finding him a nurse and so forth) made some plausible excuse for leaving her on the way, and managed effectually to carry off both nurse and boy. Meanwhile the unfortunate Lucy, after waiting a considerable time for her ungracious chaperon, arrived at Schiedam, and was distracted with grief to find her child gone. Obtaining horses, she hastened off to Maeslandsluce, at the mouth of the Meuse, fearing for some reason that the boy had been transported to England ; and, having travelled all night, she arrived just as the

<sup>1</sup> "Heroick Life," 1683. Lucy's lodgings are here described as at the house of Mrs. Harvey, the mother of the physician, which is incorrect ; she died in 1605, *vide* Steinman, "Althorp Memoirs," Appendix, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> "An Historical Account of the Heroick Life and Magnanimous Actions of the most illustrious Protestant Prince James, Duke of Monmouth, &c." 1683.



*Lucy Walter.*



## “Mrs. Barlow”

mayor was departing for the Hague, and created no small sensation by a public oration of her wrongs.

The worthy mayor managed to pacify her grief, and directing her to take up temporary lodgings in the palace, ordered a general search to be made. At length, after the lapse of nearly a fortnight, the boy was discovered at Loosdymen, where he had been concealed, and the overjoyed mother carried “the Royal Treasure” to a stately house at Boscal that she had taken, and here they resided for some time.

The next we hear of Lucy is from a letter to Charles from his groom of the bedchamber, Lieut.-Col. Daniel O’Neale.<sup>1</sup>

The inference is that, before the episode just related and the date of this letter, other attempts had been made to remove the child from his parent, and this desire to abduct him in all likelihood emanated rather from the queen-mother than from her easy-going son.

“HAGE, 8 Feb. 1656.

“I have hitherto forborne giving your Majestie any account of your commands concerning Mrs. Barloe, because those that I employed to hir, brought mee assurances from hir, shee would obey your Majesties commands. Of late I am tould shee intends nothing less & that shee is assured

<sup>1</sup> Daniel O’Neale was an active Royalist, Lieutenant-Colonel of Horse under Prince Rupert. His monument, erected by his wife Katherine Countess of Chesterfield, is to be seen in Boughton Malherbe Church, Kent (ob. 1663, æt. 60). *Vide* Pepys, “Diary,” Wheatly ed. vol. ii. p. 274, note.

## King Monmouth

from Collen your Majestie would not have hir son from hir.

“ I am much troubled to see the prejudice hir being here does your Majestie ; for every idle actione of hers brings your Majestie uppon the stage, and I am noe less ashamed to have soe much importuned your Majestie to have beelieved hir worthy of your care. When I have the honor to wayt uppon your Majestie I shall tell you what I have from a midwyf of this towne and one of hir mayds which shee had not the discretione to use well after knoweing so much of hir secrets.

“ This foolish libell which I send your Majestie has a second part, which I shall shortly have, God preserve your Majestie !”<sup>1</sup>

A week later (Feb. 14), the writer goes into further details of an unsavoury character. Briefly, Lucy's maid was on the point of making unpleasant disclosures, when her mistress is said to have thrust a bodkin into the offender's ear while she was asleep so as effectually to silence her tongue.

O'Neale, with the same purpose but more diplomatic action, checked a public scandal with threats and a hundred gilders.

“ Though I have saved,” he continues, “ hir for this time it is not lykly shee'le escap when I am gon, for onely the consideratione of your Majestie has held Monsieur Heenuleit and Monsieur Nertwick, not to have hir banished this towne and country, for an infamous person, and by sound of drum. Therefore it were well if your

<sup>1</sup> Thurloe State Papers, vol. i. p. 683.

## “ Mrs. Barlow ”

Majestie will owen that chyld, to send hir your positive command to deliver him unto whom your Majestie will appoint. I know it from one whoe has read my Lord Taaf's letter to hir of the 11th by this last post that hee tells hir your Majestie has nothing more in consideratione than hir sufferings, and that the next monny you can gett or borrow shall bee sent to suply hir. Whyle your Majestie encourages anny to speake this language shee'le never obey what you will have. The only way is to neecessitat hir, if your Majestie can think hir worth your care.”<sup>1</sup>

It will be seen from the above that, though the king now publicly had no connection with his mistress, he secretly watched her interests, undeserving as she was of such leniency.

Clarendon and Ormonde, who lost no opportunity of dissolving the connection, at length managed to ship off the offending lady to England with an annuity of £400, where she arrived (by her own account) about June 7 (1656).

Anne Hill, the maid, notwithstanding the accusations against her mistress, continued in her service, and preceded her by three weeks with the understanding that they should meet in London. Lucy took her two children with her; her brother Justus<sup>2</sup> (who had left England two months before to travel in Italy, but met his sister and returned with her) and Thomas Howard (a brother of the Earl of Suffolk<sup>3</sup>) were also of the

<sup>1</sup> Thurloe State Papers, vol. i. p. 684.

<sup>2</sup> Justo or Justus. Described as “of the Temple.” Thurloe State Papers, vol. v. p. 169.

<sup>3</sup> The Earl of Suffolk at this time was James, 3rd Earl, who

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party, the latter enacting the unenviable position recently vacated by the king. Charles, however, had not lost sight of his old love. Anne Hill declared that he had visited the mother and her boy, either at Antwerp or Brussels, and had been with her "a night and a day together,"<sup>1</sup> before her departure, and this was very probably true, for at that very time he made a trip from Bruges to Antwerp (May 22), and stopped at the house of Mr. John Harvey, where Lucy had apartments in 1649. After a brief sojourn he visited another house in the vicinity, went thence to Brussels, and returned to Bruges (June 3).<sup>2</sup>

Upon her arrival in London, Lucy represented herself to be the widow of a Dutch captain, the little party engaging obscure lodgings over a barber's shop, close to Somerset House,<sup>3</sup> where they remained until they were ferreted out by Cromwell's spies. In later years Monmouth's party discovered a woman of the name of Joyer or Jolly, the daughter of a waterman, who could testify that when Mrs. Barlow was "sought after by the soldiers and the Powers then in being" she had helped to carry her and "young master Jöcky, for so they called her son," away; and told how a George and jewels were in her possession, and a "paper containing something relating to a

succeeded to the title in 1640, ob. 1688. He outlived the above-mentioned brother, who has been confused both with Thomas Howard, 1st Earl of Berkshire (ob. 1699, *æt.* 80) and his son, the 3rd Earl of Berkshire, who succeeded his brother Charles (the reputed father of Moll Davis) in 1679, and died in 1706.

<sup>1</sup> Thurloe State Papers, vol. v. pp. 160 and 178.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 728 and vol. v. pp. 36 and 55.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 169.

## “ Mrs. Barlow ”

Marriage, a Dowry, or Pension or Maintenance from his Ma<sup>tie</sup>,” which “was taken away by Bradshaw.”<sup>1</sup>

The jewels probably referred to a pearl necklace which Charles is said to have given her on parting.<sup>2</sup> The paper certainly was the pension warrant she had received from him, duly signed and sealed, which ran as follows :

“ Charles R.—Wee do by these presents of our especial grace give and grant unto Mrs. Lucy Barlow, an annuity or yearly pension of five thousand livres to be paid to her or her Assignes in the City of Antwerp, or in such other convenient place as she shall desire, at four several payments or equal portions : the first payment to begin from the first of July 1654, and so to continue from three months to three months during her life, with assurance to better the same when it shall please God to restore us to our Kingdoms. Given under our sign manuel, at our Court at Collogn, this 21 day of January 1655. And in the sixth year of our reign. By His Majestie’s command. (Signed) EDWARD NICHOLAS.”<sup>3</sup>

Under suspicion of being a spy Lucy was imprisoned in the Tower, and on June 26 and July 2 her servant was examined, and admitted that she had been in her present service with “ Lady Walters ” in Holland about seven months ; that her mistress had lately journeyed from the Hague to Flanders, and thence to Flushing, there hiring

<sup>1</sup> Add. MSS. 28094, f. 71.

<sup>2</sup> Thurloe State Papers, vol. v. p. 169.

<sup>3</sup> *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 318. A newspaper of the time. See Ellis, “ Original Letters,” 2nd series, vol. iii. p. 352.

## King Monmouth

a boat to carry over herself, two children, her brother, and Thomas Howard, gentleman of the horse to the Princess Royal. She had heard her mistress speak of a pearl necklace valued at £1500, and of a coach that had been ordered, which was to be lined with red velvet with a gold fringe.<sup>1</sup>

We may gather from Lucy's answers at her examination that she was well on her guard, and had no intention to "give away" either Charles or her boy. The child she had had by the king, she declared, was dead, and the two that were now living "were by a husband she had in Holland, who is also dead." She had come to England, she said, to look after some money which had been left to her by her mother (£1500). She had met Howard at Flushing by accident, and she had not seen Charles for a couple of years.<sup>2</sup>

A few days later the prisoners were released,<sup>3</sup> and on July 10 (1656) an order issued from Whitehall to send away "his (Charles Stuart's) lady of Pleasure and the young Heir, and set them on shoar in Flanders, which is no ordinary courtesie."<sup>4</sup>

The unfortunate Lucy, being expelled from England, is next heard of at Brussels with "her sonne and heyre." Hyde writes to Ormonde

<sup>1</sup> & <sup>2</sup> Thurloe State Papers, vol. v. p. 169. Howard was also examined and verified Anne Hill's statements, saying he met Lucy by accident on shipboard.

<sup>3</sup> The cavaliers in London treated Lucy with the respect due to a royal personage. (See "Heroick Life.")

<sup>4</sup> The order is made out in Cromwell's own handwriting. See Ellis, "Original Letters," 2nd series, vol. iii. p. 352.

## “Mrs. Barlow”

August 1 and 3, 1657, of “many shrewd discourses which will quickly get to England,” and prays that she (Lucy) may be sent to some other place.<sup>1</sup>

August 27 brings news that Tom Howard had received a dangerous wound in the arm, being stabbed in the street by a kinsman or servant of Mrs. Barlow.<sup>2</sup> In a lawsuit which followed Howard endeavoured to get back some important papers which, with all his secrets, he had entrusted in Lucy’s keeping. The documents in question had been got out of her possession by a “friend,” and he (Howard) was in fear lest, in the event of his succeeding to the earldom, their production might bring about his ruin.<sup>3</sup>

Though young “Jemmy” was still under Lucy’s care, Egidio Mottet informed the Duke of Ormonde that he had endeavoured from the first day of her coming to persuade her to deliver him to the king, and she had said she would be content to have him bred and instructed as the king should appoint, provided he remained at Brussels and she be allowed to live in the same house with him. Colonel Slingsby<sup>4</sup> for a time had had the care of mother and son, with a view of abducting the latter by the king’s wish. The colonel, in writing to Charles, alludes to a dis-

<sup>1</sup> & <sup>2</sup> Cal. of Clarendon State Papers, vol. iii. p. 355. (Hyce to Nicholas.)

<sup>3</sup> Thurloe State Papers, vol. vii. pp. 347, 348. Clarendon State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 383-85, and Cal. of Clarendon State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 393-400-1.

<sup>4</sup> Colonel Sir Arthur Slingsby, a younger son of Sir Guildford Slingsby, Comptroller of the Navy. Both Evelyn and Pepys mentioned Slingsby’s lotteries at Court, which the latter took to be a swindle.

## King Monmouth

course that she held "when she designed her escape out of my house and consequently out of this country [Brussels] with her child."<sup>1</sup>

On December 5, 1657, there was a great disturbance in the streets of Brussels through a violent attempt made by Slingsby to carry "Mrs. Barlow" to one of the public prisons of the city and take away the boy, "which she resisted with great outcries, embracing her son." The people were indignant and sympathised with her, so the aggressor was at length induced to permit the mother and son to stop that night at the house of the Earl of Castlehaven pending the king's wishes, as he was acting under his commands. The ambassador, Don Alonso de Cardenas, interceded, and lodged Lucy and the child in his own house upon her promise that she would await the king's pleasure.<sup>2</sup>

Charles, being told of these disturbances, sent a message through Ormonde that his orders were "to get the child in a quiet way if he (Slingsby) could out of the mother's hands, with purpose of advantage to them both, but never understood it should be attempted with that noise and scandal," but he persisted in his desire that the boy should be separated from his mother and put under proper care as a great charity to the child and to the mother herself, "if she shall not at length return to such a way of life as may redeem, in some measure, the reproach of her past ways; if she consents not to this, she will add to her follies a most unnatural one in reference to her child,

<sup>1</sup> Cal. of Clarendon State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 393-401.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. of Clarendon State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 382-83.

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since neither of them will any further be cared for or owned by the king, who will take any good office done to her as an injury to him. It ought to be considered whether she should not be compelled to be good to herself or at least be restrained from ruining her innocent child by making a property of him to support herself in those wild and disgraceful courses she hath taken and whether from the condition of the parties concerned the king may not reasonably pretend to a more than ordinary compliance with his desires ; but if he cannot have the child disposed of according to his directions, he will free himself the best way he may from any further trouble or scandal.”<sup>1</sup> In support of Colonel Slingsby’s proceedings Charles communicated with Don John, with the result that complaints were made against the Ambassador Cardenas by the Council of Brabant, for his interference on Lucy Walter’s behalf, for, as it now was given to be understood, the seizure was for debt, and to support this assertion Slingsby threatened legal proceedings against Lord Castlehaven, whose house had afforded sanctuary to his prisoner. Lucy in the meantime remained shut up in the ambassador’s house until she should concede to the king’s wishes, which she agreed now to do, provided neither of her enemies O’Neale or Slingsby should have the care of her son.<sup>2</sup>

Matters were soon brought to a climax. Now that Lucy was a prisoner, Slingsby pointed out to the king the desirability of getting some com-

<sup>1</sup> & <sup>2</sup> Cal. of Clarendon State Papers, vol. iii. p. 394.

## King Monmouth

promising papers out of her possession. She had threatened upon a former occasion to post up all Charles' letters to her, should her pension not be forthcoming. "O'Neale told me at Ghent," writes Slingsby to Charles (from Brussels, December 22, 1657), "that it would be an acceptable service to your Majesty to get certain papers and letters out of her hands, that concerns your Majesty." He then suggests the plan that a kind letter should be written to Cardenas, desiring that her trunks might be searched for some suspicious papers which she had by her since she came out of England, and that all papers whatsoever might be put in his hands. At the same time he says he has "Some few papers which she left of Mr. Hawards [Howard's] in which the king is concerned."<sup>1</sup>

Edward Progers, of back-stair fame, by a little stratagem at length managed the final abduction of Lucy's boy. The king's confidant "took him away from his mother whilst she was seeking for a paper; when she miss<sup>d</sup> him she immediately went in quest after him."<sup>2</sup>

From this we may conclude Progers was sent for the compromising letters, and he captured young "James" at the same time.

Four very interesting documents dealing with the events just recorded appeared recently<sup>3</sup> in a London sale-room.

The most important of these was an autograph

<sup>1</sup> Cal. of Clarendon State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 384-85.

<sup>2</sup> This piece of information is on the authority of the before-mentioned Mr. Gospritt or Gosfright. Add. MSS. 28094, f. 71.

<sup>3</sup> July 1887. (Sotheby's auction-rooms.)

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letter by Lucy herself [as far as I am aware, the only one in existence] respecting her son. The others were from the Lord Lieutenant to Mr. Mottet (dated Bruges, December 17, 1657), “ concerning the king’s wishes as to Mrs. Barlow and her child ”—one from the Lord Chancellor to the Lord Lieutenant (December 13, 1657), and also from A. de Cardenas, on the same subject (dated Brussels, October 24, 1657).<sup>1</sup>

After the loss of her son as well as her papers, poor Lucy appears to have been desperate. Cromwell’s spy, Blank Marshall, informed Thurloe (on August 26, 1658) of “ another combat between Madam Barlow who bor Charles Stuart two children, and Docter Floid [Bishop Lloyd]. He got the wors, and is gon for Holland. Hee was one of C. Stuart his chapplins.”<sup>2</sup>

The next we hear of her is her death, which is recorded both by Evelyn and Bishop Kennet.

James II. says her latter days were shortened by the vicious way of living to which she abandoned herself. The loss both of her son and of royal favour probably drove the unhappy Lucy to desperation, and the much persecuted woman did not survive the separation many months. Her death took place two years prior to the Restoration at Paris, where Evelyn says she died miserably, without anything to bury her.

<sup>1</sup> The papers are so described in the catalogue of the Chauncy sale, July 26, 1887, at Sotheby’s auction-rooms. The purchaser of the lot (No. 499) was Mr. J. M. Teesdale, of Old Jewry, who died in 1888. All trace of the papers appears to be lost, as unfortunately Mr. Teesdale’s relatives can thro’ no light upon their whereabouts.

<sup>2</sup> The letter is dated from Brussels and is in cipher. *Vide* Thurloe State Papers, vol. vii. p. 337.

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That office was performed by William Erskine (son of John, Earl of Mar), cup-bearer to the king, who had latterly interested himself in the unfortunate woman.<sup>1</sup>

English residents in Paris were at this time usually interred at the Huguenot cemetery in the Faubourg St. Germain,<sup>2</sup> but we have no record of her interment.

Her death in 1658 is proved by the following administration entry in the register of the Prerogative Court :

“ Lucy Walter  
als Barlow

*Dec.* 1658.

On the six<sup>t</sup> Day issued for the Letters of ad'con to Anne Busfield, wife of John Busfield, ye aunt and next of Kinne of Lucy Walter als Barlow late of ye parts beyond ye seas spinster Dec'd To ad<sup>ter</sup> ye goods ch'cls & debts of ye sayd Dec<sup>d</sup> shee being first sworne truely to Administer &c.”<sup>3</sup>

As shown above, Lucy's next of kin being an

<sup>1</sup> He was elected Master of the Charterhouse in 1677, which post he held until his death, May 29, 1685. Evelyn says that “he was uncle to the Duchesse of Monmouth, a wise and learned gentleman, fitter to have been a Privy Councillor and Minister of State, than to have been laied aside.”—Evelyn, “Diary,” Nov. 19, 1681.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Steinman, “Althorp Memoirs,” Addenda.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* William Disney, of Rye House Plot notoriety, said he looked in “the Gazettes of those times,” and found Lucy's death at Paris recorded on “ye 13th of Aprill or thereabouts.” This must be incorrect, as she has been proved to be alive in August 1658. *Aid.* MSS. 28094, f. 71.

## “ Mrs. Barlow ”

aunt,<sup>1</sup> her brothers Justus and Richard<sup>2</sup> must have predeceased her.

Her father had died in 1650, leaving his effects to Justus, and her mother died five years later, whose will, dated August 20, 1655, mentions her son Richard and appoints Peter Gosfright (her brother-in-law, the same who objected to Lucy's immoral life in Holland) sole executor.<sup>3</sup> Being a Dutch merchant, he may have been instrumental in facilitating his niece's journey to Holland, and further it may be surmised that her visit to the Continent was secretly arranged that she might be saved from some trouble in this country, as an aunt of hers, named Sambourne<sup>4</sup> (living in Axe Yard, Westminster) “was put to prison about her niece's going beyond sea.”<sup>5</sup>

In concluding our sketch of the brief career of Monmouth's mother, a few remarks about the portraits of her in existence may not be out of place.

The most pleasing is undoubtedly one of her

<sup>1</sup> Lucy was well provided with aunts; her mother had seven sisters. *Vide* “Althorp Memoirs,” p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> Henry, the second son of Richard, married the daughter of Vincent Corbett, Esq., and their son Sir Richard, of Rhôsmarket, knighted in 1699, died in 1727, aged fifty-two, leaving one son and one daughter, Joseph and Bridget, who died without issue.

Pepys (“Diary,” Feb. 19, 1663), in a conversation with Alsopp, the king's brewer, was told that a certain Welshman at Court talked broadly of the king being married to his sister. The entry above sufficiently proves that either the Welshman or the brewer were to blame, unless the rightful next of kin kept in the background until after the Restoration.

<sup>3</sup> “Althorp Memoirs,” p. 84.

<sup>4</sup> An English merchant of this name had provided Charles II. with a change of clothes upon his arrival at Rouen after his hazardous escape from England; a relative perhaps of the above-mentioned aunt of his mistress. (See “The Flight of the King,” pp. 188 and 267.)

<sup>5</sup> Add. MSS. 28094, f. 71.

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(by Lely) preserved at Knebworth House. She wears a fanciful riding costume trimmed with ermine, and her hat is adorned with red and white feathers. She holds a whip in her right hand. Her horse is in the background, held by a black boy. Long brown hair falls over her shoulders in cavalier fashion, and her large expressive eyes are remarkably lifelike.

Another very fine portrait of her is at Dalkeith Palace; equally handsome though more imperious in expression. She is seated, and holds in her left hand the portrait of her son. Both the costume and mode of wearing the hair, as well as the ducal coronet surmounting the frame of the miniature she holds, prove this to be a posthumous work as far as the mother is concerned, whose features presumably were copied from some other painting of her. The picture is unsigned, but is probably by Kneller.<sup>1</sup>

Two other portraits of Lucy are at Dalkeith: an oval head and shoulders (very similar to one of the Duchess of Cleveland) and a full-length figure, somewhat lightly clad, reclining upon a bank.<sup>2</sup>

At Bramshill, Hañts, a painting by Lely shows her in a brown dress with long ringlets and a rather bold expression; and at "The Croft," Tenby, is another by the same artist, where she is represented as a young girl of about sixteen, dressed as a shepherdess, holding a crook in one hand and a mask in the other. The latter was formerly at

<sup>1</sup> A misnamed "Lucy Walters" after this description—viz., the mother holding her son's portrait—is at Cassiobury. It is, however, the Duchess of Orleans, holding the portrait of her husband.

<sup>2</sup> As works of art the two last are decidedly inferior.



*Lucy Walter & her Son.*



## “Mrs. Barlow”

Dale Castle,<sup>1</sup> with one of the Duke of Monmouth, which was wantonly destroyed.

A so-called “Lucy Walters” at Althorp, by Fleshier, depicts a far less attractive lady, in early seventeenth-century costume, holding a red rose in her hand. At Ditchley Park, Oxon, is a curious painting of Lucy and her son, as the Madonna and Child. Chiffinch’s catalogue of the picture gallery at Whitehall also records “a curious” half-length<sup>2</sup> of her by Honthorst, which was probably destroyed at the fire of 1698–99.<sup>3</sup>

The demi-nude portrait in the Marquis of Bute’s collection was engraved for one of the early editions of “De Gramont,” as was also a miniature formerly at Strawberry Hill, which was purchased by Horace Walpole at the sale of the property of Lady Isabella Scott, the Duke of Monmouth’s daughter.

When the Strawberry Hill treasures were dispersed in 1842, this miniature is said to have been added to the Duke of Buccleuch’s collection, but I have been unable to trace it. At Montague House certainly there are two miniatures of Lucy, but they bear no resemblance to the engraving mentioned above. Of these two, the larger represents her in a low-necked mauve dress (trimmed with lace), with a blue mantle; a

<sup>1</sup> One of the residences of the Walter family. The house and contents were purchased by the Paynter family, who still possess the portrait (1900).

<sup>2</sup> Aubrey, the antiquary, mentions another portrait: “Mr. Freeman, who married the Lady Lake, has the Duke of Monmouth mother’s—Mrs. Lucy Walters, who could deny nobody—picture, very like her, at Stanmore, near Harrow on the Hill.” See “Dict. of Nat. Biography” (*Walter [Lucy]*).

<sup>3</sup> “Althorp Memoirs.”

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ringlet of her rich brown hair falls over the right shoulder. Here she is bold and beautiful, but the expression is insipid, carrying out Evelyn's remarks in that respect. The other has profuse curls, but smaller eyes, and is generally less attractive in appearance.

## CHAPTER II

### “JAMES CROFTS” IS CREATED DUKE OF MONMOUTH

Now that he was no longer hampered with the sad environment of his infancy, “the Royal Treasure” was kept strictly under the eye of the queen-mother, one of whose chaplains, Dr. Stephen Goffe or Gough,<sup>1</sup> a recent convert to Roman Catholicism, and priest at the Oratorian College of Notre Dame des Verlus, near Paris, was his first tutor.

Had Mrs. Barlow but consented from the first to give up her claim to the child, his education, the deficiencies in which handicapped him through life, would have been earlier commenced. The exact period when the lad was removed from the care of the Pères de l’Oratoire is uncertain, or by whose influence, but from this time forward may be traced an undercurrent of political intrigue.

The change of tutors was, at any rate, made by the king’s desire, and a Protestant tutor named Thomas Ross—a Scotchman, who afterwards held the post of librarian at St. James’s—took the boy under his charge, and failed not to instil new ideals and ambitions into his head.<sup>2</sup> We may conclude,

<sup>1</sup> Brother to the regicide.

<sup>2</sup> A Royalist of this name (in Feb. 1655-56) proposed to

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from the Memoirs of James II. that at this time the first impressions were received of a visionary crown, which in after years created the deadly rivalry between uncle and nephew, and had such a tragic termination.



*J. M. Cross*

The design which King James laid to Ross' charge was that he had persuaded Dr. Cosin to make Charles' rumoured union with Mrs. Barlow legal by signing a fictitious marriage certificate which it was stipulated should be used in no way until after Cosin's death.

Many years afterwards, when the "Black Box" theory grew to such alarming proportions, Charles II. called to mind that Cosin at the time had secretly told him of the plot to upset the Duke of York's accession.<sup>1</sup>

Upon this discovery, Ross lost his post of tutor, Secretary Nicholas a scheme for the assassination of Cromwell, which the latter declined to put before the king. (See Cipher Correspondence, Cal. State Papers, 1655-56, also the Nicholas Papers (Camden Society, vol. iii. pp. 264 and 270).)

<sup>1</sup> See Clarke, "Life of James II."



*The Duke of Monmouth.*



## “James Crofts” created Duke

and his pupil was handed over to the entire care of William, Lord Crofts,<sup>1</sup> who had, since Mrs. Barlow's death, acted as his guardian. From the time that Lord Crofts had looked after the boy he had gone by the name of James Crofts, and under this name he was introduced to the Court of the restored monarch.

On July 28, 1662, Queen Henrietta arrived in England with the handsome youth (then in his fourteenth year) and Lord Crofts.

Both Evelyn and Pepys record the rough weather the queen-dowager encountered in crossing to England, and the former says the king, who had gone to sea to meet her, was greatly endangered; but Charles on such occasions was usually quite at home, and, being a good sailor himself, delighted to see his courtiers overcome by sea-sickness.<sup>2</sup>

Henrietta and her suite having landed at Greenwich, repaired to Hampton Court, where the new queen had resided since her arrival in England shortly before.

Young Crofts' good looks, grace, and affability at once made a favourable impression. The Comte de Gramont, speaking a few years later, is lavish in his praise, but with all his laudatory

<sup>1</sup> Eldest son of Sir Henry Crofts, of Little Saxham, Suffolk (ob. Sept. 11, 1677), leaving no issue. Old Saxham Hall, where Charles II. visited Lord Crofts in 1668 (*vide* Pepys, Oct. 23, 1668), was pulled down in 1771. West Stow Hall, the original seat of the Crofts, is still in excellent preservation. The historical painter, Ernest Crofts, R.A. (to whom I have been indebted for some interesting notes), traces his descent from the uncle of Lord Crofts.

<sup>2</sup> See Jusserand's "French Ambassador at the Court of Charles II." (Nov. 6, 1664).

## King Monmouth

remarks he failed not to notice, "Son esprit ne disoit pas un petit mot en sa faveur."

James II. attributed his affability of manner rather to cunning than anything else, but acknowledges candidly that he was very brave,<sup>1</sup> which he says made him much courted by both sexes; indeed, we have many proofs of the high favour he received from the luxurious ladies of the gay Court.

As for the king, at whose desire "James" had been brought to England, his reception was marked with "extraordinary fondness"; and though, as Clarendon tells us, he made no declarations as yet as to the boy's paternity, he had no desire that it should be thought otherwise than that he was the proud parent.<sup>2</sup>

Pepys first got sight of the new favourite in the queen-mother's Presence Chamber at Somerset House, which had been recently restored for her occupation. "Here I saw Madam Castlemaine," he says, "and what pleased me most, Mr. Crofts, the king's bastard, a most pretty spark of about fifteen years old, who, I perceive, do hang much upon my Lady Castlemaine, and is always with her; and I hear the Queens, both of them, are mighty kind to him."<sup>3</sup>

De Gramont says<sup>4</sup> that it was with the design to give the king uneasiness that his mistress showed his son such marked affection in public, and that in consequence Charles sought

<sup>1</sup> Clarke, "Life of James II.," and Macpherson, "Original Papers."

<sup>2</sup> Continuation of "Life" (1759 ed.), vol. i. p. 392.

<sup>3</sup> Pepys, "Diary," Sept. 7, 1662.

<sup>4</sup> "Mémoires de Gramont."

## “James Crofts” created Duke

an early marriage for him; but such an idea is absurd, as overtures with a view to a union between young Crofts and the juvenile Countess of Buccleuch had been made some time previously.

Judging by the date of a letter from the king to the Countess of Wemyss, this marriage had been thought of more than a year before the youth's introduction to England.

The suggestion of the young Scotch heiress had been made by Lauderdale, and the plan being approved by the king, the minister wrote to the Countess of Wemyss and put the proposition to her. That the mother was favourable towards the match may be seen from the following letter to her by Charles :

“MADAME,

“I have received your letter of the 28<sup>th</sup> May by William Fleming, and am very sensible of the affection which you shew to me in the offer you make concerning the Countesse of Buccleugh, which I do accept most willingly, and the rather for the relation she hath to you. I will in a shorte time send more partialarly to you about settling that whole affaire, which I looke upon now as my owne interest. In the meane while I must thanke you againe for it, and be most assured that I am, Madame,

“Your very affectonate friende,

“(Signed) CHARLES, R.”

“WHITEHALL, 14 June 1661.

“For the COUNTESSE OF WEMYSS.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Original letter preserved at Wemyss Castle. The above has been copied from Fraser's "Scotts of Buccleugh," where a facsimile of the letter may be seen.

## King Monmouth

In June 1662 the Countess of Wemyss and her daughter, who is described as a "lively tall young lady of her age"<sup>1</sup> [eleven], arrived in London. Pepys saw her a few months afterwards, and describes her as "very little and like my brother in laws wife."<sup>2</sup>

To the time of drawing up the marriage contract the Lord Chancellor had not been consulted, but it was necessary now that the king contemplated raising his son to the peerage.

The draft of the contract by Charles' orders ran thus: "*Filio nostro naturali et illegitimo.*"<sup>3</sup> Clarendon made objection, and said that the term would be looked upon with ill favour by his subjects, and that, whatever might be the custom in France in that respect (though the mothers there had usually been of high social position), the term "natural son" would not look well in this country.

The Chancellor further pointed out that the title of Earl of Buccleuch, which young Crofts would receive according to Scotch law upon his marriage, would be sufficient, without any additional distinctions.<sup>4</sup> But these arguments had little effect. Charles was not to be put off his purpose of acknowledging his son according to French precedent, especially as he recognised the queen-mother's sentiments in the Chancellor's suggestions. Accordingly, on November 10 (1662), a warrant for a grant was issued with the

<sup>1</sup> Wemyss Castle MSS.

<sup>2</sup> "Diary," Dec. 29, 1662.

<sup>3</sup> See Cal. of State Papers, Dom. Oct. 23, 1662. [N.B.—Where not otherwise stated, the vols. of the State Papers refer to the reign of Charles II.]

<sup>4</sup> "Life of Lord Clarendon" (continuation).



*Handwritten signature or name in cursive script.*



## “James Crofts” created Duke

titles of Duke of Monmouth, Earl of Doncaster, and Baron Fotheringay. The last ill-omened name, however, was afterwards struck out by the king, from its associations with the tragic fate of his great-grandmother, and Baron Tynedale was substituted.<sup>1</sup>

Upon the day of his marriage, Monmouth further was created Duke of Buccleuch, Earl of Dalkeith, and Lord Scott.<sup>2</sup>

On April 20, 1663, the union between the new duke and Lady Anne, daughter and sole heir of Francis Scott, second Earl of Buccleuch, was solemnised in the King's Chamber at Whitehall.<sup>3</sup>

The marriage feast was held at the Earl of Wemyss' house, the king, queen, and court being present.<sup>4</sup>

“This being Jameses marriage day,” writes Charles to his sister the Duchess of Orleans, “and I am going to sup with them where we intend to dance and see them a bed together.”<sup>5</sup> “To-night,” said Pepys on the same day, “is a great supper and dancing at his [Monmouth's]

<sup>1</sup> The order for a warrant creating Sir James Scott Baron Scott of Tynedale, Earl of Doncaster, and Duke of Monmouth, is dated Jan. 20, 1662-3. (“Entry Book,” vol. ix. p. 271; see Cal. of State Papers, Dom. 1662-3.) The actual creation dates from Feb. 14. N.B. I can find no authority in support of the assertion that Monmouth was in the first place created Duke of Orkney.

<sup>2</sup> The original document, with the Great Seal of England and an initial portrait of Charles II., gold heraldic border, &c., is preserved in the Record Office (Misc. Ch. II. No. 234). (See Cal. of State Papers, Dom. April 20, 1663.)

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* the king's instructions about the ceremony. Add. MSS. British Museum, 23120, f. 35.

<sup>4</sup> Lamont, “Diary.”

<sup>5</sup> “Madame,” by Julia Cartwright.

## King Monmouth

lodgings near Charing Cross.<sup>1</sup> I observed his coat at the tail of his coach ; he gives the arms of



DUKE OF MONMOUTH'S CABINET

England, Scotland and France, quartered upon some other fields ; but what it is that speaks his

<sup>1</sup> Probably near the King's Mews, which was situated on the site of Trafalgar Square. After Monmouth's execution, the Duchess retired to her house in "The Meuse" for some time before she removed to Moore Park.

## “James Crofts” created Duke

being a bastard I know not.”<sup>1</sup> The arms in question had been granted in the early part of the month, that the Duke’s banner might be placed in St. George’s Chapel at Windsor, preparatory to his installation as K.G., which ceremony took place in presence of the king and court on April 23.<sup>2</sup> In 1685 this banner was kicked out of the western door into a ditch by order of King James!

As many others besides Pepys failed to discover that portion of his arms and achievements which proclaimed his illegitimacy, and rumours to the contrary began to get afloat by the aid of an undercurrent of political faction, the king came to the conclusion that a change would be desirable. Sir William Dugdale, the famous antiquary, was questioned by Thomas Ross to “what arms ought to be borne by the natural son of a person of honour,”<sup>3</sup> and the result was published to the

<sup>1</sup> Pepys, “Diary,” April 20, 1663.

<sup>2</sup> These are described in “The Heroick Life” as follows: “His banner to be quarterly, the first quarter ermine, on a pile, gules, three lions of the Royal Arms of England, passant, guardant, or; and in the second quarter in a field, or, an escutcheon of France, with a double tressure of Scotland counterfleury, gules; and for the crest on a chapeau, gules, doubled ermine, a dragon passant, or, gorged with a crown, having a chain or; and for supporters, on the dexter side, an unicorn, argent, armed, maned, and unguled, or, gorged with a crown gules, and a chain of the same fixed thereto; and on the sinister side, an hart, argent, attired and unguled, or, gorged with a crown, gules, and a chain of the same affixed thereto.” (*Vide* Roberts, “Life,” vol. i. p. 14.) The warrant is dated April 8, 1663. A representation of the seal and signatures of the document will be found in the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, vol. iii. p. 229.

At the ceremonies attending Monmouth’s installation, he was adorned with a sword and wand of gold; a circlet of gold and cap of honour; a George set with diamonds, and two garters, one of diamonds and one of pearls. (See Cal. of State Papers, Dom. April 6, 1663, also Patent Roll 15, Charles II. Part I.)

<sup>3</sup> Cal. of State Papers, Dom. Feb. 24, 1664.

## King Monmouth

world on April 22, 1667—viz. the Royal Arms with a baton sinister arg; over all, an inescutcheon of the arms of Buccleuch with crest and supporters.<sup>1</sup>

After the marriage, the contract was still incomplete without an Act of Parliament to ratify it, and on July 11 (1663) we find the new duke writing to his father-in-law on the subject :

“MY LORD,

“About ten dayes since the King was pleas'd to write either to my Lord Commissioner or to my Lord Lauderdale to have an act to pass to confirme my contract. I hope it will not be neglected but least their much business should put it some time out of their thoughts. I begge the favour of your Lordship to minde the Lord Commissioner or whom else you please for mee that no time may be lost in it. Mr. Ross will informe your Lordship of what else concernes mee, I shall therefore add no more but that I am, my Lord,

“Your Lordships very humble servant,

“(Signed) MONMOUTH.

“WHITEHALL, July 11, 1663.”<sup>2</sup>

The patent of the Buccleuch titles accordingly having been read in the Scottish Parliament and before the Privy Council, the Act of Ratification was passed on Oct. 5, 1663.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cal. of State Papers, Dom. April 22, 1667. The present Duke of Buccleuch bears these arms quarterly.

<sup>2</sup> The letter is preserved in Wemyss Castle. (See Fraser, “Scotts of Buccleugh.”)

<sup>3</sup> A re-grant of the titles was made Jan. 16, 1666, enjoining that either should be independent in the event of the death of one of them.

## “James Crofts” created Duke

Monmouth now took precedence over all dukes not of the royal blood.<sup>1</sup> Honours and distinctions followed in rapid succession, and M.A. degrees from both Oxford and Cambridge were conferred upon him.<sup>2</sup> After such learned distinction it is amusing to read a letter from his old tutor Ross to Arlington's secretary (Williamson): “The enclosed have made a poor young Duke (Monmouth) sigh and sweat, not being used to write; the letter to the King is in answer to a very kind one from him yesterday.”<sup>3</sup>

This looks as if Ross had been reinstated in his old post; and in 1668 we still find him in the duke's household with a salary of £100.<sup>4</sup> This establishment was at Chiswick, a house formerly belonging to Lord Ashburnham which had been purchased (in March 1664) with its contents by the king for Monmouth's use.<sup>5</sup> Among the items in the domestic expenditure are the following:

“Money paid for furniture for their graces chamber, £1563 10s. 2d.,” including £42 for feathers—£2400 was expended yearly upon the duke's and duchess's “clothes and purse”—“for a parre of eare rings set with diamonds for her Grace ye Dutchesse of Monmouth £1200.” In the duke's private expenses for the half-year 1668 are the following: “£10 for Hatts, £9 for

<sup>1</sup> See Pepys, “Diary,” Feb. 8, 1663, and Jan. 20, 1663-4.

<sup>2</sup> Cambridge, March 1662-3; Oxford, Sept. 1663.

<sup>3</sup> State Papers, Dom. Nov 17, 1664.

<sup>4</sup> Add. MSS. British Museum, 5542.

<sup>5</sup> The house was purchased in the name of Monmouth's trustee, Lord Crofts. It was afterwards purchased by Lord Gerard.

## King Monmouth

perry wiggs, £15 10s. for a gold fringe, £11 11s. for a privy seal," &c.<sup>1</sup>

Upon Monmouth's first arrival in England he occupied lodgings in the Privy Gallery at Whitehall, but later on new buildings were erected in the "old Tenniss Court," to the south of the Cockpit and facing King Street (midway between the two gateways which intersected that thoroughfare).<sup>2</sup>

The king's affection for his son increased each day. He was his constant companion in all his sports and pastimes. At the Newmarket races, upon hunting and shooting expeditions, or upon royal progresses, the young duke was always a conspicuous figure, everywhere his high spirits and activity were noticeable, "the most leaping, gallant," says Pepys, "that ever I saw; always in action, vaulting, leaping, or clambering."<sup>3</sup> But Monmouth's activity and pluck were shown first to best advantage in the great naval engagement with the Dutch at Solebay, June 3, 1665. He was then only sixteen years of age, but his courage was of a marked character, and particularly noticed by the Duke of York, the Lord High Admiral of the Fleet.<sup>4</sup>

There was little sympathy or similarity between the young duke and duchess; not only was the

<sup>1</sup> Add. MSS. 5542 and "Reliquæ Antiquæ Scoticea."

<sup>2</sup> See Fisher's Plan of Whitehall, 1680. In a Harleian MS. (1618, f. 224) a reference is made to "Charges done divers workes in making lodgings in the old Tennis Court at Whitehall for ye Duke of Monmouth," June 1664.

<sup>3</sup> "Diary," July 26, 1665.

<sup>4</sup> "Life of James II," vol. i. p. 493. Pepys says the guns were heard all day in London. (See "Diary," June 3, 1665.)

## “James Crofts” created Duke

latter both morally and mentally the superior, but she possessed that taste, tact and wit which were wholly wanting in her husband. Their pleasures lay in a different direction. The one delighted in frivolity, the other in intellectual amusements and study. One thing, however, they had in common—their love of dancing, and in this accomplishment they both excelled. During the duke's absence upon a trip to France (with a present of seventeen horses for Louis XIV.) the duchess had the misfortune to sprain her thigh while dancing (May 8, 1668). The limb was badly set, and after the lapse of three days had to be readjusted, with much pain to the patient. She was sent to Bath to regain her strength, and here Monmouth joined her upon his return from the Continent, but to find that the injury his wife had sustained was permanent and that she would always be slightly lame.<sup>1</sup>

In the autumn of this year (1668), upon the resignation, or rather purchasing out, of Lord Gerard, Monmouth was appointed Captain of the first troop of Life Guards. The ceremony of presentation by the king was, by the inimitable diarist's account, “mighty noble,” and the firing, as well as the Duke of Monmouth's clothes, was “mighty fine.”<sup>2</sup> The gorgeous saddle and horse trappings which were given by Charles II. to his son upon this occasion are still preserved at Dalkeith. They are richly embroidered with gold

<sup>1</sup> Pepys, “Diary” (Wheatley ed.), vol. viii. pp. 9, 17, 66, and 109.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Sept. 16, 1668.

## King Monmouth

and silver, and with the letter M. surmounted by the coronet.<sup>1</sup>

The State Papers show frequent disbursements from the privy purse to keep the sumptuous duke out of difficulties, notwithstanding his wife's



MONMOUTH'S SADDLE AT DALKEITH PALACE

wealth. His annuity of £6000 had been raised to £8000. In 1667, three years' payment in advance was made for settling his household, with occasional free gifts of £13,200, and so forth, besides travelling expenses!<sup>2</sup>

The numerous offices he now monopolised

<sup>1</sup> They were used upon the occasion of Queen Victoria's Coronation by the father of the present Duke of Buccleuch.

<sup>2</sup> See Cal. of State Papers, Dom. 1666-70.



THE DUKE OF MONMOUTH BY WYCK



## “James Crofts” created Duke

were more than sufficient to stagger a youth scarcely out of his teens—Captain-General of all the King's forces,<sup>1</sup> Privy Councillor, Lord Great Chamberlain of Scotland, Governor of Kingston-upon-Hull, Lord-Lieutenant of East Yorkshire, &c. &c., being among his responsibilities. The office of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland was also nearly within his grasp. Shaftesbury (then Lord Ashley) and Buckingham had long had a political eye upon the king's favourite, and doing their utmost to advance his interests by cunning intriguing with Danby, endeavoured, through the all-powerful Duchess of Portsmouth, to put the Lieutenancy in Monmouth's hands ; but the Duke of York, apprehending the danger to his future interests, checked the device, and by his influence the Duke of Ormond was reinstated.

Monmouth's power as a means of altering the succession, should the king have no legitimate offspring, had increased by rapid strides, until Ashley and his allies so encompassed him in their toils, to suit their ends, that before he had reached the years when he might have been able to look clearly ahead for himself, he became enslaved a helpless tool of party faction. Only a few months after his introduction to Whitehall it was believed by many that he was the lawful son of the king, and, should the queen prove childless, he would succeed to the throne. At this early period a jealousy existed between the Duke of York and his spoiled and petted nephew, and before a year had passed the king himself was believed to

<sup>1</sup> The Duke of York was strongly opposed to this. (See “Life of James II.,” vol. i. pp. 494-95.)

## King Monmouth

entertain the idea of owning him as his legitimate heir.<sup>1</sup> The easy-going monarch at first, in his extraordinary fondness for the youth, probably did not realise the injury he was doing his brother, and it is by no means remarkable that, surrounded by admiration and flattery, ambitious notions were rapidly fostered in the young duke's head; at the same time, there was certainly diplomacy in Charles' affection which acted as a counterbalance upon the Duke of York's influential power.

These reports of the proposed acknowledgment of Monmouth's legitimacy at length received a check when the question was put direct, by Ashley and Carlisle, with offers of facilities in the shape of witnesses, to prove a private marriage with Mrs. Barlow, should the king so wish it. "Much as I love him," was Charles' reply, "I had rather see him be hanged at Tyburn than I would confess him to be my heir."

<sup>1</sup> Pepys, "Diary," Oct. 27 and Dec. 24, 1662; May 4, 14, 15, Nov. 9, 1663.

## CHAPTER III

### LOVE AND WAR

“Some warm excesses which the Law forbore, were construed youth, that purged by boiling o'er.

\* \* \* \* \*

Early in foreign fields he won renown, with kings and states allied to Israel's crown.”

DRYDEN'S *Absalom and Achitophel*

THAT delightful gossip Mr. Pepys, whatever may have been his own lax morality, usually had a keen eye upon the shortcomings of others.

The Diary records that Monmouth, at the age of seventeen, spends his time most viciously and idly; but Pepys was somewhat apt to jump at conclusions, for upon the occasion of the duke's visit to Harwich in June, 1667, when the Dutch fleet caused some alarm on the east coast, we are told that he (Monmouth) and a great many “young Hectors” who accompanied him (Lords Chesterfield, Mandeville, and others) had but little purpose “but to debauch the country women thereabouts.”<sup>1</sup>

But Monmouth's thoughts were otherwise occupied. “The place is desirous of an attack from the Dutch,” he writes to the king (June 11), “who are unwilling to hazard it,” and the following

<sup>1</sup> Pepys, “Diary,” Dec. 16, 1666, and June 9, 1667.

## King Monmouth

day we find him at Chatham with his suite, labouring to get to Gravesend.<sup>1</sup>

The handsome duke about this period, according to De Gramont, was the universal terror of lovers and husbands. The Countess Dunois, in imitation of the "Comte's" famous memoirs, possibly relies too much upon her imagination in recording Monmouth's numerous amours.

One Court intrigue is, however, of importance, as it is said to have been the real origin of the rupture between the Duke of York and his popular nephew. The authority for this statement was no other than a party engaged in the affair—John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave (afterwards elevated to the dormant dukedom of Buckingham), who, according to his own account,<sup>2</sup> successfully installed himself in the favour of a lady whose affections had hitherto been monopolised by the two Jameses, junior and senior, unknown to one another. By some accident Monmouth discovered that Mulgrave was paying attentions in the same direction, and upon the occasion of one of his stolen visits watched his departure and had him arrested by the guard, who kept him in their custody all night.<sup>3</sup> The story became public property next day, and the Duke of York, thinking himself the only aggrieved party, showed his resentment by preventing the

<sup>1</sup> Calendar of State Papers, Dom. June 11-13, 1667.

<sup>2</sup> See Memoirs of John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham.

<sup>3</sup> "The Duke Monmouth, being jealous of Lord Moulgrave's courting his newest mistress, Moll Kirke, watched his coming thence late four or five nights agoe, and made the guards keep him amongst them all night." Letter from Lady Chaworth to Lord Roos. Belvoir MSS.

## Love and War

earl from having command of the first regiment of Foot Guards. Mulgrave at the same time had revenge upon Monmouth by opening the uncle's eyes to the fact that he had a successful rival in his own nephew.<sup>1</sup>

The lady who was the cause of all this complex jealousy and resentment was none other than Mary Kirke, maid of honour to the Duchess of York, a sister of Colonel Percy Kirke of execrable fame, a lady of lax morality, who from a similar incident in her career has been confused with Miss Wormestre of De Gramont's memoirs.<sup>2</sup>

It is said that a woman is usually at the bottom of all mischief, and therefore we find Moll Kirke no exception to the rule.

Upon Monmouth's visit to France in the early part of 1668, Charles II. had requested his sister to exercise her authority over him. He was lodged in the Palais Royal, and became in Paris, as in London, an immense favourite, and the Duchess of Orleans so far fulfilled her brother's commands that her jealous husband became

<sup>1</sup> Buckingham's Memoirs.

<sup>2</sup> The annotators of De Gramont have quite overlooked the fact that at the date when Miss Kirke resigned her position at Court (1675) the Count had left this country six years. The name of Wormestre was no assumed name. She was a maid of honour to the Queen, and is mentioned under that name in a letter from Lord Cornbury to the Duchess of Bedford, June 10, 1662. Mary Kirke, after becoming the mistress of Sir Thomas Vernon, married him (after 1676, when he became a widower), and survived him thirty years. The burial registers at Greenwich show that she died there in August 1711, in very reduced circumstances. She left three children, Richard (the last baronet), Henrietta and Diana, none of whom married. The last survivor was Henrietta, ob. 1752. Mary Kirke's sister Diana became the second wife of the last De Vere, Earl of Oxford. *Vide* Memoirs of the Comte de Gramont, and *Notes and Queries*, Nov. 12, 1862.

## King Monmouth

alarmed, and objected to the attentions she paid her handsome nephew. But the visit was of short duration. Monmouth, recalled to England owing to his wife's accident, returned again in June, and finally left the following month.

The Duke of Orleans did not easily forget his supposed injuries,<sup>1</sup> and his jealousy increased tenfold upon his wife's visit to England two years afterwards. By his sister's advocacy Charles II.'s league with "le Grande Monarque" now only required signing, and the nefarious treaty by which Charles became a pensioner of France was concluded at Dover, where, in response to a "passionate desire" on the English king's part to converse with his favourite sister,<sup>2</sup> "la belle Henriette" had arrived on May 16, 1670.

For a fortnight great festivities were held in her honour, and the representatives of King Louis who accompanied her. The actors from the Duke's theatre journeyed down from London with the king and Court, and entertained the guests; and as a striking instance of English etiquette at this period, one of the leading stars of the company, James Nokes, was dressed in a particularly short laced coat in imitation of the fashion in vogue at Versailles. The Duke of Monmouth emphasised this by attaching to the actor's broad waist-belt his sword, which he buckled on himself. "His first entrance on the stage," says Downes, "put the king and Court to

<sup>1</sup> According to the "Mémoires d'Elisabeth Charlotte, Duchesse d'Orléans," the sister of Madame de Montespan conducted this supposed intrigue. *Mémoires*, Part II. pp. 54, 55.

<sup>2</sup> Despatch of Colbert to Louis XIV. Jan. 2, 1670. *Vide* English translation of Forneron's "Louise de Keroualle."

## Love and War

an excessive laughter, at which the French look'd very shaggrin, to see themselves ap'd by such a Buffoon."<sup>1</sup> But Nokes was rewarded for the hit he had made, with the sword, which he kept until his death in 1692.

Upon Henrietta's return, only a month after her visit to Dover, she died suddenly at St. Cloud. Reresby tells us that the popular suspicion of her having been poisoned was in consequence of reports with reference to Monmouth which had reached her husband's ears.<sup>2</sup> But we may acquit the duke in this affair, for the husband's jealousy was rather centred upon the Comtes de Guiche and Treville, and even his own brother, King Louis. After some months the Duke of Orleans managed to clear himself, but at the time both the French and English kings certainly entertained strong suspicions that Henrietta's death had been due to poison.

The wild and brutal exploits in which, if not the leader, the Duke of Monmouth was a participator at about this period of his career caused an extraordinary document to be drawn up for the royal seal and signature, by which Charles grants his "gracious pardon unto our dear sonne, James, Duke of Monmouth, of all Murders, Homicides, & Felonies, whatsoever at any time before ye 28<sup>th</sup> day of Feb<sup>ry</sup> last past, committed either by himselfe alone or together w<sup>th</sup> any other person or persons."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Downes' "Roscius Anglicanus," 1711, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Reresby, *Memoirs*, p. 82 (1875 ed.).

<sup>3</sup> Original draft drawn up by Arlington, in the possession of E. W. Hennell, Esq.

## King Monmouth

The origin of the Coventry Act is too well known to be detailed here at length. Sir John Coventry had insulted the king in the Commons by a witty allusion to the actresses, and after the debate, upon his way from the Cock tavern in Bow Street to his residence in Suffolk Street, he was attacked by ruffians hired for the purpose, and was maimed for life by having his nose slit. The dastardly assault was clearly traced to the Duke of Monmouth, but the outrage which more particularly called for the king's pardon was the murder of a beadle, one Peter Virnill, or Verinell. Monmouth, with a party of roués, including the Dukes of Albemarle and Somerset,<sup>1</sup> was engaged in some disreputable orgie at "Whetstone Park," a notorious haunt, the name of which is still retained in a narrow alley on the north side of Lincoln's Inn Fields, when the unfortunate man, with some watchmen, attempted to effect an entrance into the house whither the "Hectors" had repaired; and though he is said to have begged for his life, he fell a victim to Monmouth's sword.<sup>2</sup>

But these violent proceedings only gave a temporary check to the duke's popularity. In the autumn of 1671 he accompanied the king upon a progress in the eastern counties. From New-

<sup>1</sup> Hitherto there has been some uncertainty as to who the Third Duke was. He is mentioned in a letter dated February, 1670-1, in the possession of I. I. Rogers, Esq. of Penrose, Cornwall. The Duke of Albemarle was Christopher, son of General Monk, who in 1685 was in the Royalist army against Monmouth. See also "On the three Dukes killing the Beadle on Sunday morning February, 26[28] 1671." State Poems.

<sup>2</sup> Names of seven others mixed up in this affair appear in the State Papers Dom. March 23 and April 11, 1671.

## Love and War

market, where they attended the races, the royal party proceeded to Lord Arlington's seat, Euston Hall, near Thetford; thence they visited Yarmouth and Norwich. A halt was made next at



THE MONMOUTH ROOM AT RAYNHAM HALL

Blickling Hall, the grand old house of the Hobarts (still fortunately intact), and at Oxnead, the seat of the Pastons (now destroyed). From here the party proceeded to Raynham Hall, Viscount Townshend's mansion, where they passed a night.

## King Monmouth

(Here "Monmouth's room" is still pointed out.<sup>1</sup>) After visiting Cambridge the king returned to Newmarket, and during the latter part of his sojourn there he paid frequent visits to Euston Hall, the attraction being the future Duchess of Portsmouth, Louise de Keroualle, who had been invited to the house with the French ambassador by Lady Arlington. Evelyn was also a guest at the time, and was not a little scandalised by the proceedings.<sup>2</sup>

In the death of Charles's favourite sister King Louis had lost a powerful ally, and he was therefore anxious to repair the link which had been broken. To fasten the bond of pleasure and luxury with which only was the Merry Monarch to be bound, the attractive young maid of honour, whose good looks and accomplishments had already captivated him, was sent over to England, where, by the aid of Buckingham and other sworn enemies of the imperious Duchess of Cleveland, the French king soon gained his end, and the new mistress reigned supreme.

With the opening of the second Dutch war in 1672, the English king's suspected friendliness towards Louis became known to his old allies. Monmouth now showed himself to great advantage as a soldier. Charles had agreed to supply the French king with six thousand men against the Dutch, and Monmouth was sent in command, and throughout the campaign was conspicuous for his courage. In the early part of June (1672) the fortresses of Orsoi, Rhineberg, Wesel,

<sup>1</sup> Monmouth visited Raynham again in April 1676.

<sup>2</sup> Evelyn, "Diary," Oct. 9, 1671.

## Love and War

Emmerich, Doesburg, and Zutphen surrendered. A letter, remarkable for its lack of intelligence, from the duke to Lord Arlington during the campaign ran as follows :—

“ Ffrom the Camp, nigh Renalle, the 29 Jun.”

“ Mr. Ross has toled mee how mutch I am obliged to you for your kindness, w<sup>ch</sup> I am very sensible of and shall try to sho it upon all occasions. I will asur you the effects of your kindness will make me live within compas, for as long as I receive my money beforehand I shall do it w<sup>th</sup> a greadell of easse. I wont trouble you w<sup>th</sup> news becaus Mr. Aston will tell you all ther is I will try to instrokt him all as well as I can I wont trouble you no longer, only I doe asur you ther is nobody mor your humble servant than I am.

“ MONMOUTH.”<sup>1</sup>

Lauded by Louis and Turenne and covered with laurels, Monmouth journeyed to England, and his regiment, much reduced in number, was sent to Dunkirk. Upon his return to France a few months afterwards he was loaded with honours, and among other presents received from King Louis a sword mounted with diamonds, valued at over 38,000 livres.<sup>2</sup> His most brilliant feat of arms was accomplished at the siege of Maestricht, which, after holding out for nearly a month, capitulated on July 2, 1673. The French king

<sup>1</sup> State Papers, Dom. June 29, 1672.

<sup>2</sup> Presents of Louis XIV. *vide* Roberts, “Life of Monmouth,” vol. i. p. 31, n.

## King Monmouth

was himself a witness of the duke's most daring act of leaping the trenches and gaining the half-moon with only a handful of Life Guardsmen. Sir Thomas Armstrong, Lord Arlington,<sup>1</sup> and Captain Churchill (afterwards the famous Duke of Marlborough) were in this engagement. Monmouth told the king upon his return to London (in July) that Churchill had been the means of saving his life, and, with the generosity characteristic of him, attributed his successes more to his friend's achievements than to his own. A representation of the siege was given by Monmouth and the Duke of York before the king and Court at Windsor (in a meadow at the foot of the Long Terrace) in August of the following year,<sup>2</sup> when hostilities with the Dutch, as far as England was concerned, were over. The formation of the Quadruple Alliance had compelled Charles to make peace with the Stadtholder and withdraw his assistance from France.

In addition to his recent French military honours, Monmouth was now elected to the Chancellorship of Cambridge University. On September 3, 1674, the duke gave a great banquet at Worcester House, in the Strand,<sup>3</sup> to the Vice-Chancellor and dignitaries, and the feast concluded with a grand entertainment. The new Chancellor was escorted in state to his barge, which awaited his pleasure at the river

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Arlington from the camp before Maestricht, Jun. 26, 1673. Foreign Office State Papers, *vide* Wolseley, "Marlborough," vol. i. p. 122-3.

<sup>2</sup> State Papers, Ch. II. Dom. August 21, 1674.

<sup>3</sup> The Savoy Theatre occupies the site.



THE DUKE OF MONMOUTH, BY LELY



## Love and War

stairs.<sup>1</sup> Of the ultimate fate of a life-size portrait of himself by Lely, which the duke sent to the University upon his election, we shall speak presently.

The new Chancellor of course had to do something to show he was worth his salt, therefore, in October, he sent a lengthy communication to the University denouncing the practice of the clergy of reading their sermons. This "slothful" custom had been introduced by the Puritans, and the king objected to it, as also to the clergy wearing their hair and periwigs of an unusual and unbecoming length. In answer to another letter (dated July 12, 1675), asking if the first had had its due effect, the Vice-Chancellor replied in the affirmative, "with many," and that it would be his endeavour that it should be so "with all."<sup>2</sup>

On the eve of the conclusion of hostilities between Holland and France by the signing of the treaty of Nimeguen, Monmouth's military services were again required in direct opposition to his former allies.

<sup>1</sup> Among the Vice-Chancellor's accounts are the following entries :

	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
For writing a fair Book of Statutes to present to his Grace withall . . . . .	03	10	0
For writing the Patent and other papers sent to him. . . . .	01	00	0
To the Vice-Chan. Dis. Officers of the University who went to London to attend the solemnity, Singulis, two guineas, and to each Mr. of Art, one . . . . .	164	9	6
The Chancellor's picture, bringing, carrying back, and returning . . . . .	04	10	0

Baker's MS. xxxi. p. 274. (See Cooper, "Annals of Cambridge," vol. iii. pp. 562-3.)

<sup>2</sup> Cooper, "Annals of Cambridge," vol. iii. p. 567.

## King Monmouth

England becoming alarmed at the ambitious seizures of the French monarch, Charles directed his son to proceed at once to the protection of Bruges with a couple of battalions of men.



THE OAK PARLOUR, DALKEITH PALACE

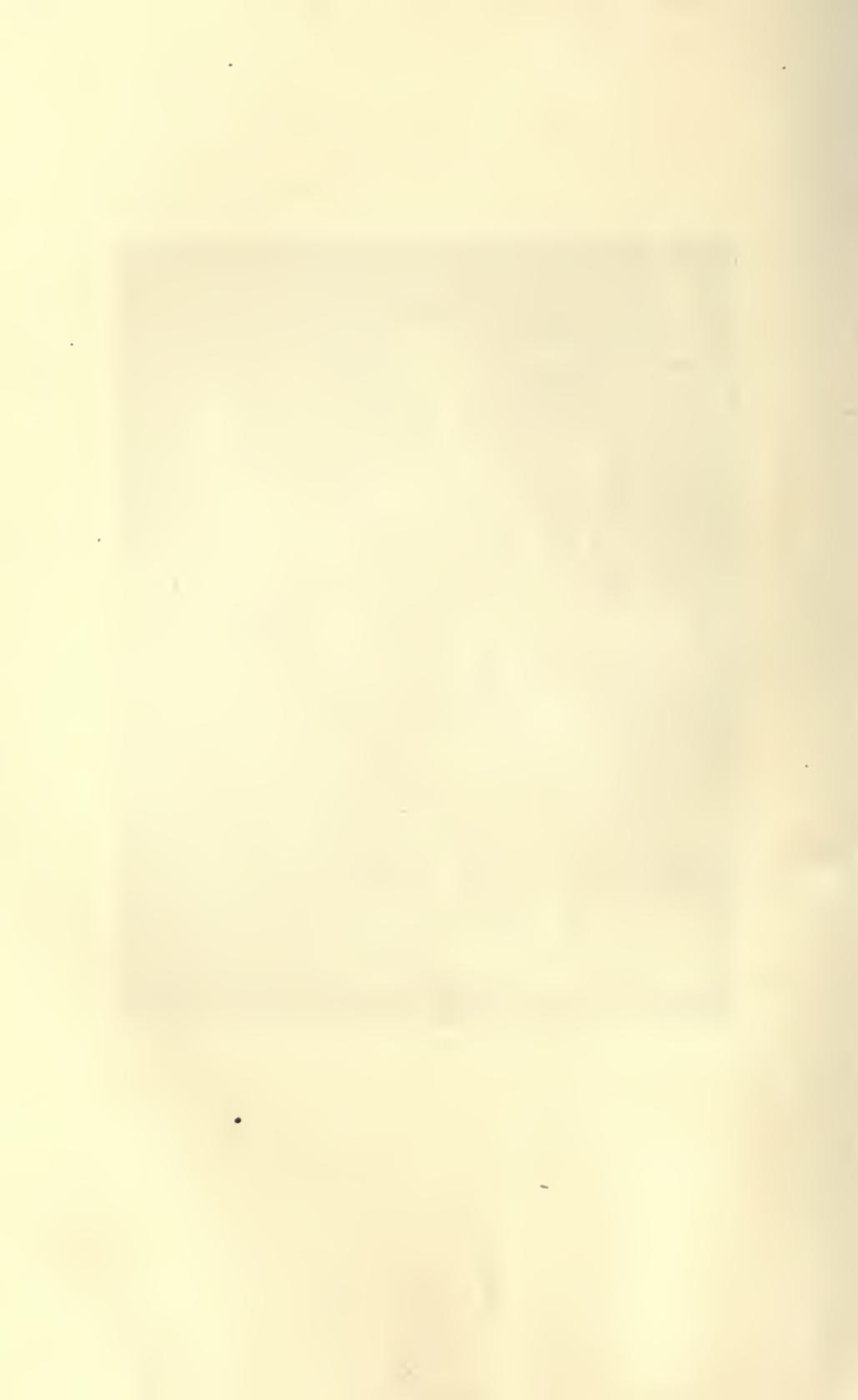
Monmouth arrived at Ostend with "five companies of Lord Hobart's regiment, four of the Duke of York's, and a hundred of the Guards."<sup>1</sup>

As Lord-General of the English forces in Flanders the duke joined the Prince of Orange

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Monmouth to the King. Longleat MSS. Hist. MSS. Comm. Report 5, App. p. 317, also Report 4, App. p. 232.



THE DUCHESS OF MONMOUTH AND HER TWO SONS, BY KNEILER



## Love and War

before the fortress of Mons, then in a state of siege by the French under the Duc de Luxembourg, and in the furious battle which ensued Monmouth won the prince's highest praise, and displayed the daring courage that had distinguished him during the struggles against the Dutch; indeed, it was mainly owing to the valour of the English upon this occasion that the Prince of Orange won the day.

The duke returned towards the end of August amid great rejoicings, bonfires, and ringing of bells.<sup>1</sup> His duchess had shortly before accompanied the Duchess of York into Holland, having before her departure asked Lady Fox to have an eye upon her children. "I intend to get my Lady Fox," she writes, "to make now and then a visett to my children to see how they are. I belive she has mor skill than myself, and I am sure she will take care and send to the docktr, which I hope in God they will not need."<sup>2</sup>

As no previous allusion has been made to any issue of the duke's marriage, a word to this effect will not be out of place.

On August 24, 1672, a son had been born, who was baptized Charles; the king and his brother and the Countess of Wemyss stood as sponsors. This child died on February 9 following.

A second son, christened James (afterwards Earl of Dalkeith), was born on May 23, 1674 (*ob.* March 14, 1705). A daughter, Anne, was the next arrival, born February 17, 1675 (*ob.*

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS. Comm. Report 7, pp. 475 and 494.

<sup>2</sup> Fraser. "Scotts of Buccleuch," p. 433.

## King Monmouth

August, 1685), and she was succeeded in the following year by Henry, afterwards Earl of Deloraine (*ob.* December 25, 1730). Another daughter, Charlotte (*ob.* September 5, 1683), was also living at this time, but the date of her birth is uncertain, as is also the month of the birth of another son, Francis, born in 1678 (*ob.* December 1679). There seems also to have been a daughter named Catherine Laura,<sup>1</sup> to whom the future queens Mary and Anne were godmothers.

Judging from the foregoing list and from the brief career of some of them, it may be concluded Lady Fox had not a little responsibility left upon her hands, of which it is to be trusted the happy mother relieved her by a speedy return to England.

<sup>1</sup> "Heroic Life," *vide* Roberts, "Monmouth," vol. i. pp. 34, 35. N.B.—Most of the above issue were buried in Westminster Abbey.

## CHAPTER IV

### UNCLE AND NEPHEW

As already described, the question of succession had long been a problem of serious consideration, and since the time that Buckingham had suggested Monmouth as the king's rightful heir to the throne, that wily and subtle politician, Lord Ashley, had his keen eye upon him, to be used as a trump card as occasion might require.

Though he formed one of the famous "Cabal," Ashley had been kept ignorant of that part of the compact of the French and English kings which had stipulated for the re-introduction of Roman Catholicism into this country.

When the Test Act was brought in by the Commons in 1673, Ashley, now Earl of Shaftesbury, had been admitted into the secret by that other unscrupulous statesman, Arlington, as a means of bringing about the downfall of his rival, Lord Clifford. By Shaftesbury's efforts the Act was passed, and those of the king's ministers who were of the Roman Catholic persuasion had in consequence to resign. The anti-Catholic agitation continued to be stirred up by "Little Sincerity" (the king's nickname for his dangerous Chancellor) with such good effect that the position of the Duke of York and his new wife was now

## King Monmouth

far from comfortable. Monmouth, on the other hand, as the hatred towards the Catholic party increased, was looked to as the champion of the Protestant cause. The rivalry between uncle and nephew had in a great measure been increased since the latter had been advanced to Commander-in-Chief of the king's forces. The Duke of York rigidly opposed this, but Monmouth's friends carried the day, and the commission was drawn up. But there was one important omission. The word "natural" was wanting. The Duke of York strongly objected to this; the offensive word was therefore introduced; but when the patent was put before the king to sign, his brother was astonished to find the word had been erased, and this being pointed out Charles immediately destroyed the document. Monmouth, it transpired, had taken his secretary to the office of the Secretary of State, and had directed him to make the necessary erasures.<sup>1</sup>

Following Shaftesbury's enforced resignation of the king's favourite ministers, naturally came his own disgrace (in November 1673). In handing up his seals of office he is said to have remarked, "It is only laying down my gown and putting on my sword."<sup>2</sup> He now pushed on his anti-Catholic animosity with renewed energy, and did his best to excite popular feeling with extravagant reports of Papist risings. At the same time Monmouth's ambition was worked upon and advanced in every possible way by the unprin-

<sup>1</sup> Clarke, "Life of James II."

<sup>2</sup> "Dictionary of National Biography," vol. xii. (*Cooper* [*Anthony Ashley*].)



*James R*



## Uncle and Nephew

cipléd politician, and no opportunity was lost to make him more and more a favourite with the people. By his daring attacks upon king and Parliament the crafty statesman at length found himself a prisoner in the Tower (1676-78). During this interval of compulsory inactivity, Oates had been busy maturing his own ingenious plans, and "the horrid plot" burst upon the world only a few months after Shaftesbury's release.

Three years before great alarm had been caused by a supposed attack upon a recently-converted Jesuit named Luzancy, who afterwards turned out to be a terrorist of Oates' kidney; but the scare had its effect in causing many stringent laws against Roman Catholics,<sup>1</sup> and when Oates appeared the popular bias was only too ready to swallow any supposed enormity.

The bomb fell upon the king as he was taking his daily exercise in St. James's Park. A gentleman who was known to Charles from their mutual interest in the study of chemistry had been drawn into the toils, and informed his Majesty of the danger in which he stood.

The prospective arrangements were of a varied character. By order of the Pope the Jesuits were said to have entered into negotiations with the queen's physician and a priest in her establishment, and some others, to poison, shoot, or stab the king. A French invasion was to follow, and a massacre, and in conclusion the Duke of York was to be offered the throne.

<sup>1</sup> Reresby, "Memoirs," pp. 98, 99.

## King Monmouth

The keen perception of Charles naturally made him a little sceptical at first, but so artfully had names and dates been introduced into the device that he did not long remain so. In his course of spying, Oates had picked up a diary in one of the Jesuit colleges abroad wherein various little episodes in the king's not too strictly moral life were duly recorded, and these went a long way to secure credence for Oates' web of lies. Among those who were to fall by the assassins was Monmouth himself;<sup>1</sup> and one of the duke's servants, whether by connivance or from panic, brought evidence against a servant of the queen's confessor.<sup>2</sup> The duke had his share in the investigation of the murder of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, and went to inspect the room at Somerset House where the deed had been accomplished.

Shaftesbury also was on the same committee for inquiring into the outrage. The plot occasioned an opportunity not to be ignored. By his proposal not only the Duke of York but the queen were to be removed from the precincts of the Court. No Papist was to show himself within ten miles of the metropolis, and Monmouth on his part undertook to turn all Papists out of the army.<sup>3</sup>

Shaftesbury had by this time gained such supremacy, and by being out of office so long was embittered against the king and Court to such an extent, that the only expedient was some diplomatic action to put him in power once more,

<sup>1</sup> Ralph, *vide* Roberts, vol. i. p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> Clarke, "Life," vcl. i. p. 561.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Repts. 6, p. 723, and 7, p. 471.

## Uncle and Nephew

endeavouring by this means to win him and his powerful party over.

In her own interests the Duchess of Portsmouth strongly favoured the scheme, for since the scare of the Popish plot had broken out her position had become hazardous, and she daily expected a downfall. It was her policy, therefore, for the time being, to court the Monmouth party.<sup>1</sup>

The Lord Treasurer Danby about this time fell into disgrace, which long had been aimed at by Shaftesbury. Bedloe accused him of implication in the plot; Montagu (the recently-recalled ambassador in France) brought damning evidence of his playing into the hands of the French king; and, thirdly, the Duke of York had fallen foul of him under the suspicion that he had advised his brother to dismiss him from his councils.

Danby's impeachment was carried up to the Lords, who voted (December 27, 1678) that he should not be committed.

Charles was in a predicament; he therefore prorogued Parliament until February 4, and finally dissolved it, calling for a new one on March 6.

In the interval the king persuaded his brother to quit the country for a time,<sup>2</sup> so the Duke of York and his duchess repaired to Brussels early in March, where they were well received.

The coast was now clear for "the Protestant duke," as Monmouth was now styled;

<sup>1</sup> Forneron, "Louise de Keroualle," pp. 221 and 229.

<sup>2</sup> Charles wrote to James asking him to withdraw from the country, on February 28, 1679. (See Clarke, "Life of James II.," p. 536.)

## King Monmouth

but before his rival had departed Charles had been persuaded to draw up the following declaration,<sup>1</sup> as rumours of the king's marriage with "Mrs. Barlow" had of late been revived with renewed vigour :—

"There being a false and malicious report industriously spread abroad by some who are neither friends to me nor the Duke of Monmouth, as if I should have been either contracted or married to his mother; and though I am most confident that this idle story cannot have any effect in this age, yet I thought it my duty in relation to the succession of the Crown, and that future ages may not have any pretence to give disturbance upon that score or any other of this nature, to declare, as I do here declare, in the presence of Almighty God, that I never was married, nor gave contract to any woman whatsoever, but to my wife, Queen Catherine, to whom I am now married. In witness whereof I sett my hand, at Whitehall, the sixth of January 167<sup>8</sup>/<sub>9</sub>.

(Signed) "CHARLES R."<sup>2</sup>

This severe check upon Monmouth's ambition was attested before the Privy Council on March 3, 1679, the day previous to the Duke of York's departure. Reresby, referring to the latter, observes the object was to remove all jealousy

<sup>1</sup> The king read his declaration to the Lord Chancellor on Jan. 12, "in his inner closet by the water" (*vide* plan of Whitehall, 1680), and to the Archbishop, on Jan. 16, "did so very solemnly, and with his hands and eyes lifted up, affirm in ye presence of God that all ye contents of ye paper were true." Egerton MSS., British Museum, 2543 f. 248.

<sup>2</sup> Lingard xii. 175, and Roberts i. 46.

## Uncle and Nephew

from the Parliament, and to show that his Majesty was not influenced by Popish councils, even through his brother.<sup>1</sup>

When the Parliament again met, the king, though defending his favourite minister, explained his determination to lay him aside and select a new Privy Council, including Shaftesbury as President, Monmouth, Russell, Halifax, and the other lords and commoners, who had hitherto opposed the Court interest. "Little Sincerity," by his new promotion, showed more animosity than ever, and his ambitious plans for his protégé—"Exercituum nostrorum generalis" (the designation of Monmouth in his writ of summons to the House of Lords)<sup>2</sup>—decided the Halifax cabal to persuade the Prince of Orange to come over to assert his rights in opposition to Monmouth.<sup>3</sup>

The much-persecuted Duke of York looked with gloomy forebodings at the Exclusion Bill, which in May passed its second reading in the Commons. In his letters to the Prince of Orange (who kept himself well informed by an active correspondence) he could see nothing but impending ruin to monarchy and the setting up of a commonwealth. "If the king make any more concessions he is gone," says James, and throws much blame upon the Duchess of Monmouth for putting such high pretensions into her husband's head.<sup>4</sup> James was not alone in this opinion, for it was generally believed to be the case. The

<sup>1</sup> Reresby, "Memoirs," p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 11, App. Part II. p. 90.

<sup>3</sup> "Diary and Correspondence of Henry Sidney," vol. i. pp. 9-15.

<sup>4</sup> F. J. Savile Foljambe's MSS. Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 15, App. 5.

## King Monmouth

wit and learning of the Duchess of Monmouth had long before won the Duke of York's friendship, and it was owing to her influence over him that her husband had received much advancement, which James afterwards repented.<sup>1</sup>

At the end of May came news of the rising of the Covenanters in Scotland. Shaftesbury, anxious for Monmouth to win favour in this country, immediately put him forward. Two of the duke's regiments had been ordered against the rebels,<sup>2</sup> and Monmouth, being despatched to head the forces, arrived in Edinburgh on June 18 (1679).<sup>3</sup> On the 22nd the battle of Bothwell Bridge was fought. The duke added much to his popularity by the clemency shown to the rebels, and, by giving them the option of laying down their arms and submitting to the king's mercy,<sup>4</sup> brought upon himself the charge that his expedition into Scotland had been made to court the people there.<sup>5</sup>

Upon his return to Edinburgh the duke received the freedom of the city in a golden casket, and banquets were held in his honour both there—at the seat of the Earl of Haddington at

<sup>1</sup> Sidnev "Diary," vol. i. p. 9, n.

<sup>2</sup> Reresby, p. 174.

<sup>3</sup> Sidney, "Diary," vol. i. p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> See facsimile of Monmouth's declaration in Fraser, "Scotts of Buccleuch."

<sup>5</sup> A letter from Monmouth to Lauderdale, in answer to congratulations upon his success, is among the *additional manuscripts* at the British Museum, No. 23,244-18. A painting of the battle of "Bothwell Brig," by Wyck, is at Dalkeith. Relics of Bothwell fight, in the shape of a sword and brace of pistols, are preserved by the Lockharts of Lanarkshire. These heirlooms were used by Robert Lockhart, a younger son of the house, who fought for the Covenanters against Monmouth.



THE DUKE OF MONMOUTH, BY RILEY



## Uncle and Nephew

St. Mary's Isle<sup>1</sup> (where in an old book of household accounts the sumptuous menu is still to be seen)—and at York. Sir John Reresby went to Doncaster to meet the victor. He had sent "half a buck and some extraordinary sorts of wine" to entertain him there. "He came not till midnight," says Sir John in his memoirs, "when we expected him no more that night. I was got into the bed designed for his Grace. Before I could put on my clothes the duke came in with Sir Thomas Armstrong; they were glad to find something ready to eat. The duke sat up but a short time, and would not have the sheets changed, but went into the same bed. The next morning he borrowed my coach—that which he designed to get having but four horses—to Bawtry. Sir Thomas Armstrong told me that the king had heard some lies of the duke, and had sent for him out of Scotland in haste. It was found afterwards that after the victory he was laying foundation for the succession in that kingdom, and making himself popular by the industry of his agents and friends."<sup>2</sup>

Monmouth, upon his arrival in London, was received with great enthusiasm.

Shaftesbury by this time was maturing a fresh attack upon the queen and Duke of York, when the king unexpectedly foiled him by a second dissolution of Parliament, which enraged "Little Sincerity" to such an extent that he declared he would have the heads of those who had advised this measure.

<sup>1</sup> Near Kirkcudbright. It is no longer an island.

<sup>2</sup> Reresby, "Memoirs," p. 175.

## King Monmouth

Sunderland, meanwhile, was using all endeavours to bring over the Prince of Orange, and his political accomplice, the Duchess of Portsmouth, though outwardly friendly to Monmouth, promised her powerful support. Lord Feversham, on the other hand, fearing the danger of a new Protestant duke (for it was proposed the prince should be made an English duke upon his arrival), wrote to James suggesting that he should check-mate everybody by turning Protestant himself.

In August the king was suddenly seized with a succession of ague fits, and in alarm for the future, and at Shaftesbury's threatened revenge, Sunderland proposed that the Duke of York should be sent for. James, in disguise, arrived at Dover on September 11 in a French shallop,<sup>1</sup> and posted immediately to London, and, sleeping at the house of the king's falconer, Sir Allen Apsley, in St. James's Square,<sup>2</sup> made his appearance at Windsor in the early hours of the morning.

Charles was by this time convalescent, "having exchanged water Gruels and potions for mutton and partridges."<sup>3</sup> The king was being shaved when his brother arrived, and feigned surprise, but the duke took all the responsibility upon himself by asking the royal pardon for returning without leave.<sup>4</sup> Friends and foes gave him welcome at Court, with one exception however. Monmouth was much upset. He had feared his return, and had tried to persuade the king to prevent it,

<sup>1</sup> Clarke, "James II.," vol. i. p. 565.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham's "London."

<sup>3</sup> Sidney, "Diary," vol. i. p. 99.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 101.

## Uncle and Nephew

and by this presumption had incurred his father's displeasure.

James had not anticipated such a turn of events, and was reconciling himself to a lengthy sojourn in Brussels. His daughters had just been sent over to him, and, what perhaps was more essential, his horses and foxhounds. Before starting for England he wrote to the Prince of Orange with particulars of his movements, and the latter made the remark shortly afterwards that he would have done the same had he been similarly situated.<sup>1</sup>

Monmouth made no advances towards reconciliation. "There is one thing troubles me very much," wrote James to Colonel Legge, "and puts od thoughts into my head, it is that all this while his Majesty has never sayed a word, nor gone about to make a good understanding between me and the Duke of Monmouth, for though it is a thing I shall never seek, yet methinks it is what his Majesty might presse."<sup>2</sup>

The estrangement between uncle and nephew was kept alive not so much by Monmouth as by Shaftesbury. With the recovery of the king his son's return was daily expected, but Monmouth's enemies had watched the Duke of York's affectionate reception, and now pointed out the injustice of making him an exile while Monmouth remained behind ready for any violent expedient should his Majesty happen to die.

Charles saw the truth of this. Of late the

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 11, App. 5, pp. 34-36, and Sidney, "Diary," vol. i. pp. 120-1.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from the Duke of York to Colonel Legge. Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 11, App. 5.

## King Monmouth

ambition of his son had exceeded all limits, and he had already threatened him with exile upon one occasion when he had hinted at the succession;<sup>1</sup> so he told him he had better, all things considered, resign his commission in the army and go abroad for a time. This Monmouth was very loath to do, and protested strongly against it; his Whig friends, however, prevailed with him to obey on political grounds, as by an enforced resignation he would become a martyr to his cause.

At an interview with his father at Windsor, Charles received him kindly, and in telling him to hasten his departure informed him that his sojourn abroad should not be of long duration. The king was taking the air in Arlington Garden, adjoining St. James's Park, on September 23, when Monmouth came to bid him adieu. Charles wrote an order for his departure "with such pen and ink and paper as the carpenter there at work could furnish him with."<sup>2</sup>

Having parted with his wife, who originally was to have accompanied him abroad but afterwards decided to remain in England, the duke was conveyed (September 24) by barge from Whitehall to Gravesend, where he went aboard his yacht and sailed on the following morning for Holland.<sup>3</sup>

It was now time for the Catholic duke to hasten his departure. His return had caused general disapproval, which was very perceptible a few days

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 7, App. p. 472.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 475.

<sup>3</sup> See a congratulatory poem on the safe arrival of James, Duke of Monmouth, at Utrecht on Saturday, Sept. 27, 1679. British Museum.

## Uncle and Nephew

afterwards when he showed himself in London upon the occasion of the king's visit to the City to receive the congratulations of the Lord Mayor.<sup>1</sup> To avoid any attacks of violence upon the meeting of Parliament, Charles again persuaded his brother to absent himself, but this time in Scotland.

On the morning that the Protestant duke weighed anchor, the Duke of York left Whitehall for Brussels<sup>2</sup> to fetch his duchess, previous to his departure for Scotland on October 27, and the king, anxious for a little mild relaxation, hastened to Newmarket, where his daily programme was arranged after his own heart—viz., a morning walk—the cockpit—dinner—the cockpit again—the play—supper—and, as Pepys would say, “so to bed.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 7, App. p. 475.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Reresby, “Memoirs,” pp. 299, 300.

## CHAPTER V

### "THE PROTESTANT DUKE" FALLS INTO DISFAVOUR

MONMOUTH, on his arrival at the Hague, was received with marked kindness by the Prince of Orange, who offered him a house, and invited him to accompany him in his favourite pastime, hunting. The duke spoke much of his melancholy prospects, and made disparaging remarks about his royal father.<sup>1</sup> He repaired to Utrecht, and took temporary lodgings at a house of one of the magistrates while a more permanent residence was prepared for him.<sup>2</sup>

The Catholic duke, following close in his wake, arrived at the Hague shortly after the departure of his rebellious nephew. Since his interview with Charles his prospects were less gloomy, and he clearly hinted that the king would avoid a meeting of Parliament if possible.<sup>3</sup>

On October 7, an express came from England with the Royal permission for the Duke of York

<sup>1</sup> Sidney, "Diary," vol. i. pp. 151 and 154.

<sup>2</sup> "Heroic Life." A house had been put at his disposal by Prince Rupert. Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 12, App. Pt. VII. p. 162.

<sup>3</sup> Sidney, "Diary," vol. i. pp. 155-162. N.B.—Sidney, in speaking of Monmouth and the Duke of York, by not expressing himself clearly, has here been misconstrued by Roberts. (See Roberts, "Monmouth," vol. i. p. 63-4.)

## The Duke falls into Disfavour

to repair to Scotland, and two days later the duke and duchess started on the return journey.

With the turn of events, the Duchess of Portsmouth now befriended the Catholic duke. The Prince of Orange had not paid his court to her as she had desired, indeed, had not entertained the idea of visiting England in opposition to Monmouth, for he feared that in the event of another dissolution he would incur the displeasure of the nation; and, on the other hand, if the king did not follow his usual tactics of proroguing, the Duke of York would certainly be attacked again, and the blame would fall upon him.<sup>1</sup>

A small Court had assembled around Monmouth in Amsterdam. He was feasted by the fanatics, and courted popularity as much as ever by playing to the crowd; and his animosity towards his father was shown by his selecting lodgings in the town at the house of a barber named May, a marked enemy to the English king.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile the agitation was kept up in England by Shaftesbury, who had been dismissed from the Council upon the king's recovery.

"Little Sincerity" still clamoured that the queen should be divorced, and the Duke of York debarred from the succession. He organised revolutionary clubs and terrorist assemblies, and was the leader of the Green Ribbon Club, which instituted anti-papal demonstrations and processions to bias the mob in favour of the Protestant party.

Upon the anniversary of Queen Elizabeth's

<sup>1</sup> Sidney, "Diary," vol. i. p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 167.

## King Monmouth

coronation on November 17, 1679, a nocturnal pageant was held suggestive somewhat of an amalgamation between the demonstrations of the 5th and 9th of to-day. The route was almost identical with the latter and the *dénouement* with the former celebrations; but the character of the procession was certainly not so cheerful as either, for here there were Jesuits with gory daggers, priests in sable robes, and decorations appertaining to the charnel-house, and the corpse of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey in effigy! the whole terminating with his Holiness the Pope, who in due course was consigned to the flames by the Inner Temple Gate.<sup>1</sup>

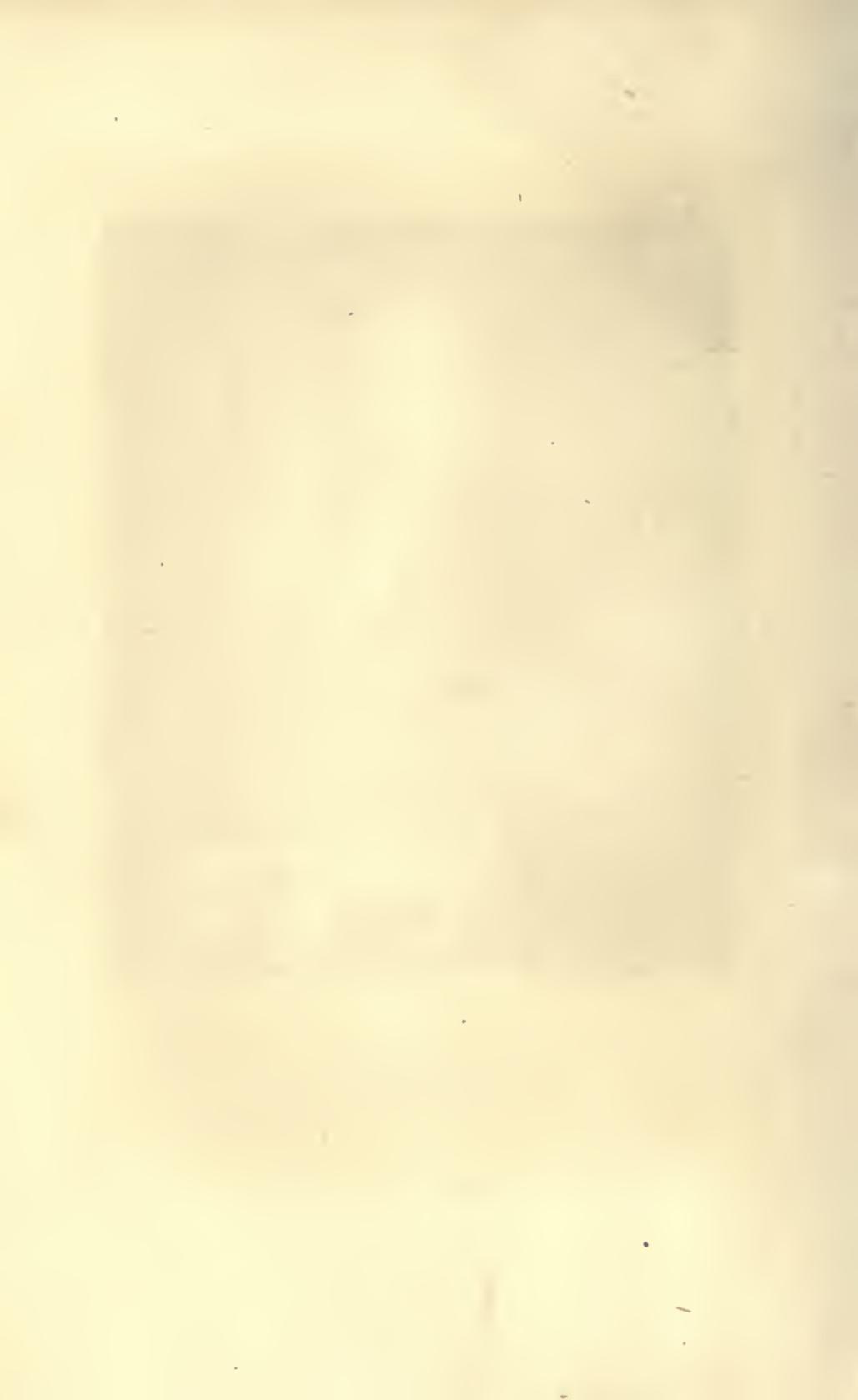
From the above it will be understood the king's brother had no cause to bless the memory of the coronation of Good Queen Bess, even though he was in Scotland.

Shaftesbury now thought it time that Monmouth should show himself again, and accordingly invited him to return. The Protestant duke had been dismissed, so he had been told, because his uncle had to go into exile; therefore, as the Catholic duke had returned to Scotland, why should not his nephew have leniency also shown to him? Monmouth secretly set out from Maeslandsluce on November 22, and arrived in London at midnight on the 27th. The news of his unexpected return spread like wildfire, and before morning there were extraordinary demonstrations of joy. Bells pealed, and flambeaux blazed from church towers. Bonfires were kindled

<sup>1</sup> Ralph, *vide* Roberts, "Monmouth," vol. i. p. 67-70.



Shaftesbury



## The Duke falls into Disfavour

by the rabble, who extorted money by fair and foul means for that purpose. Monmouth's friends gave out that he had returned to England by the advice of the Prince of Orange, who himself intended to follow shortly.<sup>1</sup>

Shaftesbury's house afforded the duke temporary accommodation. From there he repaired to his lodgings in the Cockpit.<sup>2</sup>

Charles was greatly upset at this unlooked-for insult, and at once commanded him to quit the country. Monmouth sent a letter in reply, but the king would not receive it, or the petitions that were offered in his behalf, and divested him of all his employments and offices. His commission as general of the army had already been withdrawn; now his troop of Life Guards was handed over to the Duke of Albemarle, his governorship in Yorkshire to the Earl of Mulgrave, and his wardenship of forests, &c., to the Earl of Chesterfield.

Refusing to go back to Holland, the duke, upon leaving Whitehall, retired to "the Mews," or Hedge Lane<sup>3</sup> (now Whitcomb Street), with the intention of repairing later on to Moor Park<sup>4</sup> (his Hertfordshire seat, which had been purchased from the Duke of Ormonde in 1670), and only on being threatened with the Tower could he be induced to revisit Holland.

A sad occurrence happened now, which softened

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Repts. 6, p. 725, and 12 App. 7, p. 163-4.

<sup>2</sup> Barrillon.

<sup>3</sup> Monmouth was a tenant of Colonel Panton. (See "Household Expenses at Hedge Lane." Add. MSS. 5544.)

<sup>4</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 7, App. p. 475.

## King Monmouth

Charles' severity. One of the duke's sons fell ill, and died at his father's lodgings in the Cockpit. Monmouth was permitted to attend the sick bed, and after the lad's death to continue for a time with the duchess.<sup>1</sup>

Popular as ever with the crowd, the duke thought he would try what the Protestant mistress could do to bring about a reconciliation, so daily paid his court to and at night supped with the favourite ex-orange girl and actress.<sup>2</sup> Nelly's kindness and sympathy were always at hand. She "begged hard of his Majesty to see him, telling him he was grown pale, wan, lean and long-visaged merely because he was in disfavour; but the king bid her be quiet, for he would not see him."<sup>3</sup> A week or so after this (on December 14) the duke was at St. Martin's Church; "when he came in all people shewed him much civility by rising up, and some cried, 'God bless the Duke of Monmouth.' I heard say that he then and there received the Holy Sacrament. 'Tis said" (continues our informant, John Verney) "the Duchess of Portsmouth sent to the Attorney-General to draw up a patent for the Duke of Richmond to be Master of the Horse; but the Attorney-General sent her word that the Duke of Monmouth having given a valuable consideration for his place, it could not be taken away from him upon his disfavour only, unless something were laid to his charge whereby to forfeit it; so the patent is not yet made."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Verney, "Memoirs," vol. iv. p. 264.

<sup>2</sup> "Louise de Keroualle," p. 232.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 7, App. p. 478.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

## The Duke falls into Disfavour

The hatred of the people against the Catholic mistress was as intense as ever, and this feeling was heightened by the Protestant faction with innumerable lampoons and pamphlets. A supposed intercepted letter to the Duke of Monmouth was at the time believed to be authentic, and added in no small measure to the general animosity. This letter ran as follows :

“ MY LORD DUKE,

“ I did send Mr. Rumball, the gentleman of my Horse, to y<sup>r</sup> Grace to let you know I should be glad to speak to your Grace. But that if you were unwilling to come to my lodgings as thinking it might do you hurt, because at this time I am, you say, so hated by the people, that then I would meet you privately anywhere else. But since you are not afraid to come to me I will speak to you very freely, and assure you that whatever you may think I was not the person that did persuade y<sup>e</sup> King either to take away your commission or to send you beyond sea. I will not denie that I did not know of it, for then you would not think of me as indeed I am, a woman very sincere. Since the King loves me so well as to tell me everything he intends to doe, and when he did tell me his resolution to take away your commission and banish you I must confess in my judgement I did not disapprove of it, for I have thought a great while you did the King's business much hurt by your countenancing such ill men as my Lord Shaftesbury, my Lord Bedford, my Lord Russell and Mr. Montague, but however I would not trust wholly to my poor judgement. I did there-

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fore desire the King to ask the opinion of his Ministers, viz., my Lord Essex, my Lord Hallifax, and my Lord Sunderland, all of them my good friends, and y<sup>e</sup> best subjects y<sup>e</sup> King ever had. But the King told me it was their advice to him and they that first put it into his head, and that they did not doubt but I would approve of it. It was a very great satisfaction to me to see so many wise men of my opinion, and who ever since have made it appear to me how much this may be (if y<sup>r</sup> grace doe please) for your good, for it may make the Duke of York and I much kinder to you, when we shall see you doe not sett y<sup>r</sup> self against me and him, nor encourage your friends in the next sessions of Parliament either to meddle with me or y<sup>e</sup> succession as they did very foolishly in the last—for my part, my Lord Duke, if when you return you will live towards me as I doe desire I do promise you I will be very kind to you—and had not you all this time lived very coldly and unfriendly to me I would have made you the greatest man in England next y<sup>e</sup> Duke of York, for I am sure I have some credit with the King, as you may see by what I have done for my Lord Sunderland, whom the King never had a good opinion of till I recommend'd him; you see I have made my Lord Hallifax an Earle upon his application to me when he had been ten years about it and could not get it done, and the King was pleas'd to make my Lord Essex a commissioner of the Treasury, though he had design'd it for Lord Arlington. They have all engag'd themselves to be very industrious in my business, to find out a considerable estate for the Duke of

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Richmond; the King hath always promis'd me, and I hope he will keep his word and be as true to me as I have been to him ever since I gave myself to him, that nobody shall come into court or preferment without they be those that are my friends—and those that will not, I will not—I am resolved to shut the door against them.

“You may think, my Lord Duke, that I am afraid of the Parliament that is coming. But you are much deceiv'd—if they dare to name me you will quickly find what will become of them.

“I thank God I have a good conscience and fear nothing—the King of England loves me—the King of France has promised to support me. I am a kin of most of the Sovereign Princes as you may see by my being oblig'd to goe into mourning for them, so that I must have ill luck if they cannot defend me against 4 or 500 dirty country fellows who are my enemies only because they are not acquainted with me, and if the worst comes to the worst I am secure of a retreat to France.”<sup>1</sup>

King Louis, through the Duchess of Portsmouth and his ambassador, Barrillon, had for some time past been treating with the Opposition. The troublous times in England afforded that skilled tactician in politics many opportunities to play off one party against the other, but in his clandestine monetary transactions with Charles he had learned to be cautious, for the English monarch had not proved too reliable with his previous treaties. The last negotiation, when the king had asked for

<sup>1</sup> Add. MSS. 28938, f. 24. (See also *Notes and Queries*, 7 Series, vol. ii. p. 43-4.)

## King Monmouth

pecuniary assistance, had fallen through. Barrillon had pointed out that it was no longer possible to give heavy subsidies while Charles remained friendly towards the Prince of Orange, and, that the alliance might not prove fatal to French interests, advised Louis to support the Monmouth party.

He hinted that if Shaftesbury had France behind him, he would be more daring in his attacks against the Court. Four thousand pounds, he suggested, might be offered to him as a bribe. The ambassador further declared that though he might not relish it, a sum should be offered to Monmouth as the most important party, for in gaining him his party would be gained also, and he would be so situated that he could never be reconciled again either to the Court or to the Prince of Orange. "It should be made clear to him," he continues, "that he should prevent Parliament voting the king any money, because if his Majesty Charles II. does not feel his dependence he will give us the slip. I think the duke should be offered £4000." Montague, "who enjoys the entire confidence of Monmouth," was to have 1000 guineas, besides various sums to minor members of the Opposition.<sup>1</sup>

Charles was now free of Parliamentary control. The sitting for October 1679 was prorogued before it met owing to the unfavourable inclination of the elections towards the Court interest, and on January 26, the term proposed, the king again prorogued until October. Temple, Halifax,

<sup>1</sup> "Louise de Keroualle," pp. 238-9.

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Essex, Russell, &c., threw up office. Sunderland remained, and with Godolphin and Lawrence Hyde now formed the king's chief advisers.

Since the early part of November 1679 the Duke of York had been in Scotland. Charles intimated his intention of sending for him on January 28, and on February 24 the duke and duchess returned to London, and were affectionately received by the king, who declared he would not again part with his brother.

Monmouth's prospects looked gloomier than ever. At this juncture "the Plotter" made his appearance in a remarkable pamphlet. The agitator, Robert Ferguson, who figures more particularly five years after the time of which we now speak, has of late years been more tenderly handled than had previously been his lot.<sup>1</sup> Ejected from a living at Godmersham, in Kent, he afterwards earned a livelihood by teaching classics at Islington, and about the time of which we speak he had a chapel in Moorfields, and joining the Monmouth party received from the Duke an annuity of £50.

The pamphlet alluded to was one of a series. It was headed, "An Appeal from the Country to the City," calling attention to a future of massacre and torture under a Popish king. As an alternative Monmouth was suggested, with a motto of "God and my people" in lieu of "God and my

<sup>1</sup> Of the many Whig and Tory sketches of his character and appearance, Scott's is perhaps the most reliable, and Macaulay's the grossest caricature. (See Appendix II. of James Ferguson's "Ferguson the Plotter" [1887], where this point is discussed at some length.)

## King Monmouth

right,"<sup>1</sup> and the Duke's legitimacy was supported by rumours of a certain Black Box, which was said to contain documentary proof of the marriage contract between the king and Lucy Walter.

Another publication was issued entitled "The Perplexed Prince," wherein the story of the supposed union of Charles and Monmouth's mother is dealt with in the shape of a romance. Dr. John Cosin, afterwards Bishop of Durham, when an exile, had interested himself in "Mrs. Barlow's" behalf in the latter part of her unfortunate career, when, according to James II., she feigned penitence and won his sympathy. At this time, now went the report, Cosin had been entrusted with an important paper recording the marriage.<sup>2</sup>

The bishop died in 1672, and "the Black Box" containing the document, it was said, was left in the custody of his son-in-law, Sir Gilbert Gerard. There were many witnesses ready to swear to this, and to other statements, in confirmation of the legal union, but none could prove anything satisfactory, though the Monmouth party sought high and low for evidence. Sir Gilbert Gerard was closely examined by Secretary Coventry, and declared before the Council on April 26 (1680) that the story of "the Black Box" was a fabrication.<sup>3</sup> The same day another declaration appeared

<sup>1</sup> Somers Tracts, vol. vii. p. 188. (See also Roberts, "Monmouth," vol. i. p. 75.)

<sup>2</sup> It was also affirmed that a letter from Charles owning his marriage with Lucy had been taken from her possession during her imprisonment in the Tower.

<sup>3</sup> Add. MSS. 32,095, f. 198-200, and Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 5, p. 318.

## The Duke falls into Disfavour

in the *Gazette* certifying that the king had never been married to any but the queen.

An anonymous letter to the Duke of Monmouth was published soon afterwards, cautioning him against evil advisers. "You are in the eye of the people," it runs, "and belov'd by all for those expressions of goodness and valiant acts you have performed both at home and abroad; there are a sort of men who have made it their business of late to advance you higher than the wisdom and favour of the king has made you. We do say they are your enemies, and seek after your ruine, though we doubt not at all that any of their pernicious and self-designing counsels shall ever sway with so noble and prudent a Prince as your grace to derogate in the least from those innate and inbred principles in your soul of Loyalty and obedience to the best of kings."<sup>1</sup>

Charles had a recurrence of his ague fits in May (1680). Shaftesbury, always active, called Monmouth's adherents together at his house, and a rising in the City was determined on should the king's illness prove fatal. But his Majesty soon recovered. "We have been all sadly alarmed with the king's being sick," says Sidney, "but he is now very well again, and I hope will continue so, if he can be kept from fishing when a dog would not be abroad."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pamphlet in the possession of E. W. Hennell, Esq.

<sup>2</sup> Sidney, "Diary," vol. ii. p. 57.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE DUKE COURTS POPULARITY IN THE WEST

“This moving Court that caught the people’s eyes,  
And seem’d but pomp, did other ends disguise.”  
DRYDEN’S *Absalom and Achitophel*.

A PARAGRAPH in a letter from the Dowager Countess of Sunderland to Sidney on January 30, 1679–80, brings two important new characters upon the scene, viz., Ford, Lord Grey, and Henrietta, Lady Wentworth.

“The Duke of Monmouth has so little employment in State affairs, that he has been at leisure to send two fine ladies out of town. My Lord Grey has carried his wife into Northumberland, and my Lady Wentworth’s ill eyes did find cause, as she thought, to carry her daughter into the country, in so much haste that it makes a great noise, and was done sure in some great passion. My Lord Grey was long in believing the Duke of Monmouth an unfaithful friend to him. He gave her but one night’s time to take leave, pack up, and begone.”<sup>1</sup>

Of all Monmouth’s boon companions, Ford, Lord Grey, the eldest son of Ralph, the second Baron, of Werke, Northumberland, was the most

<sup>1</sup> Sidney, “Diary,” vol. i. pp. 263–4.

## The Duke courts Popularity

reckless, unscrupulous, and hot-headed. Lord Grey will figure more conspicuously later on, but of Lady Wentworth we must speak at further length to describe the antecedents of the episode referred to by the Countess.

Henrietta was the only daughter of Lord Wentworth, eldest son of the Royalist, Thomas, first Earl of Cleveland, who was captured after the battle of Worcester and imprisoned, and at the Restoration attended Charles II. upon his triumphal entry into London. Her mother, Philadelphia (the second wife of Lord Wentworth), was the daughter of Sir Ferdinando Carey, kt. Lord Wentworth died in February 1664-5 (when Monmouth took command of his regiment of Guards),<sup>1</sup> and the Earl of Cleveland two years afterwards, when the Barony descended to Henrietta. The family estates were at the time heavily mortgaged, and Lady Wentworth and her daughter were dependent upon a small pension, which, like other annuities of this reign, soon fell into arrear.<sup>2</sup>

Colonel Sir William Smith, originally an executor of the mortgaged estates, had during the civil war, when Cleveland and his son were absent fighting for the king, advanced considerable sums of money, so that when the Restoration came Lord Wentworth and his father found themselves wholly in their creditor's hands, and thus they remained until their death.<sup>3</sup>

When the Barony of Toddington devolved on

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 6, p. 364.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. State Papers, March 13, May 4, June 10 and Oct. 1, 1667.

<sup>3</sup> *House of Lords Journal*, xi. 80, also x. 12.

## King Monmouth

Lord Wentworth's daughter, Smith so interested himself in her mother's behalf that he was dubbed that lady's "errant knight." She was reinstated in the old manor house of Toddington, Bedfordshire, and their joint manipulation of the Wentworth property, both here and elsewhere, was looked upon with much dissatisfaction by the Lovelaces, of Hurley and Water Eaton, upon whom the Barony would eventually fall.

As early as 1674 we find the young heiress, aged then about sixteen or seventeen, a conspicuous figure in the gay Court of Charles II.<sup>1</sup> On December 15 of this year, Evelyn entered in his Diary: "Saw a comedie at night at Court acted by ladies only." This was a masque entitled "Calisto; or, the Chaste Nymph," the *dramatis personæ* including Lady Henrietta (as Jupiter, in love with Calisto), the Duke of York's two daughters, the Countess of Sussex, Mrs. Jennings, Lady Mordaunt, Moll Davis, &c. The dancing fell to the lot of the gentlemen, conspicuous among whom appears his Grace the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Dumblaine, Lord Daincourt, &c. Lady Wentworth is said to have been introduced to Monmouth by her cousin, John, third Lord Lovelace,<sup>2</sup> but the possibilities are that Monmouth and Lady Henrietta were old acquaintances even at this time, and had formed a boy-and-girl attachment some years before at Saxham Hall, the seat of the Crofts, where the Duke during his minority under the guardianship of Lord Crofts, was a frequent

<sup>1</sup> Lady Philadelphia's town residence was in Lincoln's Inn Fields (1668). (See Cunningham, "London.")

<sup>2</sup> See "Dryden's Works," Ed. Scott, x. p. 337.

## The Duke courts Popularity

visitor. The Crofts and the Wentworths were closely allied, the aunt of Lord Crofts (Henrietta's grandmother) being the first wife of the Earl of Cleveland.

Soon after her introduction to Court, Henrietta received an appointment under the Duchess of York, and notwithstanding her impecuniosity, there was some competition for her hand. Not only did she receive the attentions of the Earl of Feversham, with a view to matrimony, but there were rumours of an alliance with Lord Shrewsbury,<sup>1</sup> son of the unfortunate peer who was slain by Buckingham in the famous duel of 1667-8.

Some months later, Henrietta was hurried off to Toddington by her mother, as previously described, and here ere long we shall find also the Duke of Monmouth. His Grace for the present consoled himself with a trip to Chichester, in company with his reckless associate Lord Grey, which is fair evidence that the cause of the dismissal of the latter's wife to the north was not of a serious character.<sup>2</sup>

Upon a previous visit to Chichester in 1674, when he had accompanied the Duke of York there for a week's fox-hunting, he had been welcomed by the neighbouring gentry, and had lodged in

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 7, App. p. 472.

<sup>2</sup> The Charlton Hunt was the attraction in this neighbourhood; but in some parts of his Majesty's dominions Monmouth was forbidden his favourite sport. Towards the end of April 1680 "the Duke of Monmouth went down to hunt in one of the king's forests, but was not permitted, the warden having express orders to the contrary." The post of "Chief Justice of all H.M. Forests, with liberty to hunt, hawk, &c.," had previously been conferred upon him so this indignity must have been particularly galling. (See Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 10, App. 4, pp. 166, and Rep. 12, App. 7, p. 167).

## King Monmouth

the bishop's palace;<sup>1</sup> but now they held aloof, those who gave him welcome being mostly shopkeepers and mechanics. The dignitaries of the cathedral certainly showed him some respect, and after a couple of days the mayor, who hitherto had been conspicuous by his absence, gave him a call, but hinted at his disapproval of the popular party by remarking that the civil war began much in the same way, viz., by repeated petitions for a Parliament.<sup>2</sup>

These petitions were so incessant and imperative at the time, that a proclamation was issued against the practice of collecting signatures for this purpose; notwithstanding, however, one was handed from Taunton to the king, by a member of the corporation of that town, Heywood Dare, an important figure in the rising in the West in 1685.

The offender was prosecuted and fined £500, and was put on "good behaviour" for three years.

Monmouth continued in disfavour, the intercession of the Protestant mistress in his behalf having fallen through. Another attempt at a reconciliation was made through a similar channel early in March, when the duke had returned from the Chichester expedition.

"The king hath a new mistress," says Sidney in his Diary (March 9), "Lord R<sup>(ane)</sup>'s daughter. She brought the Duke of Monmouth to the king: he resolves to take up arms in case the king dies, for he will conclude him murdered."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 12, App. 7, p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Guy Carlton, Bishop of Chichester. Tanner MSS. Bodleian Library.

<sup>3</sup> Sidney, "Diary," vol. i. p. 298.

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The lady in question was one of the three daughters of the first and last Earl Ranelagh (*ob.* 1711), probably Katherine. She died unmarried at Chelsea at an advanced age.<sup>1</sup> But neither the introduction nor a letter written by Monmouth in May, when the king was ill,<sup>2</sup> had the desired effect. At Shaftesbury's instigation the Protestant duke set out in August upon a quasi-royal progress in Wiltshire, Somerset and South Devon, to impress the country favourably in a district not too well affected towards the throne; and as most of the places he visited had never before had the honour of entertaining royalty in any shape or form, Monmouth's reception was enthusiastic in the extreme, and his easy grace and affability speedily won for him golden opinions, which were not forgotten when he set up in opposition to James II.

The West of England at this time was a great centre for the manufacture of woollen goods, and the inhabitants who earned a livelihood in that industry were in the main Nonconformists, and hostile to the reigning monarch, owing to the severe penalties they had undergone and the continued persecution to which they were subjected. Before the Restoration, Charles had promised toleration to those who did not conform to the Established Church, provided the peace of the kingdom was not affected; but by the

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth married, in 1684, John, Earl of Kildare, and died in 1757, aged 93. Frances married the Earl of Coningsby. A fine painting by Kneller of Frances and Elizabeth as handsome young girls is preserved at Cassiobury, and one of the latter by Lely was among the Peel heirlooms dispersed, May 10, 1900.

<sup>2</sup> See Roberts, "Monmouth," vol. i. p. 85.

## King Monmouth

“Corporation” and subsequent Acts of Parliament, rigid laws were enforced against all Dissenters, and their meeting or conventicle houses were suppressed, and open-air meetings had to be resorted to for privacy.

The Whig gentry who entertained Monmouth upon his progress protected and encouraged the Nonconformists. One of the principal moving spirits of the West was George Speke,<sup>1</sup> of White Lackington, and he and his son-in-law, John Trenchard, were at the head of the disaffected party. At Speke’s house, near Ilminster, therefore, were the chief demonstrations during Monmouth’s progress.

Upon his way from Ilchester, the duke was met by two thousand horsemen, which company increased to twenty thousand by the time of his arrival, and so great was the concourse that the park palings had to be removed to give them admittance. Monmouth had previously stopped for some days with his friend Thomas Thynne, at Longleat, near Frome. From here he moved to South Somersetshire, through Ilchester and South Petherton, to White Lackington, where refreshment was provided for him in the park. He next moved to Brympton D’everisy, near Yeovil, where he was entertained at a sumptuous dinner by Sir John Sydenham, and thence to Barrington Court,

<sup>1</sup> George Speke, originally a Royalist, joined his son and his son-in-law (Trenchard) in their treasonable practices in 1678, up to which time he had lived in retirement. (See Roberts, “Monmouth,” vol. ii. pp. 315-21.) Lady Guilford, heiress of George Speke, sold White Lackington. The Spekes, now represented by William Speke, Esq., have since then resided at “Jordans,” near Ilminster.

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Sir William Strode's<sup>1</sup> house near Ilminster, where he also dined. From here he went to Chard, and to Ford Abbey, the residence of Edmund Prideaux,<sup>2</sup> where he slept, and the next day returned to Ilminster and White Lackington, where he also stopped the night. While a guest of Mr. Speke, the duke was entertained at the White Lodge, adjoining Hinton Park.



LONGLEAT

Monmouth, continuing his progress, repaired to Colyton Great House, near Axminster, where

<sup>1</sup> The Strodes were notorious for their rebellious principles. William Strode's father, Colonel William Strode, was one of the five members styled by Lord Clarendon "one of those *ephori* who most advised the curbing and suppressing of Majesty." Edward, another son of the Colonel, figures later in the time of the Rebellion of 1685. William Strode was pardoned for his share by Sunderland's influence in July 1687. (*Vide Patent Rolls, House of Lords MSS. and Samuel Green's "March of William of Orange," p. 44.*)

<sup>2</sup> The remains of the old Cistercian Abbey were restored in a great measure, and converted into a private residence by Edmund Prideaux, the father of Monmouth's host.

## King Monmouth

Sir Walter Yonge resided, and the next day to Otterton House, the seat of the Duke family. His next move was to Exeter, where a vast crowd assembled to greet him, and a thousand young men habited in white met him on the way and escorted him into the city. From Exeter the duke went to Clifton Maybank, the house of the Harveys near Yeovil, and back to Longleat, and thence returned to London.<sup>1</sup>



WHITE LACKINGTON MANOR HOUSE

Throughout his journey, "God bless King Charles and the Protestant duke!" greeted him on all sides from the dense crowds who assembled in the streets and lanes to bid him welcome. Houses were decorated, banners waved, and flowers were strewn in his path. After such a regal progress, no wonder the duke selected the West for his military operations five years later.

<sup>1</sup> "Heroic Life."

## The Duke courts Popularity

To those interested in ancient domestic architecture, indeed to every lover of an old-world country, a more delightful route than that followed by Monmouth upon this journey would be difficult to conceive. Let us briefly go over the ground, little altered as it is to-day, and in our imagination



MONMOUTH'S TREE AT WHITE LACKINGTON

people it with the duke's picturesque retinue of 1680.

The lordly mansion, Longleat, in Wiltshire, and near the border of Somerset, is too well known to require any description here ; it stands intact as in Monmouth's days, but strange to say no traditions of the duke's visit cling to it.

## King Monmouth

Monmouth's way would lie southwards to Maiden Bradley, and thence in a south-westerly direction through Bruton and Sparkford to Ilchester, and from there by South Petherton to White Lackington, near Ilminster. The remains of the gabled manor house of the Spekes stand close by the church. The magnificent old Spanish chestnut tree, beneath which the duke partook of



BARRINGTON COURT

refreshment in the eyes of a vast concourse of admirers, was unfortunately blown down on March 2, 1897.<sup>1</sup> It was judged by experts to be upwards of one thousand years old. The mid-girth of the trunk was 25 feet, and that of the principal branches 14 and 15 feet.

<sup>1</sup> Upon the occasion of my visit, some few months before this calamity, I was informed by a yokel that the Duke of Monmouth bivouacked under the tree on the night before the battle of Sedgemoor!

## The Duke courts Popularity

Barrington Court stands about three miles north of White Lackington, and is one of the most perfect examples of Elizabethan architecture extant. It was built by the Phelips family of Montacute. From Barrington to Chard the duke would go southwards through Ilminster town, and thence south-east to Ford Abbey, undoubtedly



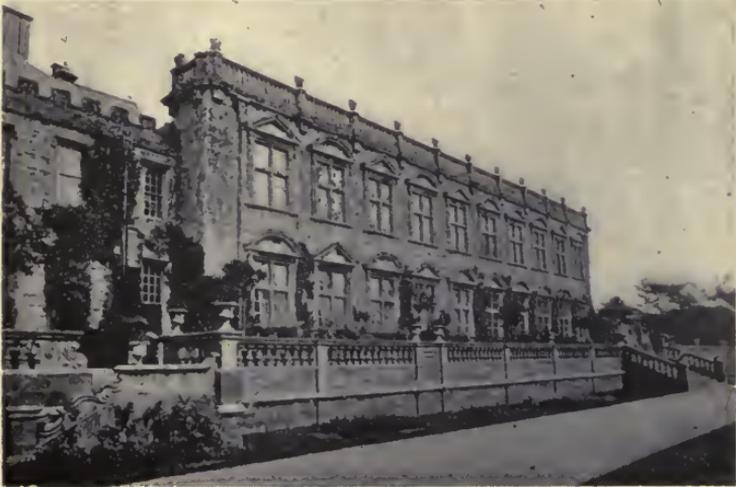
FORD ABBEY

one of the grandest old houses in the country. Monmouth's room here is still pointed out, though it has been much modernised; but for quaintness and picturesque outline perhaps Brympton surpasses Ford;<sup>1</sup> indeed, the church and manor-house and offices together form a group that is at once

<sup>1</sup> Brympton was sold to the Fane family. The present owner, Sir Spencer Ponsonby Fane, inherited the estates from his aunt, Lady Georgina Fane.

## King Monmouth

remarkable and unique. Here, according to local tradition, the duke arrived by way of "Pound Lane," and at the end of the broad avenue, which now forms a private road, Sir John Sydenham handed his Grace a cup of cider,<sup>1</sup> and if Sir John's brewing equalled Sir Ponsonby Fane's of to-day, the duke would have to make many progresses to surpass it in excellence.



BRYMPTON HOUSE

The name Hinton St. George is familiar from the recent claims to the Poulett peerage. This old-world spot, with its gable-ends, deep, stone-mullioned windows, and its massive village cross, is situated midway between Chard and Brympton. Monmouth was not entertained at the house (a large and stately building), for the Poulett of

<sup>1</sup> From information provided by Sir S. P. Fane.

## The Duke courts Popularity

those days, the successor of Sir Amias Poulett, was a minor, and the family had no sympathy with Monmouth and his party. Sir John Sydenham of Brympton was connected by marriage with the Pouletts, and on the strength of his relationship entertained the duke with a junket at the White Lodge, a long, low building still standing on the village side of the extensive park.<sup>1</sup>



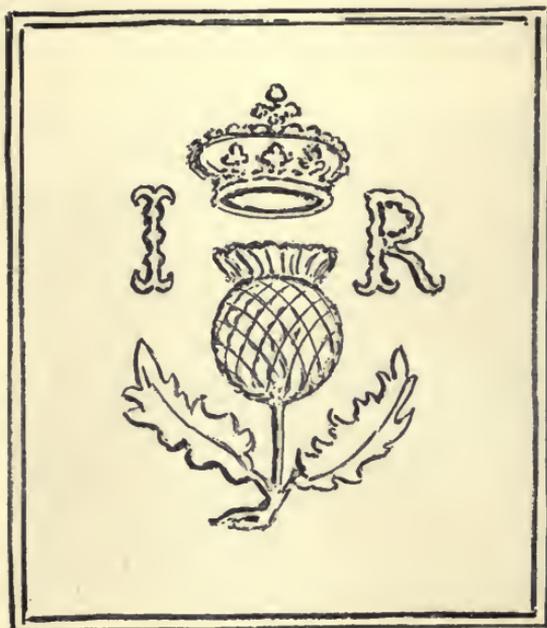
THE WHITE LODGE

Colyton, in the east corner of Devon, about twelve miles from Chard, was the next move. The "Great House" has recently undergone some considerable internal alterations, and the "Monmouth Room" has been shorn of the fine oak

<sup>1</sup> It is no longer known as the "White Lodge." The late Lord Poulett informed me that the lodge alluded to was formerly known by this name.

## King Monmouth

wainscot and Corinthian pilasters which formerly adorned it. A tablet purporting to be Monmouth's regal badge, with the initials "J. R.," which surmounted the open fireplace, now finds a resting-place in another apartment.<sup>1</sup>



REGAL BADGE AT COLYTON

sister of Monmouth's host, with whom the illustrious guest became enamoured during his sojourn under Sir Walter Yonge's roof.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is the local tradition, but the thistle suggests rather King James I., though certainly it might imply his connection with the Scotts of Buccleuch. Should not his badge have been a harp to indicate his Welsh extraction?

<sup>2</sup> Sir Walter, third baronet, died July 18, 1731. The last baronet, Sir George, died at Hampton Court in 1812, *æt.* 80. The coffin-

## The Duke courts Popularity

Otterton is about twelve miles west of Colyton, on the other side of Sidmouth. It is a typical Devonshire village, its clear, rippling stream running through the main street, with the usual accompaniment, a myriad of paddling ducks performing their daily ablutions. Trim gardens and



COLYTON GREAT HOUSE

cosy cottages of stone and thatch, and bright, sunburnt faces, complete the picture. The old grey church and manor-house stand contiguous, the latter an interesting Tudor building, retains the arms of the Duke family<sup>1</sup> over the main entrance.

At Exeter, as we have said, the procession that plate of Monmouth's hostess, "Dame Gwen Yonge, *ob.* 11 Nov. 1729, *æt.* 65," is attached to the wall of the south aisle of Colyton Church. Sir Walter's first wife died in 1678.

<sup>1</sup> With the death of Richard Duke in 1741, the property passed to a nephew, who died without issue in 1775. (See Lyson's "Devon.")

## King Monmouth

preceded Monmouth into the city was a marked feature in the progress, "a brave company of stout young men, all clothed in linen waistcoats and drawers, white and harmless, having not so much as a stick in their hands," must indeed have been impressive! A sightseer records that



OLD SUMMER HOUSE, COLYTON

the gentlemen so attired ran "into toone crying, 'God bless the Protestant duke, and the devil take the Pope.'" which expression was hardly in character with their spotless raiment.<sup>1</sup>

Monmouth is said to have visited the port of Topsham, where may still be seen a "Monmouth Street" and a "Monmouth Head" inn sign commemorating the event.<sup>2</sup>

Returning to White Lackington, the duke next

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 12, App. 7, p. 170.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Cousan's, "History of Herts." The author notes that when a boy, an old fisherman of Topsham told him that he had heard his grandfather say that his father had seen Monmouth land for the 1685 rebellion.

## The Duke courts Popularity

visited Mr. Michael Harvey<sup>1</sup> at Clifton Maybank, near Bradford Abbas, in Dorset (three or four miles from Yeovil). A wing of this curious old



OTTERTON MANOR HOUSE

house remains, and is now used as a farmhouse. It was dismantled towards the end of the eighteenth

<sup>1</sup> Monmouth's host died in 1711, and his hostess, Domina Agnes, in 1717. Their son Michael, the last of the line, died in 1748. (See Hutchins, "Dorset," and Rogers, "Memorials of the West.")

## King Monmouth

century, when much of the ornamental stonework and some of the interior decorations were removed to Montacute House. A quaint little pavilion or music-room stands in the corner of a field near the house, and has vestiges of departed grandeur in its crumbling decay. The duke dined



CLIFTON MANOR HOUSE

at Clifton and finally returned to Longleat, where crowds assembled on Rodden Hill to witness his safe return after the successful tour.

But we must not forget an incident that occurred in Hinton Park, which in the eyes of many proved his legitimacy ; and, as may be imagined, was duly published to the world in a broadside. Whether it was the effect of imagination or faith, or whether the whole was a prearranged plot, is unknown ; but a certain girl named Elizabeth Parcet was cured of scrofula, or "king's evil," by Monmouth's

## The Duke courts Popularity

touch. Her case had long been regarded as hopeless. The invalid, hearing that the king's son was passing through the neighbourhood, determined to test the efficacy of the popular remedy, and during the duke's visit to Hinton Park managed to approach him and touch his



OLD SUMMER HOUSE, CLIFTON

hand. Two days later she was cured, which fact was attested by seven witnesses, including two local clergymen.<sup>1</sup>

The broadside mentioned above was shortly afterwards held up to ridicule in another, headed :

<sup>1</sup> Roberts, "Monmouth," vol. i. p. 98.

## King Monmouth

“A true and wonderful account of a cure of the king's evil, by Mrs. Fanshawe, sister to his Grace the Duke of Monmouth,” which in its turn was again challenged by a third, entitled, “An answer to a scoffing libell,” &c.<sup>1</sup>

Mary Fanshawe, *née* Walter, is described as having effected a marvellous cure upon Jonathan Trot, the son of a woman who kept a small fruit stall near Covent Garden Church. In consequence of a dream the afflicted boy visits Mrs. Fanshawe “at her house near St. James's,” is cured, and his benefactress henceforward is called “Princess Fanshawe.” The conclusion of the document is more keenly satirical. An announcement is set forth that upon a certain Saturday the Duke of Monmouth proposes, as a test of his legitimacy, to be shut up in a cage with the famous lion in the Tower, “Old Charles,” with Sir Thomas Armstrong and another to attend upon him, as grooms of the bedchamber, in an adjacent den.

The duke's half-sister, Mary, it may be explained, had previously married William Sarsfield, of Mayo (elder brother of Patrick, Earl of Lucan),<sup>2</sup> who brought his newly-married wife over to England from the house of the Earl of Carlingford<sup>3</sup> in Holland. Sarsfield died in 1675, and in the following year Mary married William Fanshawe, eldest son of John Fanshawe of Parsloes, Essex, and a nephew of Sir Richard and Lady Anne Fanshawe of Ware Park.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Copies of these broadsides are preserved in the British Museum Library.

<sup>2</sup> One of James II.'s St. Germain creations.

<sup>3</sup> State Papers, Dom. Ch. II. vol. 434. (See also Appendix A.)

<sup>4</sup> *Vide* Lady Fanshawe, “Memoirs.”

## The Duke courts Popularity

As described in our opening chapter, King Charles was not the father of Mary Walter, and hitherto the paternity has fallen to the lot of Henry Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington; but this rests solely upon a mis-spelled word in James II.'s memoirs, written by himself, viz., the Earl of "Carlington,"<sup>1</sup> and upon the supposition that Arlington was intended, that statesman has been thenceforward dubbed the proud father. But an error in the last syllable is more plausible than a mistake of a prefix of the letter C; besides, Nicholas, third Viscount Taaffe and second Earl of Carlingford, judging from his notoriety in De Gramont's pages, was a very likely personage. He, further, was entrusted with the king's private disbursements to Lucy Walter in Holland, corresponded with her, and was not free from the comments of the censorious world in his later negotiations with the ex-mistress.<sup>2</sup>

Monmouth's sister lived into the reign of William III., and obtaining an audience with the Queen, received bounty from the Privy Purse. Her husband, crippled with gout, in want, and hampered with a family, lived half through Queen Anne's reign, and was buried in 1707 by the side of his "dearly-beloved wife, Mary, sister of the late Duke of Monmouth," at Barking.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Macpherson, "Original Papers," vol. i. p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> Thurloe State Papers, vol. i. p. 684, also the Nicholas Papers (Camden Society), vol. ii. p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* Appendix A.

## CHAPTER VII

### STILL IN DISGRACE

IN July the anti-Court party again clamoured for a Parliament, with such good effect that Charles gave way, and fixed a sitting for October 21.

The Duke of York had again been attacked by Shaftesbury, who with other leaders of the Opposition indicted him and the Duchess of Portsmouth at Westminster Hall as Popish recusants, but the grand jury was dismissed before their presentment was finished. The duchess in alarm again courted the Monmouth party, and promised her influence in opposing the Duke of York if she might be left unmolested. Sunderland and Godolphin aided her, and again entered into active negotiations with Shaftesbury. The king, seeing his brother beset on all sides, advised him to return to Scotland. The day after the Duke of York set out Monmouth took his seat in the Lords, "the gentlemen and members" walking bare-headed before him.<sup>1</sup>

On his way to London in September, Monmouth had attended the horse races at Oxford. Upon these occasions he usually rode his own horse. But he was not successful, Lord Wharton being

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 12, App. 7, p. 172.

## Still in Disgrace

the victor.<sup>1</sup> A contemporary poem tells us (somewhat in the style of Ingoldsby) that :

“Another man wonne,  
Tho’ his Grace himself run,  
For he ended too slow, and too fast he begun,  
So his horse, over stran’d, turned jade and fell downe,  
As ’tis thought he may doe in his course at ye crowne.”<sup>2</sup>

Another of Monmouth’s gay companions, Lord Lovelace of Hurley<sup>3</sup> (a cousin of Henrietta Lady Wentworth), was present, and gave away the Plate. After being treated by the mayor and corporation to a banquet in the town hall (where the king’s health was omitted !), the duke journeyed Londonwards.

Now that the uncle had gone, the nephew went about openly. An observer, writing in the early part of November, says, “He was at St. Martin’s Church the last Sunday,” and stood “neer half an hour in the thronge of the people in the yard, and all uncovered admiring him. He hath on his coach painted an heart wounded with two arrows, crosse, the plume of feathers, two angells bearing up a scarf either side, which some say is Prince of Wales armes. He is mightily followed in the city.” The bar sinister was wanting.<sup>4</sup> The duke attended the banquet on Lord Mayor’s Day with Lord Grey and his host of Longleat, and was welcomed with prayers and shouts for a

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 12, p. 171, and Rep. 10, App. iv. p. 396.

<sup>2</sup> Add. MSS. 34362, f. 133.

<sup>3</sup> John, 3rd Baron Lovelace. A portrait of him by Laroon is in Wadham College Hall, Oxford. He died in 1693, and was buried at Hurley.

<sup>4</sup> Letters to Saville. Hallam, “Constitutional History.”

## King Monmouth

long life.<sup>1</sup> The king excused himself from being present, intimating that the queen was indisposed.

In Parliament, however, he had to listen to his son's daring utterances against the Duke of York, which he likened to the "kiss of Judas."<sup>2</sup> The Bill of Exclusion passed its third reading in the Commons (on November 15), but by the dexterity of Halifax was thrown out in the Lords, by a large majority. "Little Sincerity" in his vexation lost his head, cried for the king's divorce, and published a treasonable speech which was ordered to be burned by the common hangman. The country was on the eve of a civil war. The baffled Commons were forming new and exorbitant resolutions, when Charles again played his trump card. Parliament was prorogued for ten days, and dissolved on January 18, and a new one summoned at Oxford (on March 21) to avoid the malcontents of the City.

Among these, Algernon Sidney was a leading figure; and he, with Hampden, Herbert, Boscawen, and other "Independents," were in the pay of King Louis to prevent a reconciliation between the English monarch and his Parliament.<sup>3</sup> Danby's disgrace as a warning to Charles had been indirectly brought about by the French king; and Montague, still in receipt of large sums of money, through Barrillon, promised services of equal moment if his payments were regular. The Duke of Hamilton's son, the Earl of Arran, was offered 500 guineas through the same channel, which he

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 7, App. p. 479.

<sup>2</sup> Lingard xii. p. 244, also Roberts, vol. i. p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> Les Etats de Barrillon, *vide* "Louise de Keroualle," p. 245.

## Still in Disgrace

did not accept, as he "wished first decently to decline offers made by the Prince of Orange!"<sup>1</sup>

The country party, who held the machinery of the City, resented in no small measure the meeting of Parliament at Oxford, and presented a petition through the Earl of Essex pleading that it might assemble as usual at Westminster, in which it was set forth that at Oxford neither Lords nor Commons would be secure against the treachery of the Papists. The petition was rejected, and a few days before Parliament met Charles entered into another compact with King Louis by accepting a pension of two million livres for the current year.

At Oxford the king resided at Christ Church and the queen at Merton, while the Catholic and Protestant mistresses, Portsmouth and Gwyn, were housed out of college.<sup>2</sup> Monmouth and Grey, recently returned from race meetings at Chichester, did their utmost to secure popularity by keeping open table. A double-gilt bowl presented to Balliol by the duke and his friends upon this occasion was formerly preserved in the college.<sup>3</sup>

The leaders of the Opposition looked forward to a long session and ultimate success, and did not calculate upon another dissolution. The Tory party had gained ground since the decline of the "horrid plot," and from the time the country party had adopted such arbitrary measures the violence of the Whigs and the pretensions of Monmouth

<sup>1</sup> Les Etats de Barrillon, *vide* "Louise de Keroualle," p. 248.

<sup>2</sup> Luttrell, vol. i. pp. 70-1.

<sup>3</sup> Bursar's book, Balliol College.

## King Monmouth

had set up a reaction. The clergy, the nobility and the landed gentry now sympathised with the king and hereditary succession, at a time when a recurrence of the struggle of the civil war appeared imminent; and Charles was aware of this power, in addition to his being now free of a necessity of appealing for supply by becoming a pensioner of France; he therefore decided to govern without a Parliament unless compelled to convoke the Houses.

The exclusion agitation again loomed ahead with ominous pre-eminence.

Charles had promised his brother, in sending him away, that he would watch his interests and never allow the rightful succession to be diverted. "By the steps," says Burnet, "which the Commons had already made, the king saw what might be expected from them; so very suddenly, and not very decently, he came to the House of Lords, the crown being carried between his feet, in a sedan, and he put on his robes in haste, without any previous notice, and called up the Commons and dissolved the Parliament, and went with such haste to Windsor that it looked as if he was afraid of the crowds that this meeting had brought to Oxford."<sup>1</sup> The martial appearance of the discontented members and of the armed men who attended them, as well as several known desperadoes from London, no doubt hurried the king's departure.<sup>2</sup>

Shortly afterwards Shaftesbury was seized at

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Burnet, "History of His Own Time."

<sup>2</sup> Reresby, "Memoirs," p. 211.

## Still in Disgrace

Thanet House, his residence in Aldersgate Street.<sup>1</sup> Among his papers, the Earl of Ailesbury states in his memoirs, a large folio book of receipts was discovered. In this were two lists of names under the headings of "Worthy Men" and "Men Worthy": the former were of his own party, the latter, upon careful perusal, turned out to be "worthy *to be hanged*." Ailesbury saw the book, and had the satisfaction of finding his own name at the head of the latter list. Others of his papers related to the defence of Protestantism in opposition to the Duke of York.<sup>2</sup>

Shaftesbury was examined before the Court in the king's presence, and conveyed by water to the Tower, where Monmouth, Grey, and other friends visited him the same evening.

Upon his return from Oxford the duke was entertained at a dinner at "The Gun," on Mile End Green, and a large crowd accompanied his coach to his town house. In April he visited Northampton, and was received at the Eleanor Cross by the town dignitaries. "The George" was selected for his quarters, but when it became known that mine host of that house of entertainment had previously drunk to his Grace's confusion, another lodging was found for him. On his return the duke attended the Quainton Meade races in Buckinghamshire, in company with Temple,<sup>3</sup> who,

<sup>1</sup> Thanet House, a fine brick building by Inigo Jones, stood on the east side of Aldersgate Street. In the eighteenth century it was converted into a tavern, and later was used as a lying-in hospital. It was pulled down not many years ago.

<sup>2</sup> "Memoirs of Thomas Earl of Ailesbury." Roxburghe Club Publications. Camden Society.

<sup>3</sup> See "Memoirs of the Verney Family," vol. iv.

## King Monmouth

with Salisbury, Essex, and Sunderland, was no longer in power.<sup>1</sup>

Monmouth, Grey, Armstrong, and Montague went in July to Tunbridge Wells for a month's rest from the political arena. De Gramont gives a vivid little picture of the new fashionable watering-place, whither the select of both sexes repaired more for diversion than for health. Here pleasure was the order of the day, and of the night also. The whole is summed up as a long walk shaded by trees, with a row of shops on one side, where toys, lace, gloves, and stockings could be purchased; at a market on the other side of the walk it was the fashion to buy one's own provisions from the pretty country lasses daintily dressed in clean linen, straw hats, and neat shoes and stockings. The bowling-green was the favourite resort of the evening, where the soft turf formed the finest carpet "in the world" for dancing. Here likewise was deep play and "no want of amorous intrigues." During his sojourn the duke attended chapel regularly, and was not free of attacks from the pulpit. He returned to town on August 20, being accompanied on the road by many of the local gentry as far as Riverhead, where, after drinking his Grace's health at the "Bull and Bush," they returned homewards.<sup>2</sup>

Soon after Shaftesbury's committal to the Tower, the Prince of Orange, urged by his friends, intimated to Charles his intention of paying him a visit. The king, and his brother in particular,

<sup>1</sup> "Heroic Life." Grey, "Secret History," and Verney, "Memoirs," vol. iv. p. 266.

<sup>2</sup> "Heroic Life."

## Still in Disgrace

were very averse to such a movement, but before a plausible excuse could be made the prince put in an appearance at Windsor (July 24). In vain he argued that Charles should call a Parliament. James, in his memoirs, says that the prince clearly saw the result had the king given way to his persuasions—of the passing of the Bill of Exclusion, and of the premature crowning of his own ambitions. But Charles was firm, and the prince returned to Holland unconvinced and dissatisfied, though openly professing deference and affection.<sup>1</sup>

Shaftesbury, meanwhile, in the Tower, was longing for freedom. He wrote to the king in October pleading for release, in which case he promised to retire to his plantations in Carolina (granted to him in 1663). But Charles refused, and left him to the law. Giving up all hope of an acquittal, he made a careful settlement of his estates and instructed his agents to sell his stud at his ancestral home, St. Giles, near Cranborne, in Dorsetshire.<sup>2</sup> The statesman's trial took place on November 24. His interest in the City, where the Nonconformists were always in the majority, procured for him a picked grand jury and perjured witnesses, and his Wapping constituents were on the spot to scare the Court.<sup>3</sup> Amid much rejoicing the earl was admitted to bail, and Monmouth, to the king's great annoy-

<sup>1</sup> Clarke, "Life of James II." vol. i. p. 690.

<sup>2</sup> This old Jacobean house has many memories of the first earl, and the stables in particular carry us back to his time, not forgetting a quaint medicine chest which Charles II. left behind him upon the occasion of a visit when "Little Sincerity" was in favour.

<sup>3</sup> North, "Examen," p. 113.

## King Monmouth

ance, came forward as security.<sup>1</sup> A medal was struck to celebrate his release, with Shaftesbury's head on one side and on the reverse the Tower, with the sun rising above a cloud.<sup>2</sup>

A few days before the appearance of the Bill of Indictment, Dryden's satirical poem, *Absalom and Achitophel*, was published, in which the latter, otherwise Shaftesbury, is severely handled by the great Court poet.

"Of these the false Achitophel was first,  
A name to all succeeding ages curs't,  
For close designs and crooked councils fit,  
Sagacious, bold, and turbulent of wit,  
Restless, unfixed in principles and place,  
In power unpleas'd, impatient of disgrace,  
In friendships false, implacable in hate,  
Resolved to ruin or to rule the State."

Dryden's tender treatment of Monmouth was not only in consequence of the king's secret affection for his son, and general popularity, but because to the duke, and more especially to the duchess, he was indebted for patronage. In one of his dedicatory epistles the poet says: "The obligations I have had to him [Monmouth] were those of his countenance, his favour, his good word and his esteem, all of which I have likewise had in a greater measure from his excellent duchess, the patroness of my poor unworthy poetry."<sup>3</sup> *Absalom and Achitophel* proved a great success,

<sup>1</sup> He was released from bail on February 13, 1682. The Skinners' Company gave great dinners in celebration on December 13 and March 17.

<sup>2</sup> See "Dictionary of National Biography" (Cooper [Anthony Ashley]). The original plate of the medal is preserved among the Shaftesbury papers in the Record Office.

<sup>3</sup> Dryden's Works, vol. vii. p. 162.



[ANTHONY ASHLEY, EARL OF SHAFTESBURY  
FROM A MINIATURE IN SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM



## Still in Disgrace

and had its desired effect in attracting popular sympathy towards the throne.

In December, Monmouth, after a short visit to Lord Grey's house in Sussex, was present with his boon companions at the Pope-burning festivities in Smithfield (December 17). The procession started from Whitechapel and proceeded *viâ* Holborn and Newgate Street to the market. His Grace's health was drunk by the rabble conjointly with the king's.<sup>1</sup>

Two months after this, Monmouth (according to the current report circulated by his party) had a narrow escape from assassination. He had been taking an evening drive with Mr. Thynne round Hyde Park, and having bid adieu to his friend, alighted at Suffolk Street, Pall Mall, when three assassins rode up, one of whom shot Thynne in the stomach. Sir John Reresby was about to retire to rest on the Sunday night, February 12, when Monmouth's page arrived asking him to go at once in the duke's coach, which awaited him, to Mr. Thynne's lodging. "I found him," says Reresby, "surrounded with several gentlemen and lords, friends to Mr. Thynne, and Mr. Thynne mortally wounded by five bullets, which had entered his belly and side, shot from a blunderbuss." Sir John, with Monmouth and Lord Mordaunt, occupied the night in searching for the assassins, who were all three captured shortly afterwards.<sup>2</sup>

The actual instigator of the crime, Count Koningsmark, was arrested by Monmouth's

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 10, App. iv. pp. 173-4.

<sup>2</sup> Reresby, "Memoirs," pp. 235-6.

## King Monmouth

servant some days later at Gravesend, on the point of leaving the country. The unprincipled Swedish count, a notorious adventurer, had arranged this murderous attack upon Thynne as a preliminary to obtaining for his wife the beautiful and wealthy heiress Elizabeth, only daughter of the eleventh Earl of Northumberland.

This juvenile heroine of romance had been twice married, but, owing to her youth, in neither case had the union been consummated. The old Countess of Northumberland and Monmouth had both been instrumental in bringing about the marriage with Thynne of the girl widow of the Earl of Ogle (son and heir of the Duke of Newcastle), but after it had been solemnised she effected her escape into Holland, where Koningsmark met her and conceived the villainous plot for securing his own ambitious ends.

By the connivance of Charles the count was acquitted, and three months after the tragedy in the Haymarket the heroine became the wife of "the proud Duke of Somerset," who figures in our later chapters.<sup>1</sup>

The king was apprehensive lest the anti-Court party might turn the Thynne affair to good account. Rumours of a poisoned letter having been sent to the duke had been circulated some time before,<sup>2</sup> and a Scotchman named Everard

<sup>1</sup> Monmouth was present at Thynne's burial at Westminster Abbey on March 9, as he was also at the death of the perpetrators of the crime, occupying a balcony "just over against the place where they were executed" in Pall Mall. ("Heroic Life.")

<sup>2</sup> Letter from the Duchess of Monmouth to Earl Melville (Melville House MSS. co. Fife).



TOMB OF THOMAS THYNNE, WESTMINSTER ABBEY



## Still in Disgrace

had been imprisoned in the Tower on a similar charge. The fanatics having declared that it had been the object of Koningsmark's assassins to kill Monmouth, Sir John Reresby investigated the matter thoroughly and proved, on the contrary, that they had received particular instructions not to shoot their unfortunate victim in the event of Monmouth being with him in the coach.<sup>1</sup>

Though still in disgrace, Monmouth would have it believed otherwise. By degrees he had assumed his former importance at Court, and now showed himself openly at Whitehall without permission. But Charles put a sudden check upon him by issuing express orders that he should keep himself at a respectful distance.<sup>2</sup>

The Duke of York, after many endeavours to be recalled, mainly owing to the influence of the Duchess of Portsmouth (who again had altered her political tactics), received instructions to repair to Newmarket, whither the king and queen started on March 4, 1682. The same day James sailed from Leith for Yarmouth, whence he proceeded amidst much rejoicing, *viâ* Norwich, to his destination.<sup>3</sup>

While in Scotland the Duke of York had been continually advised by his friends to turn Protestant. Hyde had been sent by the king to tell him that if he would not conform so far as to attend the services of the Established Church he could not help him any longer. But James was

<sup>1</sup> Reresby, "Memoirs," p. 238.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 10, App. iv. p. 175.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 176.

## King Monmouth

inflexible. Upon his return to London the usual bonfires were kindled, which occasioned hostile demonstrations by Monmouth's adherents, who rapidly extinguished them and lighted others of their own.

In April James attended a feast held in his honour by the Artillery Company, of which he was appointed captain-general. Viscountess Campden saw him returning from the banquet with not above half a dozen paid boys crying after his coach, "God bless him!" An opposition feast was planned by the Protestant party. Referring to this the same lady remarks, scarcely orthographically: "The kinge forbidars of the feaste to-morrow that the Ducke of Monmouth and all his party should a bine at to-morrow. All those provisions are made and theare mony given; so it is every way a great defeate to that partie, and it is beleved there would a bine a world crieinge after his coach, I men [mean] the Ducke of Monmouth's, if hee had gone to the feast to-morrow."<sup>1</sup>

On May 29, 1682, the Duchess of Monmouth returned from a visit to France,<sup>2</sup> and the Duchess of York arrived in London a few days afterwards. Her husband, upon his way to fetch her, had a narrow escape, his frigate being wrecked on the Yorkshire coast. The rival duchesses met upon very friendly terms, at which Monmouth was much annoyed—at least his friends were, for his wife was to have acted as mediator between the

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 12, App. v. p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Luttrell, "Diary."

## Still in Disgrace

two dukes, until Shaftesbury got wind of the scheme and prevented it.<sup>1</sup>

In the absence of his uncle, Monmouth made a vain effort to get again into the king's good graces; but in his proposed submission the Duke of York was excepted, which increased Charles' resentment to such a degree that he publicly made a declaration that thenceforward none of his (the king's) servants should have any intercourse with him. Monmouth taxed Lord Halifax with having advised the king to take this measure, as the Privy Councillor was coming out of St. Martin's Church, saying that there was no proclamation prohibiting him from intruding upon his lordship, and that he would seek an opportunity of asking for an explanation. Upon hearing of the affront Charles called a council at Hampton Court, forbidding any correspondence whatever with his son.<sup>2</sup>

To his uncle was Monmouth indebted for the loss of the Chancellorship of Cambridge. The honour was conferred upon his former associate, Christopher. Duke of Albemarle (on April 10), with a repetition of the solemnities of 1674. At the same time that Monmouth's name was cancelled in the warrant books, his portrait (for which the duke had paid Lely £120) was taken down, and soon afterwards publicly burnt by the hangman while the troops drank to his Grace's confusion.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lingard's History, xii. p. 311.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 7, App. p. 352, also Rep. 12, App. v. p. 74, and Add. MSS. 28569, f. 36.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* Cooper, "Annals of Cambridge."

## King Monmouth

His good fortunes having thus deserted him, the duke sought consolation in another progress, this time northwards. But there was a marked difference between this and the last, for now there was no disguising the fact that his movements had a revolutionary tendency, though the Whig meetings outwardly appeared for another purpose—viz., horse-racing.

From a youth Monmouth had won fame as a jockey. In 1671 he had gained the prize at Newmarket against his friend Thynne. Five years later Charles II. sent him there to accept a challenge from Lord Montague "to run every horse in his stable with his Majesty's"; and at the international races near St. Germain the duke had carried off the plate presented by Louis XIV.<sup>1</sup>

By way of Grantham, Daventry, Coventry, Lichfield, and Stone, Monmouth, with a large and imposing retinue, made his way into Cheshire. At Coventry, writes an eye-witness, "never sich a rabble met together to entertain a prince," and a score or so were bound over to keep the peace. At Lichfield an opposition party hired a room next to that which had been engaged for the duke, and Tory healths were drunk to the accompaniment of trumpets and fiddles; and when his Grace took horse in the inn yard, the opposition, including Lords Coventry and Gerard, crowded into the galleries to gaze "without so much as moving a hat to him!"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 7, App. p. 467, and Rep. 12, App. vii. p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Alnwick Castle MSS.

## Still in Disgrace

On his way to Nantwich and Chester, Monmouth was entertained by William Leveson Gower at Trentham Hall, Staffordshire, or rather, as it was then called, "The Priory," a predecessor of the existing mansion.<sup>1</sup> The Nantwich people were rapturous with joy, and went down on their knees as the cavalcade approached.<sup>2</sup>

At Chester the duke put up at the "Plume of Feathers," an appropriate lodging for "the distressed prince," as he was called by the Whigs. A thousand pounds was collected here for his use, and "A Munmouth! a Munmouth!" rang continually through the streets.<sup>3</sup> On Sunday his Grace attended service with the mayor, and stood godfather to his little daughter, whom he named Henrietta, evidently from his happy associations with the young Baroness of Toddington.

Next day the Wallasey races came off. The course was a level plain, enclosed in the centre of which Leasowe Castle now stands. The ninth Earl of Derby (a grandson of James Stanley, the 7th earl, who was beheaded after Worcester fight) lived close by at Bidston Hall, and was present with Lords Macclesfield and Delamere, Sir John Bollen, and others. Though one of Monmouth's associates upon this occasion, Derby did not espouse his cause in 1685; but his politics since the king had rejected a bill for the redemption of his estate were not trusted when James came to the throne, and a bond of £5000 was

<sup>1</sup> There are views of the old hall in Plot's "Staffordshire."

<sup>2</sup> State Papers, Dom. Ch. II. vol. 420.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 7. App. p. 533.

## King Monmouth

forwarded to him to behave peacefully.<sup>1</sup> The summer-house at Bidston is said to have been the place of confidential meetings of the Monmouth party at the time of the races.

Charles was well aware that other "deep-rooted designs" were afoot beyond mere sport.<sup>2</sup> While the high Whig gentry assembled round "the Protestant duke," a large opposition meeting of local Tory gentlemen met in Delamere Forest to be in readiness in the event of any "ill attempts."<sup>3</sup>

From Wallasey, Monmouth paid a brief visit to Liverpool, and on the way touched a child for the king's evil.<sup>4</sup> The duke returned to Chester the victor of the Plate, which he bestowed upon his godchild. There were great rejoicings, and bonfires were conspicuous as usual; but an opposition party attempted to extinguish them, and the result was a free fight. Windows of the houses of the Tory residents were smashed. The mob burst into the cathedral, destroyed the stained glass windows, pulled down the font and monuments, and tore the vestments to shreds,<sup>5</sup> and damnation was drunk to the king and the Duke of York.

Monmouth was next entertained by Thomas, Earl Rivers, at Rocksavage (an Elizabethan mansion since succeeded by two other erections),<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 10, App. iv. p. 364-5, and Rep. 14, App. iv. p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Rep. 3, p. 269, and Rep. 7, p. 359.

<sup>3</sup> State Papers, Dom. Ch. II. vol. 420. (See also Roberts, "Monmouth," vol. i. p. 135.)

<sup>4</sup> State Papers, Dom. Ch. II. vol. 420.

<sup>5</sup> Cowper's MSS. Ormerod's "Cheshire," vol. i. p. 210.

<sup>6</sup> The present Marquis of Cholmondeley is descended from his

## Still in Disgrace

by Henry, Lord Delamere, at Dunham Massey, near Knutsford (rebuilt in 1730),<sup>1</sup> and by Charles, Earl of Macclesfield at Gawsorth Hall, an old timber structure, now much reduced in size.<sup>2</sup>

The duke returned to Trentham for the night, and by way of Newcastle-under-Lyme journeyed to Stafford, where a feast given in his honour was brought to a sudden termination by the arrival of a sergeant-of-arms with a warrant for his arrest for going about the country in a riotous and unlawful manner, to the disturbance of the public peace and terror of his Majesty's subjects.<sup>3</sup> Monmouth submitted peacefully, and was conveyed the same night to Coleshill, and thence to Coventry, where, having dined, the next stage was Towcester. "Here, very late at night, a drummer would needs entertain his Grace with a point of war, and would not be persuaded to desist, though he was told he disturbed his Grace's rest, till Mr. Sergeant was forced to exert his authority, and commanded him to leave off."<sup>4</sup> At St. Albans he was met by Sir Thomas Armstrong, who accompanied him to London.

After a detention of two days at the sergeant's

granddaughter Elizabeth. Lord Rivers died at his residence in Great Queen Street, and was buried in 1694 at Macclesfield.

<sup>1</sup> There is an engraving by Kip of the old hall in "Les Delices de la Grand Bretagne," 1727. Lord Delamere (*ob.* 1693-4) was the son of Sir George Booth, one of the most zealous agents for bringing about the Restoration.

<sup>2</sup> Gawsorth is one of the most picturesque spots in the county. The Earl of Macclesfield was tried for implication in the Monmouth rebellion, and sentenced to death, but was afterwards pardoned. He, as well as Delamere, warmly espoused the cause of William III.

<sup>3</sup> "Heroic Life." (See also Roberts "Monmouth," vol. i. pp. 137-8.)

<sup>4</sup> Pamphlet concerning Monmouth's arrest in the possession of E. W. Hennell, Esq.

## King Monmouth

house, Monmouth was examined by Sir Leoline Jenkins, the Secretary of State, and was admitted to bail in £10,000, for which his friends readily became surety,<sup>1</sup> and eventually after two appearances at the King's Bench bar he was liberated.

Prior to his final appearance at the court, the duke had spent some days at his country seat, Moor Park, whence he went to Burford, in Oxfordshire, with Lord Lovelace to attend the races, where again he carried away the Plate. Meanwhile his boon companion, Lord Grey, had been arrested for the abduction of his sister-in-law. Monmouth dined with his friend in the King's Bench Prison shortly before this famous trial, of which we shall speak in the following chapter.

<sup>1</sup> The sureties were Lords Russell and Grey, the Earl of Clare, John Offley and William Leveson Gower (Roberts, "Monmouth," vol. i. p. 139). Among Monmouth's Shropshire friends were Sir John Corbett of Adderley, Sir Richard Corbett, Bart., of Longnor, Sir John Crew of Utkinton, Mr. Forster of Dotayl, Mr. Bryan of Stapleford, Mr. Lea of Darnhill, and Mr. Hurlston of Pitton (*ibid.* p. 137). The following names appear in the presentment at the assize:—Sir Thomas Mainwaring, Bart., Sir Thomas Bellot, Bart., Colonel Roger Whitley, Sir Robert Dukenfield, Bart., Robert Hyde, Edward Glegge, Roger Whitby, Robert Venables, Tilston Bruen, William Minshull, William Whitmore, Lord Colchester, Richard, Colonel Thos., and J. Leigh. (William Bray's Papers, Onerod's "Cheshire," vol. i. xlii.) When the Rye House Plot was discovered, some of Monmouth's friends, being suspected, were disarmed by order of the king. Forty-nine muskets in the possession of the Earl of Macclesfield were seized; fourteen muskets, &c., from Henry Booth, Sir Thomas Mainwaring and Richard Leigh; nine muskets from Mr. Bradshaw of Marple—and from Colonel Venables, Swinton (the parson of Wallasey), Glegg of Grange, &c., mostly fowling-pieces and pistols, "122 articles in all." (See Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 10, App. iv p. 364.)

## CHAPTER VIII

### DANGEROUS COMPANIONS

“How are thy honours and thy fame betray'd,  
The property of desperate villains made.”

*Absalom and Achitophel.*

No sooner was Monmouth out on bail than Shaftesbury had his toils around him. On Michaelmas Day he was seen in company with Grey and Armstrong entering a tailor's shop where the crafty statesman's chief agent, Ferguson, had lodgings.<sup>1</sup>

Since the king had turned the tables against him by nominating Tory sheriffs and selecting picked judges who supported the Court (July 1682), Shaftesbury had used his utmost endeavours to mature a general rising. He proposed to seize the Tower, and with the aid of his “Wapping boys” secure the City, while Lord Russell raised the western counties and Monmouth stirred up rebellion in Lancashire and Cheshire. The duke's arrest, however, altered his plans, and while he was maturing new ones a warrant was signed for his apprehension, and he had to quit Thanet House in all haste and seek refuge in his various lurking-places at Wapping and in the City.

<sup>1</sup> Memoirs of Thomas, Earl of Ailesbury. Roxburghe Club. Camden Society.

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But his activity in fomenting an insurrection was not backed up by equal enterprise on the part of his colleagues, excepting the rougher element of his party, including such desperadoes as the old Parliamentary officers Rumsey and Walcot, who, at the head of their own little circle, were hatching assassination plots against the throne

In vain Shaftesbury endeavoured to bring Monmouth and Russell to action; in fear of him the former adopted a consenting but dilatory attitude which galled the arch agitator to such a degree that he became suspicious of his *protégé* and determined to act without him. Probably only with a view to check any immediate act of violence, and to obtain a general idea of the leaders' *modus operandi*, Monmouth attended the meetings held at an obscure house in Abchurch Lane, owned by one Shepherd, a wine merchant; but neither the duke nor Lord Russell, who also visited Shepherd's house (by his own account only to taste the wines), can be acquitted of any knowledge of the proposal of the more desperate plotters to attack the guard and secure the king upon his return journey from the autumnal races; for if they had not actually discussed the proposal, they had certainly overheard a conversation to that effect between Rumsey and Armstrong.<sup>1</sup> This plan of seizing Charles prior to a general rising, which was fixed for November 19,<sup>2</sup> when Monmouth was to be in town, "to assert the

<sup>1</sup> "Life of Lord Russell," vol. ii. p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> Grey's "Secret History of the Rye House Plot," p. 28. Monmouth's house was fixed upon for a meeting-place of the insurgents.



*William Russell*



## Dangerous Companions

rights and liberties of the people,"<sup>1</sup> must not be confused with the later design of shooting the king and Duke of York at the Rye House.

The first plan failed owing to the arrangements not having been completed by the time Charles returned to London at the end of October, the second to his premature departure from Newmarket, which was brought about by a great fire breaking out in the vicinity of the royal residence.

However innocent Monmouth and Russell may have been in the first scheme, Lord Grey and Sir Thomas Armstrong were ready for almost any hazardous undertaking in assisting the attack on the guards. The latter was one of Shaftesbury's most active agents. He divided his time between "Little Sincerity" at Thanet House, Colonel Rumsey in King's Square, Soho, and West (who figures more in the insurrection of 1685) in the Temple, and attended the rebellious meetings at the "Fortune" at Wapping, the "Horse Shoe" on Tower Hill, the "King's Head" in Atheist Alley, and the "Young Devil Tavern" by Temple Bar.<sup>2</sup>

Fresh warrants having been issued for his arrest, Shaftesbury, in disgust at the inactivity and disunion of his accomplices, after keeping aloof from them and their meetings, eventually decamped to Holland, disguised as a Presbyterian minister. Ferguson accompanied him, and was present at his death, which occurred soon afterwards. Owing to an unfavourable wind, the fugitives were delayed

<sup>1</sup> "Ferguson the Plotter." By James Ferguson:

<sup>2</sup> See Sprat's "True Account," &c., p. 52.

## King Monmouth

some days at Harwich, where they narrowly escaped detection. Arriving at Amsterdam early in December, they put up at the house of an English merchant. Here "Little Sincerity" was attacked by the gout, and died on January 21 (1682-3).<sup>1</sup>

Shaftesbury's flight came as a severe blow to Monmouth, and made him doubtful how to act. He now looked towards Scotland for support in the person of the Earl of Argyll, and called a cabal, known as the Council of Six, to deliberate on the turn of events. The views of these leaders were not all in unison. Russell and Hampden were mainly for the exclusion of the Duke of York, while Sidney and Essex sought for a republic. Monmouth was for himself and monarchy, and Howard for himself and treason generally; in fact, he was the connecting link between the insurrection plot and its fanatical undercurrent for the assassination of the king and his brother.<sup>2</sup>

While the council plotted for a general rising in London, the south-western counties, in Cheshire, and in Scotland, the more desperate party had selected a suitable spot for the perpetration of their crime. One of the conspirators, a maltster, named Rumbold, lived at a secluded farmhouse

<sup>1</sup> His body was sent to England and interred with many marks of respect at Wimborne, Dorset. See "Dict. of Nat. Biography" (*Cooper, A. A.*).

<sup>2</sup> Ferguson returned to London three or four days before the Court adjourned to Newmarket in February. He afterwards declared that had there been no fire to enforce the king's return to town, and if he had even come back a month later, he would have been "as free from danger of being assaulted upon the road as at the time he did." (See "Ferguson the Plotter.")

## Dangerous Companions

called the Rye House, near the road the king usually travelled from Newmarket to London, and had hinted at the facilities the place offered for an attack.

A contemporary description of the house might almost apply to the present day, excepting the



THE RYE HOUSE

recent growth of bricks and mortar in the vicinity of the lonely farmstead.

In coming from Newmarket his Majesty usually left the main road at Bishops Stortford and took a more direct by-road to Hoddesdon, which the tower of the Rye House surveyed for some considerable distance on either side. As one approached the farm from the north a narrow causeway was crossed, at the end of which was a toll

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gate. Passing through a yard and a small meadow, another gate led into a lane, with a long range of stables and granaries, &c., (fronting the outer courtyard) on the right, with a paling which confined the space so that two vehicles could not pass one another. The moat and garden wall ran parallel with the road to the river Lea,<sup>1</sup> crossed by a bridge some twenty yards distant. From this part another bridge led over the New River.<sup>2</sup>

In the narrow lane described, a cart was to be overturned, which would cause a convenient delay for the king's postilion to be shot; while Rumsey attacked the king and Duke of York, and Walcot gave his attention to the guard. A horseman was then to be despatched to London by Hackney Marsh, to raise the alarm that the fell deed had been accomplished by the Papists.

After Audley Inn, near Saffron Walden, the last relay of horses and guards was stationed at the Rye House. Charles as a rule travelled at a good speed, and his coach was usually some little way ahead of his attendants at this part of his journey. Towards the end of March 1683, the king and his brother were expected back in town from the races, but, as before stated, the great fire which broke out at Newmarket on the evening of the 22nd determined them to return prematurely. A hasty message was despatched to Cambridge in the early hours of the next morning, that the royal carriage was on the road. The

<sup>1</sup> Called the "Ware river."

<sup>2</sup> See a particular account of the situation of the Rye House, State Papers, Dom. June, 1683.

## Dangerous Companions

town was immediately in consternation. At once orders were issued "for great St. Maryes bells to jangle to give notice to the Town, and candles, &c., to be in all places alight," but an hour or so later another message arrived that the king had gone to Cheveley,<sup>1</sup> though Charles really did not quit Newmarket until the following Monday, March 26.<sup>2</sup> Rumbold afterwards informed his friends that he noticed when the royal carriage passed his house it was "very slenderly guarded, only with five or six persons, and those tired and ill-appointed."<sup>3</sup>

The Rye House conspirators, being thus foiled in their murderous designs, took to flight; but not until June was the plot discovered, when the revelations of West, Rumsey, and Shepherd dragged in the names of the council. Warrants were issued, and rewards offered. Monmouth, Grey, and Ferguson escaped, while Sidney, Russell, Essex, Howard and Wildman were arrested and sent to the Tower. Strict search was also made for Argyll in London.<sup>4</sup>

But before we follow Monmouth and Grey in their flight, we must record their previous movements. Early in February, accompanied by Lord Stamford, they went to their usual resort at this time of the year, Chichester—a progress after the

<sup>1</sup> Cheveley Park, two miles from Newmarket. The mansion was erected in 1632.

<sup>2</sup> Alderman Newton's Diary, Cooper's "Cambridge," vol. iii. p. 598; also Ailesbury's Memoirs, and State Papers, Dom. Ch. II. vols. 425 and 426.

<sup>3</sup> "A True Account of the Horrid Conspiracy," 1685, p. 57.

<sup>4</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 7, App. p. 364. Rumbold and Ayloff were executed June 26.

## King Monmouth

manner of that in Cheshire—under the disguise of hunting.

Charlton, some miles north of Chichester, had long enjoyed a great reputation as a hunting centre. It was the Melton Mowbray of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Monmouth was so attached to the place that he used to say that when he became king he would hold his court there. Both he and Grey kept hounds at Charlton,<sup>1</sup> where a pack remained until Goodwood was built. An old gamekeeper of the Duke of Richmond, who died in the early part of the last century, used to boast that he had heard his grandfather say that he had spoken to the Duke of Monmouth.<sup>2</sup>

In 1683, however, the hunt was of minor consequence. A great demonstration was to be held, for which preparations had been duly made, more especially by the rough element of the town. As at Exeter, a procession was to have met "the Protestant duke" on his way, and horsemen in white waistcoats, with wands in their hands. But all this was stopped by an order from the king to oppose a public reception,<sup>3</sup> consequently a wet blanket was thrown over the proceedings, but the

<sup>1</sup> It is supposed Monmouth first was introduced to Lord Grey at the Charlton Hunt. (See Bennett's "Memoir of the Charlton Hunt.") Up Park is about seven miles N.W. of Charlton. By Grey's account at the time, a general rising was expected; the intelligence that London was in arms was to be conveyed to Monmouth at Up Park, where he was to be buck-hunting a week previously for security, and from which place communication was to be made with Taunton. (See Grey's "Confession.")

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* "Sussex Archæological Collections," vol. xv. pp. 74-82.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 15, App. ii. p. 27.

## Dangerous Companions

mob greeted their hero nevertheless with many marks of affection.

As usual upon these occasions, Monmouth always attended church regularly. It was not the custom here to attack him from the pulpit, as had happened during his sojourn at Tunbridge Wells. Upon a former visit the Bishop of Chichester records that "the anthem made choice of at evening prayer was the slaughter of King Saul and his people upon the mountains of Gilboa, but not a worde, I warrant you, of 'the kinges enemies to perish,' or that 'upon his head his crown might flourish.' These were apocryphal anthems," observes the bishop, "when the Commonwealth saint appear'd amongst us."<sup>1</sup>

This time the text of the sermon ran as follows: "For rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness is as iniquity and idolatry. Because thou hast rejected the word of the Lord, He hath also rejected thee from being king,"<sup>2</sup> which drove the duke from the cathedral, while some of his friends remained behind using language but ill-adapted to a holy edifice.<sup>3</sup>

The last we hear of Monmouth prior to his flight after the Rye House discovery is a little incident showing the feeling of the Court party towards him. The coachman of his Grace was in a hatter's shop, making a purchase, when a life-guardsmen insulted him for wearing the duke's livery. Blows were exchanged, and the former came off badly, and had his head and face battered

<sup>1</sup> Tanner MSS. Bodleian Library.

<sup>2</sup> I. Samuel xv. 23.

<sup>3</sup> State Papers, Dom. Ch. II. vol. 422.

## King Monmouth

with a pair of shears! In consequence of this outrage the duke sent a complaint to the king.<sup>1</sup> But for all that, Monmouth was still very popular with the rabble. Shortly before the above outrage, two "'prentices were put in the pillory in Cheapside for riot, but not a pin's head was flung at them, and they were regaled with a bottle of wine to drink his Grace's health."<sup>2</sup>

Lord Grey appeared before the King's Bench bar for abduction, on November 23, 1682. In the August previously the town was busy with news of the sudden disappearance from "the Durdans," near Epsom, of the Lady Henrietta Berkeley, a younger sister of Lady Grey.<sup>3</sup> "Gon she is for sartine," says the Countess of Northampton in a letter to her sister, the Countess of Rutland (August 24, 1682), "and has left a very distracted house, her pouer mother so afflicted that my sister<sup>4</sup> believes it will kill her."<sup>5</sup> Two months later she writes:—"The newes of Lady H. Berkely and Lord Grey is so astonishing that I am still in a maze that theare should be so much wickedness raining in the world. 'Tis serting he has delewded her and intised her from her father, but wheare she is is not yet knowen. But yesterday, an indightment was brought in against him in. Westmester Hall, and 'tis hoped he must

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 7, App. p. 481.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Her father, writing to Pepys, February 23, 1677-8, says: "As for Mrs. Henrietta, she is extremely troubled in anything that gave you offence, and though she did not in the least intend it, yet she begs y<sup>r</sup> pardon."

<sup>4</sup> Viscountess Dursley.

<sup>5</sup> Belvoir MSS. Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 12, App. v. pt. ii. p. 76.



*Grey:*



## Dangerous Companions

soon produce her, or his lordship must remain a prisoner till she is brought forth."<sup>1</sup>

The drama as it was unfolded in court presented many distressing scenes. Apart from her afflicted parents and sisters sat the heroine of the story. Upon her first appearance the Earl of Berkeley demanded that his daughter should be given back to him; but this was not permitted, and the case proceeded. The unhappy mother swooned in giving her evidence, and Henrietta's sister, Lady Arabella, was so discomposed in seeing the cause of all the trouble in court that Lord Grey was directed by the judge (the notorious Jeffries) to stand in a less conspicuous position.

The Lady "Hen," the fifth daughter of Lord Berkeley, had for three or four years been upon particularly affectionate terms with her brother-in-law, which had ripened into a clandestine and sinful amour. While the family were at their town residence at St. John's, Clerkenwell,<sup>2</sup> Grey

<sup>1</sup> Belvoir MSS. *ibid.* p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> Berkeley Street, Clerkenwell, derives its name from this mansion. In the trial it came out that the gate porter at St. John's knew that letters had been transmitted through Charnock and Lady Henrietta's maid. At Cranford House, near Harlington, Middlesex, another seat of the Berkeley family, are some very fine family portraits. Not the least interesting is that of Lady "Hen," by Wissing; a comely blonde in the low-necked dress of the period, carelessly clasped with a pearl fastening. The drapery is of a deep blue embroidered with orange; the usual ringlet falls over the right shoulder. She has a certain boldness in expression, and in this she differs from her elder sister, Lady Grey, who, judging from a three-quarter length by Kneller, shows in her face a more gentle and sweet disposition. She also is a blonde. The picture represents her in a red dress with a blue mantle, seated by the open window, with a King Charles spaniel by her side.

Though Cranford is the burial-place of the Earl and Countess of

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had been in the habit of paying secret nocturnal visits, which, according to the evidence, upon one occasion necessitated his imprisonment in a cupboard for two days, subsisting on nothing but sweetmeats! Some two months previous to Henrietta's disappearance, Lady Berkeley's suspicions were aroused by a letter which her daughter was found writing to Lord Grey; but though greatly shocked at her discovery, the mother, in her daughter's interests, promised to keep the matter secret; and in a subsequent indignant interview with her son-in-law he dexterously managed to overcome her decision, both of forbidding him the house (Durdans,<sup>1</sup> where the family had removed to for the summer), and of sending Henrietta away.

On the pretext of a journey to his Sussex seat, Up Park, near Petersfield, the profligate earl obtained permission to dine at Durdans, but he was so late in his arrival that those at the windows could not discern the "colour of his horses at my lord's great gate." Much to Lady Berkeley's consternation, her husband insisted that he should stop the night, to which Lady Grey (then residing

Berkeley and most of the family, there is no record to be found of Henrietta's death, which, however, is known (by family records) to have taken place in the year 1710. She is described as *unmarried*. Earl Berkeley died in 1698, and his wife ten years later.

<sup>1</sup> The original house was built out of the remains of Old Nonsuch Palace, by Henrietta's father, George, Earl of Berkeley, who, soon after the Restoration, had been appointed keeper of the house and gardens of Nonsuch. In the middle of the eighteenth century the old mansion was pulled down, and another which succeeded it was burnt down before it was completed; the present structure is, therefore, comparatively modern. "The Grove," an avenue of old lime-trees, is said by tradition to be a trysting-place of the guilty pair.



LADY HENRIETTA BERKELEY



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at her father's house and ignorant of the amour with her sister) naturally added her persuasions.

On the following afternoon (Saturday, April 20) Lord Grey continued his journey; but in the meantime the snare had been laid, with the aid of his lordship's valet, an ex-coachman, by whose connivance letters had frequently before been transmitted by the hands of Henrietta's maid.

Many incidents in the trial are picturesque as well as pathetic. One in particular is realistic, where a visitor staying at the house observed Lord Grey's agitated state of mind before he set out on his way—pacing the paved hall, gazing abstractedly out of the windows, looking upon the wide expanse of the Downs, and calling Charnock (his man) out of the steward's hall, where he was dining with the servants, to give him final instructions. Presently master and man set out towards Guildford, where the former intended to put up for the night; but as evening drew on Charnock turned his horses' heads Londonwards, and presumably was not very distant from Durdans when Lady Henrietta stole away at midnight, dressed in little beyond her night-dress and slippers.<sup>1</sup>

About seven o'clock on the Saturday morning the run-away arrived alone at an obscure house in London, where she was joined shortly afterwards by Mrs. Charnock. Tired out with her journey and distracted in mind—for she had been crying bitterly—she rested during the day, but could not be induced to touch food of any description. When darkness set in the fugitive was conveyed

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to another house (in Wild Street),<sup>1</sup> but was subsequently removed from there to a coffee-house in Covent Garden,<sup>2</sup> under the belief that her whereabouts had been traced by some of her father's servants.

Meanwhile Lord Grey had, on the Monday, arrived in town by hackney-coach, and having hired apartments over against the Strand at Charing Cross, again took his departure, but not until he was assured that Henrietta had been safely housed. During the nine days that she remained hidden at Charing Cross a certain Captain FitzGerrard, who also had lodgings in the house, became suspicious of the mysterious inmate, from the reports that had been circulated about Lord Berkeley's missing daughter, and demanded an explanation from the landlord. The latter, however, gave the alarm, and when the captain pursued his inquiries he found the bird had flown.

After some considerable amount of perjury on Grey's behalf, questions were put to "Lady Hen" herself, who proved loyal to her paramour, and refused to return to her father, and when it came to be a matter of right, she declared she had been married in the meantime to a Mr. Turner, which gentleman being called, declared the assertion to be true, and claimed his wife in opposition to the Earl of Berkeley; and when the Court rose, after finding Lord Grey guilty, swords were drawn on both sides, and a scuffle

<sup>1</sup> Probably adjacent to the present Little Wild Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly King's Coffee house, or the White Hart Inn.

## Dangerous Companions

ensued, which ended in "Lady Hen" and the temporary husband finding themselves under lock and key in the Marshalsea.<sup>1</sup> A compromise was at length arranged, and the guilty parties never came up for judgment.

For the sequel to this unfortunate romance we must return to the Rye House Plot discovery, where, as we have stated, Grey was among those who effected their escape. A broadside headed "The Hue and Cry after J—— Duke of M——, Lord G——y," &c., suggested that "as there's no great hopes of finding him with his lady" . . . he probably "is to be found with a near relative of her ladyship's." Which was true enough.

On June 26, two days before the committal of Sidney and Russell to the Tower, Grey rode to Guildford from Up Park, and hired a hackney-coach to convey him to London, repairing to the house of his confidant (Jones), "over against the king's statue at Charing Cross." He was recognised, arrested, and conveyed by a sergeant to the adjacent "Rummer Tavern,"<sup>2</sup> where a room overlooking the galleried yard afforded a temporary place of incarceration, pending the removal of the prisoner to the Tower. Grey, nothing daunted, ordered up bottle after bottle for his captor's entertainment, and by the time a coach arrived for his transmission fourteen bottles of wine had been broached, with such good effect that the services of a couple of soldiers, sent to ride on either side of the prisoner, were dispensed with. Upon the approach of the coach at the

<sup>1</sup> *Vide State Trials*, 1682.

<sup>2</sup> Drummond's Bank stands on the site of this famous inn.

## King Monmouth

Bulwark Gate of the Tower, Grey was missing, and the only excuse the sergeant could give was that he had shortly before dropped asleep, when his prisoner must have made his escape, with which unsatisfactory account he was carried to the king at Whitehall, and back to the Tower, in place of his charge.

Meanwhile Lord Grey got a boat at the Custom House stairs and was taken across the water to a spot called the "Pickeld Herring." A young soldier on guard at the Tower immediately hired another craft and seemingly followed in pursuit, but in coming up with the fugitive, instead of impeding his further progress, exchanged a few words and accompanied him in his flight.

The man who rowed them to the other side of the river was soon afterwards arrested, but the two fugitives got safely away, and speeding along the Portsmouth road, arrived at Up Park about four o'clock on the Thursday morning (June 28). Grey had disguised himself, and reached his country house on a hackney-coach horse. A groom who witnessed his arrival was hastily despatched to recall "Mr. and Mrs. Turner," who, since the release of "Lady Hen" and her husband from the Marshalsea, had found their way to his lordship's country residence. Nothing having been heard of Grey since his capture, these two had just left for London when the groom overtook them on the road. One Smith (Grey's huntsman) was despatched with a message to an ex-Custom House officer at Chichester—Ezekiel Everest—with instructions to get a boat as speedily as possible. All that day Grey and the soldier

## Dangerous Companions

(Robert Clinton) remained in the adjacent woods. Supper was served in the park an hour before midnight, at which "Mr. and Mrs. Turner" were present, after which the party (accompanied by Everest, Turner's man, and a stable-boy) took horse for Chichester, where a vessel had been hired; but, as the tide was out, they had to wait some hours in a wood near the water's edge. About noon the *Hare Pink* left Chichester Harbour "by the Mine House," and arrived at Flushing on the Monday night following, with all on board save the stable-boy, who took the horses back.

Lord Grey's sister-in-law was so ill after the sea voyage that she could not continue the journey, and was forced to remain at an inn in the market-place of Middleburgh, where the fugitives put up on the Tuesday night, under Everest's care. The rest went to Rotterdam, where Lord Grey had been recommended to a merchant who had lodged Shaftesbury in a house in the "New Haven."

After stopping three weeks here they were joined by Everest and his charge, and shortly afterwards the party proceeded to Cleve, whither Armstrong and Ferguson repaired in August. Many other of the plotters, including Argyll, Lock, &c., met at the residence of Sir John Cochrane,<sup>1</sup> who was not a little annoyed when he discovered the equivocal position occupied by Lady Henrietta.<sup>2</sup> How long she continued

<sup>1</sup> The second son of the Earl of Dundonald. He had escaped to Holland after the Rye House discovery.

<sup>2</sup> State Papers, Dom. Ch. II. vols. 428, 429 and 436.

## King Monmouth

abroad, whether she returned to her father's house, or remained under Lord Grey's protection, is unknown ; indeed, from this time forward all trace of her is lost, and in neither of the church registers of Cranford in Middlesex, or Harting in Sussex, can be found a record of her death.<sup>1</sup>

Grey's implication in the Rye House Plot resulted in the revenues of his estate, realising a sum of £16,000,<sup>2</sup> being handed over to Lawrence Hyde, Earl of Rochester. Thus impoverished, Monmouth's boon companion had the prospect before him, in his own words, of being always a vagrant, and a poor one too, with no place to hide his head except in a garret at Amsterdam. That he might "live cheap" he contemplated going to Switzerland,<sup>3</sup> and probably would have done so had not Monmouth's arrival in Holland altered his economical plans.

But we have wandered away from our direct course, and must return without further digression to the "Protestant duke."

<sup>1</sup> The only mention of the name of Turner I can find at the latter is Jane, the daughter of Richard Turner, bap. October 19, 1703.

<sup>2</sup> The document granting the revenues of the estates of Lord Grey, attainted for high treason, and dated November 16, 1684, is in the possession of E. W. Hennell, Esq.

<sup>3</sup> Grey's "Confession of the Rye House Plot," p. 91.

## CHAPTER IX

### A RECONCILIATION IS BROUGHT ABOUT

A TRUE bill was found on July 12 against Monmouth for high treason, with a reward of £500 for his apprehension. Bishop Burnet gives a strange story that, when the Council rose, the king visited the duchess and told her her house would be searched, but that her own apartments would be held sacred. But her husband was not to be thus trapped, for those very rooms were the first to be explored; Monmouth himself told this to Lord Cutts, who told Burnet; but many years afterwards, the duchess being interrogated on the point, declared it to be a fabrication. But the duke had a narrow escape before this. He had secreted himself in the house of the door-keeper of the House of Lords, and was in bed when the guard arrived to examine the premises, and had only just time to effect his flight by way of the roof.<sup>1</sup>

Suspicion subsequently fell upon the house of Monmouth's mistress, Eleanor Needham. As no mention has hitherto been made of this lady, an introduction will be necessary. Lady Wentworth's predecessor was the youngest daughter of

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. vii., App. p. 364.

## King Monmouth

Sir Robert Needham, Bart., and a younger sister of the beautiful Mrs. Middleton, whose gallantries, recorded by De Gramont, afforded a dangerous example, by which, possibly, Eleanor was influenced. In any case, the latter in 1674 was "caught abroad" with the Duke of Monmouth, and consequently fell into disgrace at Court, though she was received again into favour in September of the following year.<sup>1</sup>

A spy, having suspicions of her house, reported them on June 30 to the Secretary of State, "Mrs. Needham (the Duke of M<sup>s</sup> Miss) had a house in Russell Street, Bloomsbury, wch has been quitted some months and expos<sup>d</sup> to be let. This afternoon she was observ'd to give a kind of signal knock at the dore, and she was immediately admitted, the person not seen that open'd the dore. The windows are kept shutt and ther's a back dore to the house."<sup>2</sup>

On the same day the Secretary received an anonymous letter stating that Monmouth had hired a boat at the Savoy stairs to carry him to Gravesend, whence he intended to sail for Scotland,<sup>3</sup> and other reports were circulated that he had gone in the direction of Portsmouth to get to the Continent. Suggestions were thrown out, in a broadside, by his enemies, in somewhat coarse terms, that inquiries might be made at Lady Grey's.

The duke, in point of fact, had sought retirement at Toddington. The following entry as to the

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. vii. App. p. 465.

<sup>2</sup> State Papers, Dom. Ch. II. vol. 425.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

## A Reconciliation

route from London may be seen in Monmouth's pocket-book in the British Museum :<sup>1</sup>

“ From London to Hamsted,  
From Hamsted to Henden,  
From Henden to Edgeworth (Edgware),  
From Edgeworth to Astra (Elstree),  
From Astra to St. Steephens (by St. Albans),  
From St. Steephens to Dounstable,  
From Dounstable to Teddington (Toddington).”

Lady Wentworth's mother had by now recovered from her “great passion,” and received the duke as her guest. She was a worldly woman and fond of display, and her scruples against entertaining so illustrious a visitor no doubt were easily overcome. The handsome appearance and engaging manners of the king's son probably had some influence upon Lady Philadelphia, and “her errant knight,” Sir William Smith, may have been instrumental in hastening a reconciliation, as he was upon a very friendly footing with the duke, whose portrait (according to the Verney papers)<sup>2</sup> was specially painted to adorn his apartments in Chancery Lane (the house of the Hobarts—his wife's family), where he lived when in town. Monmouth remained concealed at Toddington about five months. The following notes, dated June 30, 3 o'clock (1683), were jotted down by some State official, probably by the king's direction or for his Majesty's private information :

“The D of M at Tedenton, 32 miles off, ye way to

<sup>1</sup> This pocket-book must be distinguished from that which contained the duke's diary quoted hereafter. The latter is no longer in existence. For further particulars, see Appendix B, also Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. vii., App. p. 463.

## King Monmouth

it is behind Montagu House—he hath layen there 2 or three nights at my Lady Wentworths House near Tedington: but two or three serv<sup>ts</sup>—he did not see him, but he is there and will not stur.”<sup>1</sup>

On August 20, an anonymous letter was sent to the Earl of Rochester. It is written in a clear bold hand, and by all appearances with little attempt at disguise :

“ MY LORD,

“ The horridness of the late plott against the King and Duke, together with his majesties command to apprehend the persons mentioned in his Proclamation, make it the duty of every good subject to contribute what he can towards the discovery of them: and tho my obligations to the D of Monmouth and formerly to the Ld Cleaveland, have not been inconsiderable, yet I were the worst of men if my allegeance to my King and respect for his R.H. did not far transcend any other consideration what so ever for which reason I think my selfe highly obliged to acquaint your L<sup>p</sup> that his Grace the D of M lyes now conceald in the Mannour house of Tuddington in Bedfordshire, which belongs to the Lady Wentwerth and tho’ I am as much a stranger to the house as Lady, yet I am credibly infformed tis of that vastness and intricacy that without a most diligent search tis Impossible to discover all the lurking holes in it, there being severall trap dores on the Leads and in closetts into places to which thire is no other Access; for which Reason I humbly conceive it will requier a party of 20 or

<sup>1</sup> State Papers, Dom. Ch. II. vol. 425.



TODDINGTON MANOR HOUSE IN 1833



## A Reconciliation

30 men to secure all the Avenues and make an effectuall search. Twill be convinent for them to be there by Break of day and just as quickly as may be sett a guard round the house before they give any further alarm. I hope your L<sup>p</sup> will not believe this Information to proceed from any private pique or prejudice to any person, assuring you to con (sic) to the contrary and that it needs no others confirmation of its truth then a speedy and exact search. The unhappy circumstances I lye under at present hinder me from waiting on your Lp in person, not doubting but that your Lp is so vigilant a minister as not to neglect the least notice of serving his majesty from whatever hand it comes. I shall hereafter take an oppertunity of making my selfe known to your Lp and to satisfye you then I am the same person, the copy hereof shall be my credentials ; in the meantime I humbly beg your Lp to believe me one who abhorres the thought of abusing a person of your quality and station with a sham story and that what I write is upon undeniable evidence that your Lp will keep this by you communicate it to as ffew as may be is the only request of,

“ My Ld.

“ Your most obedient Servant.”<sup>1</sup>

Though the king knew where Monmouth was to be found he had made no attempt towards his capture, but the receipt of this letter enforced him

<sup>1</sup> State Papers, Dom. Ch. II. vol. 438. See also “Secret Chambers and Hiding Places.”

## King Monmouth

to make some move in the matter. Being well aware that Lord Bruce (the eldest son of the Earl of Ailesbury) was kindly disposed towards the duke, and a neighbour of the Wentworths in Bedfordshire, Charles selected him as his agent, and one day as the king was sauntering in the grounds at Whitehall, and lazily setting his watch by the sundial in the Privy Garden, he called him aside and told him to go down to Toddington and take the fugitive by surprise ; but the young courtier, knowing the king's changeable moods and irradi-



TODDINGTON MANOR HOUSE, PRESENT DAY

cable affection for his son, excused himself under the plea that the house had many vaults and means of escape, and that, if he raised a militia troop to capture the duke, the news would

certainly reach Toddington before the men. Charles was unmistakably pleased at this refusal, and never mentioned the subject again until Monmouth was reinstated in his favour.<sup>1</sup>

Soon after this occurrence Lord Bruce and his father were at a stag-hunt in the neighbourhood

<sup>1</sup> "Memoirs of Thomas, Earl of Ailesbury," Roxburghe Club.

## A Reconciliation

of their family seat near Ampthill<sup>1</sup> (some seven or eight miles from Toddington). "One stag I remember," he writes, "ran into my Lady Wentworth's park at Toddington, which never happened before, and swam the great ponds. I was accidentally thrown out, and in a lane beyond the park I saw a tall man in a country habit opening a gate for me. I took no notice, but, casting my eye, perceived it was the Duke of Monmouth, who was so indiscreetly mingled with the crowd at the death of the stag very soon after. All those ceremonies practised by huntsmen last pretty long, and I grew impatient, fearing my father might come to know him, for he had been obliged to have seized him as being a Privy Councillor and Lord-Lieutenant; to prevent which I kept him in continual discourse that he might not look about, insomuch that he told me that I had taken a large morning's draught. That lady the mother for the first time invited us to dinner, and not long after a second time, which she had never done before, in all appearance on purpose for a blind. To me at least she could not impose. It is a noble house, a few subjects hath such a one; but she would never permit us to see the apartments above. Not long after, a lady of my acquaintance that lived in a hamlet in the parish of Toddington—a very large one—was invited to dinner by my Lady Wentworth, after church service, and that lady told me that the mother very unadvisedly carried her into her daughter's chamber, who was dressing herself, and saw a gentleman sitting in a

<sup>1</sup> The old mansion of Houghton Conquest, built by Inigo Jones, is now a picturesque ruin.

## King Monmouth

great chair by the fireside, my lady the daughter with some warmth reproaching her mother's indiscretion."

When Monmouth surrendered himself in the following November, he told the king about the hunting adventure, and how he had been recognised. The same evening, at the queen's card-table, Charles took Bruce aside and thanked him for his prudence upon that occasion, which he said he would never forget.

Afterwards, the story having got about, Lady Philadelphia sent for the Earl of Ailesbury's son, and in a great fury accused him of telling the king that the duke was at her house, which she denied emphatically, and demanded that he (Bruce) should go and tell the king that she would take her oath that she had never seen Monmouth the whole time he was concealed. During this stormy interview her daughter managed to whisper a few words that she herself was quite satisfied as to his innocence.

"That unfortunate lady (says Ailesbury<sup>1</sup> in his Memoirs) was proposed some years before for a wife for me. I greatly esteemed and loved her, but her fortune not being clear and proportionable to what my father expected, out of duty to so good a father I laid aside all thoughts, but my esteem I could not blot out so soon; and, God be praised, I was reserved for a more happy fate in marriage. Had she been bred up by a discreet good mother she would have made a perfect wife."

Until the time of Monmouth's sojourn at Tod-

<sup>1</sup> Then Lord Bruce. He had not yet succeeded to the earldom.



*Henrietta, Lady Wentworth.*



## A Reconciliation

dington there were rumours of a match between Henrietta and the Earl of Feversham. So late as May 21, 1683, Sir Ralph Verney was informed that "Feversham shall have Wentworth, and that she shall be groom of the stool to the Queen."<sup>1</sup> At the time of her withdrawal from Court there had also been a project of uniting her to the Earl of Thanet.<sup>2</sup>

We must here leave Henrietta and record the events which preceded Monmouth's reconciliation. A few days before the duke fled to Toddington, Russell, Sidney, Essex and Howard, were arrested and sent to the Tower, with Trenchard, Wildman and some of the minor conspirators. Lord Russell acknowledged at his trial (July 13) that he went with Monmouth to the house in Abchurch Lane, but by the "merest accident in the world," and declared that, though he ordered and tasted wine there, he did not know what the rest were talking about. Monmouth sent a secret message from Toddington that he would surrender if his friend might be benefited thereby, but Russell with equal generosity declined.

Burnet says the Duke of York suggested that Russell should die before his own house in Southampton Square,<sup>3</sup> but the king rejecting the proposal, he was beheaded in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. vii. App. p. 498.

<sup>2</sup> Query, which of the three brothers, Nicholas Tufton, third earl, ob. 1679; John, fourth earl, ob. 1680; or Richard, 5th earl, ob. 1684. See "Dict. of Nat. Biography" (*Wentworth [Henrietta]*). This design is here given as the cause of her removal from Court.

<sup>3</sup> Southampton House stood on the north side of the present Bloomsbury Square. It was a favourite meeting-place of the advisaries of the Stuart kings. Lady Rachel Russell died there in 1723.

## King Monmouth

The body was removed from here to the picturesque village of Chenies, Bucks, and buried with his ancestors in the Bedford Chapel, where may be seen a fine medallion portrait upon the parental



CHENIES MANOR HOUSE

monument.<sup>1</sup> Charles afterwards told Monmouth that, had it not been for the sake of the Duke of York, he would have saved Lord Russell.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lady Rachel Russell is said to have erected a monument in memory of her husband in the grounds of Highwood House, Mill Hill, where she lived for some considerable time, and tradition points to the spot commemorating "the gentleman who was beheaded."

<sup>2</sup> "Falling upon the business of L. R. [Charles] said he inclined to have saved him but was forced to it, otherwise he must have broke with 39 (Duke of York)."—Monmouth's Diary, quoted by Welwood in his "Memor'als" (1699).

## A Reconciliation

On the same day that he was condemned, Lord Essex, in the Tower, was found with his throat cut. He had been arrested shortly before in his garden at Cassiobury by Colonel Oglethorp, who was courteously invited to refresh himself with some fruit before their return to London.<sup>1</sup> A verdict of suicide being returned at the inquest, the Lieutenant of the Tower desired the Earl of Clarendon to remove the body, "by reason of ye hot weather," which accordingly was done when an order to that effect had been received from the Secretary of State.<sup>2</sup> "A list of papers taken out of the Earl of Essex his cabinet" is preserved among the State Papers.<sup>3</sup>

Howard of Escrick gained his liberty by giving evidence against Russell and Sidney. When the soldiers arrived at his house at Knightsbridge they only discovered a warm bed and his lordship's clothes scattered about. A lengthy search followed, and the fugitive, with nothing on but his shirt, was dragged out of a hiding-place, contrived in the chimney, and entered at the back of a cupboard.<sup>4</sup> It was mainly owing to Howard's information that both Russell and Sidney lost their lives. This traitorous ex-Cromwellian Life Guardsman also succeeded in incriminating Armstrong, by declaring that he was to have headed the party which was to have attacked the king upon his return from Newmarket. Sir Thomas Armstrong managed to escape, but, as described hereafter, was captured in Holland.

<sup>1</sup> Ailesbury, "Memoirs."

<sup>2</sup> State Papers, Dom. Ch. II, vol. 428.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Roger North, "Examen." See also "Secret Chambers and Hiding Places."

## King Monmouth

Ferguson, in his attempts to clear himself of the murder scheme, declared in after years that it was principally owing to his own efforts in delaying the arrangements and holding back the necessary funds that the deed was not accomplished. In an important document which was discovered among the State Papers in 1873, the Plotter explains that he managed "to get possession of what money I could hear was to be collected for furnishing those with horse and arms that were to incounter and attack his Majesties person and those that accompanied him, and having shifted off the disposal of it till he should be returned to London, to repay it afterwards into their hands of whom it had been received. Which as I carefully and faithfully did, so by that means, in conjunction with the former, I found small difficulty in shifting and diverting what was to have been executed upon the King and Duke of York."<sup>1</sup>

What truth there may be in this it is difficult to conjecture, but it certainly puts Ferguson in a more favourable light than has hitherto been his lot.<sup>2</sup> In all probability Monmouth's object in keeping up relations with the Plotter was that he might ultimately frustrate their designs; but whether the first projected attack upon the king's coach on its way to London in October failed in consequence of Ferguson's efforts, as above described, is, to say the least of it, doubtful.

In October (1683) overtures for a reconciliation between Charles and his son were in active progress, and had not Halifax discovered Monmouth's

<sup>1</sup> "Ferguson the Plotter" (Appendix No. 1), by James Ferguson.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

## A Reconciliation

hiding-place and found means to communicate with him, the duke would probably have tried his fortunes abroad by enlisting in the Spanish service.<sup>1</sup> The great object of Halifax in bringing Monmouth again into favour was to undermine the increasing power of his rival Hyde, Earl of Rochester. Until the last moment the king's brother was not admitted into the transaction, when practically the reconciliation was forced upon him, and though James did not show his chagrin, he determined to be revenged.<sup>2</sup> Burnet says that the Duke of York suggested that for form sake his nephew should be imprisoned in the Tower for a few days.<sup>3</sup> Monmouth's diary at this period will best describe how matters were brought to a satisfactory conclusion—a temporary one at least, as we shall see.

The names are given in cipher—"L" meaning Halifax and "29" the king.

"*Oct.* 13. L. came to me at eleven at night from 29. Told me 29 would never be brought to believe I knew anything of that part of the plot that concern'd Rye House ; but as things went, he must behave himself as if he did believe it, for some reasons that might be to my advantage. L. desir'd me to write to 29, which I refus'd ; but afterwards told me 29 expected it : and I promis'd to write to-morrow, if he would call for the letter at S.<sup>4</sup> L. shew'd a great concern for me, and I

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, "Own Time," vol. ii. p. 411.

<sup>2</sup> Reresby, "Memoirs," p. 489.

<sup>3</sup> Burnet, ii. 411.

<sup>4</sup> ?

## King Monmouth

believe him sincere, though 3<sup>1</sup> is of another mind."

"*Oct.* 14. L. came as he promised, and received the letter from 3 sealed, refusing to read it himself, though I had left it open with S. for that purpose.<sup>2</sup>

The letters which Monmouth wrote to the king were drawn up by Halifax,<sup>3</sup> and had their desired effect, though Monmouth's subsequent actions did not come up to his promises.

The first was as follows :

"If I could have writ to your Majesty sooner, with any safety to myself, I would have done it, to have told you that there is nothing has struck me so to the heart as to be put into a proclamation for an intention of murdering of you, sir, and the Duke. I do call God Almighty to witness, and I wish I may die this moment I am writing if ever it entered into my head, or I ever said the least thing to any body that could make them think I could wish such a thing. I am sure there cannot be such villains upon earth to say I ever did. But I am so innocent to this point, that I will say no more of it; for I know God Almighty is just, and I do not doubt but He will put it into your heart, that I am clear of this most horrid and base accusation. But, sir, the chief intent of this letter is to beg pardon, both of you, sir, and the Duke,

<sup>1</sup> ?

<sup>2</sup> Monmouth, "Diary," quoted from Welwood, "Memoirs," 1699, Appendix xiv. "Some passages out of the Duke of Monmouth's pocket-book that was seized about him in the west." (See Introduction.)

<sup>3</sup> "Lord Halifax drew them all, as he himself told me, and showed me his own draughts of them." (Burnet, "History of his Own Time," vol. ii. p. 422.)

## A Reconciliation

for the many things I have done that have made you both angry with me, but more especially of the Duke, though I might have some justification for myself, that many people made me believe he intended to destroy me : for to you, I do protest, before God Almighty, and I wish I may never prosper more, that all I have done was only to *save you*, as I shall convince your Majesty, if ever I am so happy as to speak to you ; and I hope you will let me do it before it be long ; for I have that to say to you, sir, that will for ever, I hope, settle you in quiet in your kingdom, and the Duke after you, whom I intend to serve to the uttermost of my power. And, sir, to convince him that I will do so, if your Majesty will give me your pardon, I will deliver myself up into his hands, that the Duke may bring me to you. Besides, sir, I should be glad to have him by when I speak to you, but nobody else ; and by this kindness of the Duke's if ever I should do anything afterwards against him, I must be thought the ungratefulest man living. What good can it do you, sir, to take your own child's life away, that only erred and *ventur'd his life to save yours* ? And besides, sir, I am sure I can be serviceable to you ; and if I may say so make the rest of your life happy, or, at least, contribute a great deal towards it. You may believe me, sir, for I do not tell you this out of fear, but because I do think myself sure of it. I do beg of you, sir, if you have any thoughts of mercy of me, that you will let me know it soon, for the sooner I speak to you the better. And now, sir, I do swear to you, that from this time I never will displeasure

## King Monmouth

you in any thing ; but the whole study of my life shall be to show you how truly-penitent I am for having done it. And for the Duke, that he may have a more firm confidence of the service I intend to do him, I do here declare to your Majesty, that I will never ask to see your face more if ever I do anything against him, which is the greatest curse I can lay upon myself.

“ MONMOUTH.”<sup>1</sup>

The diary is here resumed :

“ Oct. 20. L. came to me at S. with a line or two from 29 very kind, assuring me he believed every word in my letter to be true ; and advis'd me to keep hid till he had an opportunity to express his belief of it some other way. L. told me that he was going out of town next day ; and that 29 would send 80<sup>2</sup> to me in a day or two, whom he assured me I might trust.”

“ Oct. 25. L. came for me to ——, where 29 was with 80. He received me pretty well ; and said 30<sup>3</sup> and 50<sup>4</sup> were the causes of my misfortunes, and would ruin me. After some hot words against them and against S. went away in a good humour.”

“ Oct. 26. I went to E——, and was in danger of being discovered by some of Oglethorpe's men, that met me accidentally at the back door of the garden.”

“ Nov. 2. A letter from 29 to be to-morrow at

<sup>1</sup> State Papers Dom. Ch. II. vol. 433.

<sup>2</sup> ?

<sup>3</sup> ?

<sup>4</sup> N.B.—As Sunderland, with the aid of the Duchess of Portsmouth, as well as Hyde, were counter-plotting against Halifax, the above numbers may refer to them.

## A Reconciliation

seven at night at S. and nobody to know it but 80."

"Nov. 3. He came not, there being a extraordinary Council. But 80 brought me a copy of 50, intercepted letter which made rather for me than against me. Bid me come to-morrow at the same hour and to say nothing of the letter except 29 spoke of it first."

"Nov. 4. I came and found 29 and L.<sup>1</sup> there. He was very kind, and gave me directions how to manage my business, and what words I should say to 39 (Duke of York). He appointed 80 to come to me every night, till my business was ripe, and promised to send with him directions from time to time."

"Nov. 9. L. came from 29 and told me my business should be done to my mind next week ; and that Q. (the Queen) was my friend, and had spoken to 39 and D. (Duchess of York) in my behalf ; which he said 29 took very kindly, and had express'd so to her. At parting he told me there should be nothing requir'd of me but what was both safe and honourable ; but said there must be something done to blind 39."

"Nov. 15. L. came to me with the copy of a letter I was to sign, to please 39. I desired to know in whose hands it was to be deposited, for I would have it in no hands but 29. He told me it should be so ; but if 39 asked a copy, it could not well be refus'd. I referr'd myself entirely to 29's pleasure."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ? Major Long, at whose house one of the private meetings was held.

<sup>2</sup> Monmouth's Diary, quoted from Appendix xiv. of Welwood's "Memoirs," 1699.

## King Monmouth

This letter is more abject than the first, and we may judge by its wording, that Halifax knew what to expect from the Duke of York when he was consulted on the subject. Also that it might have full weight with the king's brother it was sent by the hands of the Duchess of Monmouth

*he press me to deliver it with  
all speed to your majesty -  
I am your majestys obedient  
Dutifull servant*



END OF THE DUCHESS OF MONMOUTH'S LETTER

with one from herself interceding for her husband. Mulgrave in speaking of the friendship which existed between James and his nephew's-wife suggests that his object was to convert her, at the same time he observes, that when uncle and nephew became sworn enemies the latter forbade his wife from receiving any visits from the Duke of York; James took it as a direct insult and appealing to Mulgrave was surprised to find that Monmouth's action was upheld by his own enemy.<sup>1</sup>

The following is a facsimile (reduced) of Monmouth's second letter :<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Memoirs of John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham," vol. ii. p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> State Papers, Dom. Ch. II. vol. 434.

## A Reconciliation

You must allow me s<sup>r</sup>. still to importune you not without hope  
of praisailing at least upon your generosity so as it may get the  
better of your anger to me. I am half distract s<sup>r</sup>. w<sup>th</sup> thoughts of  
having offended you and the torment it gives me is perhaps greater  
then your forgiving nature would know how to inflict upon the most  
Criminal offender the Character I ly under is to heavy for me to bear  
even death it self would be a reliefe to me could I have it without the  
aggravation of leaving the world under your displeasur I may therefore  
throw my self upon your Compassion w<sup>ch</sup> being a vertue so agreeable to  
your nature I hope your Child s<sup>r</sup>. will not be an unfortunate instance  
of your danying it (whic<sup>t</sup> is implored) I confess s<sup>r</sup>. I have bin in fault  
mistak<sup>d</sup> and insensibly engaged in things of w<sup>ch</sup> the consequence was not  
exce<sup>pt</sup> understood by me, yet I can say I never had a Criminal thought  
towards your Ma<sup>ty</sup>. not pretending by that to insist upon an absolute  
justification of my self. your Ma<sup>ty</sup>. will consider that w<sup>ch</sup> is done  
under the apprehensions of great anger and Violence against me it might  
easily Corrupt my judgement and by seeing things in a wrong light  
betray me in to very fatal mistakes. but now that I have had time  
to recollect my self every thing like a fault towards your Ma<sup>ty</sup>.  
appearth to me in such a reproaching terrifying shape that I have a reason  
for it w<sup>ch</sup> could it be seen I assure my self it would move your Com-  
passion to me. I humbly beg s<sup>r</sup>. to be admitted into your part and to  
be disposed of as you direct not only now but for the remainder of  
my life and though my resignation is to fall to admit any reserve  
your Ma<sup>ty</sup>. will permit me to offer to you whether you will  
lett any thing passe as a penalty upon me w<sup>ch</sup> may lay a stain upon  
my innocent Children. Whether you will make me undergo the  
ignomy of a tryall before you give me your pardon, and of what  
use or satisfaction it can be to you to forgive me and yet give me  
the Cruell punishment of having my self arraigned for Treason  
against such a King and such a father. and whether my being  
Carryed to the Tower in case you see pleased to excuse my tryall

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Can have any effect but an unnecessary mortification of one who  
God knoweth is already enough afflicted and some kind of blame  
too to my family as well as an useless limitation of your Ma<sup>ty</sup>  
Mercy. I<sup>st</sup> say these things before you in the most submitting man-  
ner that is possible with an intire resignation to what you shall  
determine. neither so I imagine to receive your Pardon any  
other wise than by the intercession of the Duke, whom I acknow-  
ledge to have offended and am prepared to submit my self  
in the humblest manner and therefore beg your Ma<sup>ty</sup> would direct  
how I am to apply my self to him and I shall see it not of  
an outward forme but with all the sincerity in the world  
if what I have said can move you to forgive my past faults  
it will be agreeable I shall endeavour to deserve by all the  
actions of my life and I am so terrible how ill a guide  
my own will hath bin to me that I am resolved to put  
it intirely into your Ma<sup>ty</sup> hands that I may by that  
means never commit a fault but for want of your direc-  
tion or your commands Dear I<sup>st</sup> be pleased to receive by  
a kind answer the most miserable disconsolate creature now  
living.

Monmouth

After conferring with his brother, Charles sent the following message to his son: "If the Duke of Monmouth desire to render himself capable of my mercie he must render himself to the Secretary,<sup>1</sup> and resolve to tell me all he knows [relying entirely upon my mercy]<sup>2</sup> resining himself entirely to my pleasure."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir Leoline Jenkins, Secretary of State, succeeded on April 14, 1684, by Godolphin. His portrait (by Tuer) is at Jesus College, Oxford.

<sup>2</sup> Erased.

<sup>3</sup> State Papers, Dom. Ch. II. vol. 434.

## A Reconciliation

The diary records its delivery :

“ Nov. 24. L. came to me from 29 and order'd me to render myself to-morrow. Caution'd me to play my part, to avoid questions as much as possible, and to seem absolutely converted to 39's interest. Bade me bear with some words that might seem harsh.”<sup>1</sup>

By agreement it was arranged that Monmouth should go at dusk to the lodgings of Mrs. Crofts (an aged maiden lady, who had formerly acted as the duke's governess,<sup>2</sup> a relative, no doubt, of Lord Crofts,<sup>3</sup> his former guardian), at Whitehall. Here a private interview took place with the king, of which a recapitulation was performed afterwards at the house of Major Long, in the city.<sup>4</sup> The Earl of Ailesbury who enjoyed the king's confidence says Monmouth declared that the evidence of Lord Howard of Escrick, Rumsey and Shepherd, was literally true respecting Lord Russell's guilt, neither were Essex or Salisbury spared. After the meeting the duke was directed to present himself at Secretary Jenkins office at the usual hour of Cabinet Council, as if it had been his first surrender pursuant to the proclamation. In the meantime, however, a Colonel Griffin recognised him, as he made his way from Mrs. Crofts' lodgings, “ wrapped in a cloak,” and immediately went to inform the king, and for his pains was told he was a fool as “ James ” was at Brussels.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Monmouth, “ Diary ” (Welwood, “ Memoirs ”).

<sup>2</sup> Ailesbury, “ Memoirs.”

<sup>3</sup> Possibly his sister Catherine, ob. 1686.

<sup>4</sup> Lingard, “ History,” vol. xii. p. 332.

<sup>5</sup> Ailesbury, “ Memoirs.”

## King Monmouth

His Grace arrived in his sedan, attended by two footmen, at the secretary's office, and had another private discourse with the king. After which the Duke of York made his appearance and was admitted. Monmouth is said to have humbled himself completely, and confessed all that he had known of the plot, giving the names of his rebellious friends in Cheshire and the West of England. But with regard to the assassination plot he declared entire ignorance.<sup>1</sup> At the termination of the interview the duke was handed over to the sergeant-at-arms and conveyed to his lodgings in the Cockpit, under no restraint, except with regard to outward appearances.<sup>2</sup> The erring son in fact unofficially was pardoned.

<sup>1</sup> Ayscough MSS. *vide* Roberts' "Monmouth," vol. i. pp. 160, 161.

<sup>2</sup> Reresby, "Memoirs," and Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. vii. App. p. 375.

## CHAPTER X

### EXILE

HALIFAX so far had carried the day, Monmouth again was in the king's good graces, and his position once firmly established, a crusade against the leaders of the high Tory party, including the Duke of York, would be the next move ; but the statesman had miscalculated both James' firmness and his nephew's weakness. He had rightly judged that the latter would humiliate both himself and his allies to obtain a fresh footing at Court, but he had not anticipated that the king's brother would enforce such vindictive terms, neither had he entertained the belief that Charles, when once reconciled to his son, would sacrifice him so readily. The king again found himself in a dilemma between the Protestant and the Catholic dukes. He longed for the companionship of his beloved son, notwithstanding all his faults ; but the fear he had of the Duke of York was paramount ; the more because his brother's discernment and suspicious nature had detected some double dealing.

In the first private interview with Monmouth Charles certainly made promises which he afterwards was compelled to withdraw, owing to the

## King Monmouth

crushing conditions which James subsequently made compulsory.

The first night that Monmouth made his appearance at Court the king could not disguise the pleasure he felt in having him back again, and so noticeable was it that it became the talk of the town. A pardon "of all treasons, &c.," was prepared by the Secretary of State,<sup>1</sup> and the king sent his son a gratuity of £6000.

The turn of the tide is best expressed in Monmouth's diary, which we will here resume :

"Nov. 25. I rendered myself. At night, 29 could not dissemble his satisfaction ; pressed my hand, which I remember not he did before, except when I returned from the French service. 29 acted his part well, and I too, 39 and D. seemed not ill-pleased.

"Nov. 26. 29 took me aside, and falling on the business of L. R. (Lord Russell), said he inclined to have saved him, but was forced to it, otherwise he must have broke with 39. Bid me think no more on it. Coming home, L. told me he feared 39 began to smell out 29's carriage. That — said to 39 that morning, that all that was done was but sham.

"Nov. 27. Several told me of the storm that was brewing. Rumsey was with 39, and was seen to come out crying, that he must accuse a man he loved."<sup>2</sup>

This probably referred to Monmouth, but may possibly have been about Algernon Sidney, who had been condemned by Jeffreys, but whose

<sup>1</sup> House of Lords MSS., November 1683.

<sup>2</sup> Monmouth, "Diary" (see Welwood, "Memoirs," 1699).

## Exile

execution was postponed. That unfortunate colonel was beheaded on December 7, and his body carried to Penshurst for interment.

The day after Monmouth's surrender, his admissions were made known to a special council by the king, who ordered the duke's confession to be published in the *Gazette*, and reports were freely circulated that he had fully corroborated all Howard's statements as to the guilt of his colleagues Sidney and Russell. Monmouth's friends were naturally up in arms. In vain Halifax endeavoured to keep the structure he had erected from falling by persuading the Duke to lie low until the storm had passed; but his spirit rose above such open disgrace. The late plot, in the eyes of most, included assassination as well as insurrection, and the admission of his guilt was tantamount to putting him upon an equal footing with the most desperate members of the murder scheme. Monmouth immediately directed his friends to circulate his denial of any such confession.

Anthony Row (formerly the duke's gentleman of horse), Sir James Forbes, Dr. Chamberlain, and other supporters, made public this contradiction in all the principal coffee-houses, declaring that it was the policy of the State to impose on the nation a Protestant Plot, so that many noble patriots might be sacrificed.<sup>1</sup>

The king was surprised and indignant at this new aspect of affairs, but a compromise was eventually arrived at, and Monmouth was induced to sign a declaration, the original draft of which had

<sup>1</sup> Ailesbury, "Memoirs."

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been made out by Charles himself, in the following words :

“ I have heard of some report of me, as if I should have lestin'd the late plott and gone about to discredit the evidence given against those that died by justice. Your Majtie and the Duke know how ingenously I have owned the late conspiracy ; and tho I was not conscious of any designs against your Majties life, yet I lament the having had so great a hand in that other part of the said conspiracy.

“ S<sup>r</sup>, I have taken the liberty to put this in writing for my own vindication ; & I beseech your Majtie to look forward and endeavour to forgett the faults you have forgiven me, and I will take care never to comitt more against you, or come within danger of being againe misled from my duty, but make it the business of my life to deserve the pardon your Majtie hath granted.

“ Your . . . ”<sup>1</sup>

Trenchard and Hampden and other friends induced the duke to withdraw this document, before it could be read in the council and published. The king thereupon ordered Halifax to restore the declaration, “ and bid him [Monmouth] go to —,” in other words he was ordered to quit the Court immediately. Charles was never

<sup>1</sup> “A true copy of the lett<sup>r</sup> writt by the D. of M. to the King which the D. afterwards repenting off, the King was pleased upon his importunity to restore it to him again.” Add. MSS. British Museum, 27402, f. 152. The original draft of the above in Charles II.'s own hand (from which the above was copied by Monmouth) is in the Record Office. State Papers, Dom. Ch. II. vol. 435.

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known to be in such a passion,<sup>1</sup> and for long afterwards his face clearly showed the mental trouble that was caused by his son's disobedience.

The day that Sidney's head was severed by the headsman's axe, Monmouth and his duchess removed to lodgings in Holborn,<sup>2</sup> till Moor Park could be made ready for their reception. Halifax's design to bring the duke into favour and detach him from his dangerous adherents thus ended in failure; but he still had hope, and presently set to work to reconstruct the ruin on the same plan, as we shall see later on. Monmouth's residence at Moor Park<sup>3</sup> was very brief, for his uncle, making kind inquiries there from the duchess, was informed he had gone, she knew not whither.<sup>4</sup> Whether acting on advice, or following his own inclinations, is doubtful, but towards the latter part of December, Monmouth, attended only by a gentleman and a servant, embarked at Greenwich in a fisher-boat, landed at Tervere, and thence made his way to Bergen-Op-Zoom, Antwerp and Brussels.<sup>5</sup>

At Brussels the duke was received magnificently by the Spanish governor, the Marquis de

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Ailesbury, "Memoirs," vol. i., and Verney, "Memoirs," vol. iv.

<sup>2</sup> Luttrell, "Diary," pp. 294-98.

<sup>3</sup> The original red-brick mansion built by Monmouth when he acquired the estate from the Duke of Ormonde in 1670, is enclosed within walls of a more recent date made of Portland stone.

<sup>4</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. ii., App. vi. p. 197.

<sup>5</sup> Macpherson, "Original Papers," vol. i. p. 141. Under the date December 29 in Monmouth's Diary is the following: "A letter from 29, bidding me stay till I heard further from him," but as the year is not given by Welwood, this passage may apply to the following year, when Monmouth was expecting to be recalled to England.

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Grana, who conferred upon him the title of "royal highness," with an annuity of £6000, and a large sum for present requirements. Sir R. Bulstrode, the king's resident, had had instructions from England that no military honours should be paid to Monmouth; and consequently at a review the English officers refused to salute him,<sup>1</sup> but the governor reassured him by saying that he was fully convinced all enmity came rather from the Duke of York than from the king; and indeed Monmouth had many proofs of this, in the shape of messages and money.

Notwithstanding the affronts Monmouth had to bear from his own countrymen, he soon settled down to an easy and luxurious life. His plate was sent for, and his horses from Newmarket; and, to crown all, the young baroness from Toddington made her appearance. "The gracious prince is our neighbour here at Brussels," writes Chaloner Chute to the Countess of Rutland, "and as it is said here the Lady Harriat W—th with him."<sup>2</sup> "Desperately in love with him," as Burnet says, "she followed the duke to the Continent."

Until this time the outside world knew nothing of this liaison, but it now became an open scandal. A letter to Bulstrode from Skelton, the English envoy,<sup>3</sup> throws some light upon the affair:

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. xii., App. 5 pt. ii. p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Before 1685 Skelton was envoy at several of the lesser German Courts.

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"HAMBURG, *May* 23, 1684.

"I am very much troubled to understand by your favour of the 18/28, that the Lady Hen. Wentworth is soe dangerously sick, but am much more concerned that the D. of Monmouth takes such care of her, & thinke it were better she should dye than bring a scandall upon her selfe by his too frequent visits, for though she be never so innocent, she must necessarily suffer thereby in the opinion of the world, when she is able to undertake a journey I wish you could prevayle with her to come hither since it cannot but be farre more for her credit than to remain where she is. I have already in my last lett<sup>re</sup> motioned it to her and I hope she will take that resolution. But I did not take any notice of anything relating to the Duke of Monmouth, neither would I have you to doe it for that is to tender a string to be touch't upon, if a lady be innocent, as I hope in God she is, though I must confesse that I approve not of her conduct & much lesse of her mothers who humours her in it. Pray be so kinde as to write freely to me of all that is say'd of her, & how she carries herself w<sup>ch</sup> I shall make noe ill use of, or expose to the view of any creature living. I ever had a most tender concern for her, & am troubled beyond expression at any ill that happens to her."<sup>1</sup>

The next we hear from Brussels is that the duke and Lady Wentworth are installed in one of the best houses there. The governor of the low countries, the Marquis de Grana, interrogated

<sup>1</sup> Original letter in the possession of E. W. Hennell, Esq.

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Monmouth as to whether the lady was his wife, and being assured she was, he sent his daughter to call upon her ; but a little later on hearing from Bulstrode how matters really stood, the marquis taxed Monmouth with deceiving him, and told him that if at any time he should be recalled from office, he would demand satisfaction, or in plainer language "he would cut the duke's throat or the duke should cut his."<sup>1</sup>

From Brussels, Monmouth removed into Holland, where many of his most dangerous counsellors had been anxiously awaiting his arrival.

Since the Whig party had fallen into discredit, and the Court had regained supreme power, those of the Opposition party that were left had mustered forces and reassembled at Bremen. Bulstrode, writing in March 1684, says : "I am told by Mr. Skelton that Sir Wm. Waller<sup>2</sup> plays the devil at Bremen, which is like to be the nest of all those persons accused of the last conspiracy ; that my Lord Melvin, and many more of that stamp, are there, as also Armstrong and Ferguson, and that they expect the Duke of Monmouth there very speedily ; they speak most scandalously of the King and Duke, and style Waller a second Cromwell, by way of commendation."<sup>3</sup>

As already described, Lord Grey had reached Holland with his mistress, in the previous July. After Shaftesbury's death, Ferguson had returned to London for a few days, prior to the king's

<sup>1</sup> Ailesbury, "Memoirs."

<sup>2</sup> Son of William Waller, the Parliamentary general, who died in 1668.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. vii., App. p. 386.

## Exile

second visit to Newmarket in February, and on the failure of the plot fled to Scotland, but afterwards sailed for Holland, and became the principal agent in the insurrection which was to follow. Monmouth's third evil genius, Armstrong, since he had effected his escape, had preserved great secrecy in his movements. For some months these three lived incognito in Berlin under the names of "Bethel," "Bowman" and "Jekiel." With the object of communicating with Monmouth they repaired to Amsterdam, about the time that the duke left Brussels. At Leyden, Armstrong was detected by a spy, and was seized just as he was taking boat to join his companions, who had left him a day or so before. A desperate struggle ensued, during which he tried in vain to throw himself overboard, and to stab himself, but he was overpowered, put in chains, and carried to Rotterdam,<sup>1</sup> and arriving in England on June 10 Jeffreys made short work of him, refusing him a trial as an outlaw and a traitor. Ten days later his head formed a centrepiece to those of Cromwell and Bradshaw on the top of Westminster Hall.

The Prince of Orange welcomed Monmouth with open arms, and, as on his previous visit, treated him with great hospitality; numerous festivities and balls were given in his honour at Leyden and the Hague, in which the duke shone forth in all his brilliance.

The Duke of York was greatly indignant that his nephew, who had recently shown such

<sup>1</sup> "A letter from Amsterdam," printed in London, 1684, in the possession of E. W. Hennell, Esq.

## King Monmouth

dangerous animosity towards him, should be admitted into the closest intimacy with his own son-in-law.<sup>1</sup> Charles found himself bound to publicly support his brother, though in secret he was working in opposition to him. Towards the end of October, therefore, Monmouth was requested to quit the prince's dominions. Meanwhile, another letter had been tendered by the Duchess of Monmouth, but the king had answered he had better keep out of the way, for if he were caught "it would not be in his own Royal power to save him, and therefore bid her also retire and come no more to Court."<sup>2</sup> But a secret interview was arranged nevertheless, doubtless by the skilful manipulation of Halifax, who had not been inactive in his efforts to reinstate the duke at Court.

We learn Monmouth's movements (then at Berlin with the prince) at this juncture from his pocket book: "The way that I took from Dierin, when I went for England, Nov. 10, '84," records a circuitous route for the sake of secrecy *viâ* Arnhem, Nijmegen, Wychen, Wamel, Tiel, and to Utrecht. From here by waggon to Rotterdam, and by boat to Delft.<sup>3</sup> On November 30 he was in England, and had a secret conference with the king. The following day he journeyed to Tilbury, *viâ* Bow, Stratford, Barking, Dagenham and Rainham, and on December 10 he landed at Nieuport, took boat to Bruges

<sup>1</sup> Clarke, "Life of James II.," vol. i. pp. 744, 745.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. vii., App. p. 397.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix B.

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and Ghent, and went thence by waggon to Brussels.<sup>1</sup>

Previous to this, Lady Wentworth had returned to England, for what purpose it is difficult to conjecture (except that it was through the connivance of Skelton). When it became known that her lover was also there incognito the inference was that she was the attraction that had brought him over.<sup>2</sup> It is very probable she accompanied him upon his journey back on December 1; at any rate, she was with him shortly afterwards.

From Brussels the duke returned to the Hague, where he was *fêted* more than ever by the Prince and Princess of Orange, and marked attention was also paid to his mistress.<sup>3</sup> He dined and supped with them daily; walked in the Mall, and skated on the canals with his cousin, and instructed her in the country dances in which he was so proficient. Those who sought advancement paid their court to him; he was the general favourite, and his star was unmistakably in the ascendant. His recall was now only a matter of two or three months at the outside: for Charles had persuaded his brother to go into Scotland on March 10 for the purpose of holding a Parliament, though he had said nothing of Monmouth's return.

A few entries in Monmouth's diary best explains his future prospects:

"Dec. 29. A letter from 29, bidding me stay till I heard further from him."

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Sir Thomas Thynne, Viscount Weymouth, quoted by Roberts. ("Life of Monmouth," vol. i. p. 178)

<sup>3</sup> Lingard, "History of England," vol. viii. p. 282.

## King Monmouth

“Jan. 5. I received a letter from L., marked by 29 in the margin, to trust entirely in 10,<sup>1</sup> and that in February I should certainly have leave to return. That matters were concerting towards it, and that 39 had no suspicion, notwithstanding of my reception here.”

“Feb. 3. A letter from L. that my business was almost as well as done ; but must be so sudden as not to leave time for 39’s party to counterplot. That it is probable he would chuse Scotland rather than Flanders or this country ;<sup>2</sup> which was all one to 29.”

“Feb. 16. The sad news of his death by L. O cruel fate !”

In speaking of the death of Charles II. one naturally recalls the vivid picture drawn from various sources by Macaulay’s powerful pen ; but the details given by the Earl of Ailesbury supply many interesting side-lights, and give a quaint realism to the sad event.

The king was accustomed to walk twice a-day in the park or Arlington Garden adjoining, but for the last few days a sore upon his heel prevented him from taking his favourite exercise, and he was forced to take the air in his “Caleche.” Having partaken of supper, including “a goose egg or two,” his Majesty adjourned to the apartments of the Duchess of Portsmouth, to see the company at that lady’s table, and afterwards was lighted to his chamber by Ailesbury,<sup>3</sup> and as he handed the candle to the page of the back stairs it suddenly

<sup>1</sup> ?

<sup>2</sup> Holland.

<sup>3</sup> Then Lord Bruce. He had not yet succeeded to the earldom.

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went out, though there was no breath of wind to occasion it. The two exchanged glances at this ill omen, but Charles was in the best of humours and talked and joked with his groom of the bed-chamber—that notorious rake Henry Killigrew<sup>1</sup>—as he adjusted his night-gown.<sup>2</sup> He remarked to Ailesbury that he had not seen him down at Winchester, where the erection of the new royal palace was in active progress. “God’s fish,” said he, “modesty must sooner or later be rewarded, and when ’tis otherwise ’tis the fault of the Sovereign, and not of the Subject!”

With regard to his new house in Winchester, about which his mind had recently been much occupied, he made the following gruesome observation which proved only too true :

“I shall be most happy this week, for my building will be covered with lead.”<sup>3</sup> Ailesbury, being “in waiting,” slept in the king’s apartments, “his bed being placed each night to be near his Majesty”; but the surroundings permitted but little rest—a huge grate full of Scotch coal kept up a noisy combustion during the night—a dozen dogs slept in the room; and, to crown all, there were “several pendulums that struck at the half quarter, and all not going alike it was a continual chiming!” The king was accustomed to these things, and as a rule slept soundly; but this night his wakeful attendant noticed that he was restless.

<sup>1</sup> Son of Thomas Killigrew, the Court wit and dramatist. Henry is frequently mentioned by De Gramont and Pepys.

<sup>2</sup> *Viz.*, dressing-gown. Our present garments so-called were unknown.

<sup>3</sup> Ailesbury, “Memoirs,” vol. i. p. 23.

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Next morning, when Charles arose, he was "ashy pale" and could not speak. He went up the steps to his little inner apartment to take a dose of his "King's drops," but did not come back; and as it was bitterly cold, Chiffinch, who only had access to that sanctum, was sent to suggest the advisability of his immediate return. When the king came back he took his seat by the window to be shaved, but as the barber was adjusting the neck-cloth, he collapsed in Ailsbury's arms in a violent fit of apoplexy. Dr. King, who was in attendance to dress the ailing foot, was speedily summoned, and manipulated his lancet (or knife), while Ailesbury hastened to fetch the Duke of York.

The next day, and the following, the patient was considered out of danger; but on the third there was an alarming relapse. On the fourth, Sancroft and Ken offered their godly services, but were feebly waved off by the dying man.<sup>1</sup> The next morning, by the advice of James' confessor, P re Mansuete, Huddleston was brought to the bedside. Recognising the priest who had aided in his escape in 1651, Charles is recorded to have said, "Ld what good planet watches over me, O Lord, my exile, my flight at Worcester—my safety there, by the help of this good father; my dangers in the late conspiracy—and that now this good father should be first to save my soul—sure Lord thou hast created him for my good."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Up to this point Ailesbury's "Memoirs" have been followed.

<sup>2</sup> Vide *Notes and Queries*, second series, vol. vii. p. 489, and vol. ix. p. 470.

## Exile

Having received extreme unction, the most popular of our English kings passed away, as Ailesbury says, "just at high water and full moon at noon" (February 6, 1685), and at two o'clock James was proclaimed king.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ailesbury, "Memoirs."

## CHAPTER XI

### THE TEMPTERS PREVAIL

“Wake, Absalom, approaching ruin shun,  
And see, oh! see for whom thou art undone!”  
*Absalom and Achitophel.*

SINCE Monmouth had been in Holland several attempts had been made to approach him, but the hopes he had of being recalled to England kept him aloof from his dangerous associates, Ferguson, Cochrane, and the rest were ever active in devising ways and means for an insurrection, and as their hopes in Monmouth declined, so Argyll was looked to as the leader of the great enterprise. Grey had fallen into discredit through his criminal intercourse with his sister-in-law, but a more useful agent than that hot-headed and reckless peer had joined the rebellious circle in the autumn (1684). Since the Rye House Plot, Sir Patrick Hume, had been secreting himself in the family vault of Polwarth, and in a hiding-place beneath his house (being supplied with food by his young daughter), but this proving too monotonous, he assumed the character of a surgeon, and made his way to London, where he got passage to France,<sup>1</sup> and to the dominions of the Prince of Orange,

<sup>1</sup> See “Dict. of Nat. Biography” (*Hume* [*Sir Patrick*]).



Boyer



## The Tempters Prevail

with the intention of opening negotiations with Monmouth and Argyll.

Argyll,<sup>1</sup> it may here be explained was tried for treason and sentenced to death in 1681, at the time the Duke of York was in Scotland, but through the efforts of Lady Sophia Lindsay he managed to escape, and assuming the name of Hope, was concealed by Mrs. Smith (a rich widow) in London and at Brentford. This lady is said to have supplied the earl with £10,000 for carrying out his expedition of 1685. In 1683, the earl succeeded in reaching Holland and eventually retired to Friesland in which province the Campbells owned some land.

Charles II. had been dead a fortnight, when the crushing news was conveyed to Monmouth by the prince, and to add to his sorrow his name had not even been mentioned by the dying king: the other natural offspring, had received their father's blessing, but not one word was sent to comfort the favourite son.<sup>2</sup>

Preparations were actually in progress for the duke's return in April. Some of his richest furniture was packed, yachts were in readiness to transport a person of quality to some unknown port; and the duke's servants had received intimation to be ready at an hour's notice.<sup>3</sup> Monmouth's grief was great: more perhaps for his own future, than for the loss of an affectionate and forgiving parent; but it is characteristic of

<sup>1</sup> Archibald Campbell, ninth Earl of Argyll, the eldest son of Archibald the eighth earl, who placed the crown on the king's head at Scone in 1651.

<sup>2</sup> See Evelyn, "Diary," vol. ii. p. 444.

<sup>3</sup> Welwood, "Memoirs," 1699.

## King Monmouth

his want of real depth of feeling, that he was present at a ball the same evening that the sad news reached him.<sup>1</sup> In fear lest the duke might be arrested, the Prince of Orange impressed upon him the necessity of his speedy removal from the Hague, and a letter of submission to James was proposed and discussed, but ended in nothing.<sup>2</sup> Soon after James' accession a scheme was afoot to seize Monmouth. T. Chudleigh answers a correspondent in Holland as follows :

“As to what you write of Monm (*sic*) I dare answer for it, that if you can seize and convey him safe to England it will be a piece of service that you shall be well thanked for.” The writer says it must be done secretly and wants to know if Monmouth “has been, as reported, at Liege.”<sup>3</sup>

Upon leaving the Hague Monmouth retired to the Spanish Netherlands, but by James II.'s desire (through Bulstrode), the Marquis de Grana ordered Monmouth to quit his dominions, which the governor did with no little pleasure. Twenty-four hours were allowed for his departure and as a special favour Lady Wentworth was given two or three days' grace. The latter repaired to Antwerp escorted by Don Valera, a Spanish officer of her acquaintance who had lived much in England. Upon their arrival, her chaperon gave a ball in her honour. The guests had duly assembled and the music was striking up, when a mysterious note was slipped into Lady Wentworth's hand. Begging to be excused for a

<sup>1</sup> Ailesbury, “Memoirs,” vol. i. p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> See Roberts, “Life,” vol. i. p. 185.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. vii., App. p. 534.



*Henrietta, Lady Wentworth.*



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moment, she quitted the room, but to every one's astonishment, did not return.<sup>1</sup> Her lover it transpired was in hiding somewhere in the town, and sent a message saying that all was in readiness for a pre-arranged flight. In the duke's pocket-book under date March 11 to the 14 of this year, are particulars of the route from Antwerp to Dordt, with marginal notes of the severity of the weather during the journey. From Dordrecht (Dordt), the couple evidently went northwards to the little town, Gouda,<sup>2</sup> some fifteen miles away, where they remained incognito.<sup>3</sup>

In his seclusion Monmouth endeavoured to improve his mind and neglected education, by study. That a life of retirement was congenial, appears in a short poem penned by him about this time :

“With joy we leave thee  
False world and do forgive  
All thy false treachery  
For now we'll happy live  
We'll to our bowers  
And there spend our hours.  
Happy there we'll be  
We no strifes can see :  
No quarrelling for crowns  
Nor slavery of State  
Nor changes in our fate  
From plots this place is free  
There we'll ever be  
We'll sit and bless our stars  
That from the noise of wars  
Did this glorious place give  
(or did us Toddington<sup>4</sup> give)  
That thus we happy live.”<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ailesbury, “Memoirs.”

<sup>2</sup> “Tergou,” or Gouda.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* Appendix B.

<sup>4</sup> Spelled “Teddington.”

<sup>5</sup> Appendix B. The song is set to music in the pocket-book.

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Had the duke been left to follow his own inclinations he would have spent the summer in the Court of Sweden: but the sudden death of Charles II. had awakened the exiles to action, and Argyll was willing to set out at once for Scotland if he was sufficiently supported: he, however, kept his plan of action a secret, and under no consideration could he be induced to reveal it. The proud earl made it clear that he should be the leader. At first he ignored Monmouth in the Insurrection scheme, but being persuaded that the "Protestant Duke's" influence in England was not inconsiderable, agreed that he (Monmouth) should be consulted prior to a meeting.

Monmouth's answer to Argyll's secretary<sup>1</sup> (W. Spence), shows that he had no ambition of re-entering the world as a public character, at least the letter reads so, though the lines in cipher omitted by Welwood,<sup>2</sup> very possibly may have had an entirely different meaning; and this seems the more likely when we consider how readily he was soon afterwards induced to accept an invitation to Rotterdam, and whatever scruples he may have had were easily overcome by a personal interview.

The duke's letter ran thus:

"I received both yours together this morning, and cannot delay you my answer longer than this post, though I am afraid it will not please you so much as I heartily wish it may. I have weighed

<sup>1</sup> Welwood, "Memoirs," 1699.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

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all your reasons, and every thing that you and my other friends have writ me upon that subject, and have done it with the greatest inclination to follow your advice, and without prejudice. You may well believe I had time enough to reflect sufficiently upon our present state, especially since I came hither. But whatever way I turn my thoughts I find insuperable difficulties. Pray do not think it an effect of melancholy, for that was never my greatest fault, when I tell you, that in these three weeks' retirement in this place I have not only looked back but forward; and the more I consider our present circumstances I think them still the more desperate, unless some unforeseen accident fall out, which I cannot divine nor hope for.

*(Sixteen lines, all in cipher).<sup>1</sup>*

“Judge, then, what we are to expect, in case we should venture upon any such attempt at this time. It's to me a vain argument that our enemies are scarce yet well settled, when you consider that fear in some and ambition in others have brought them to comply, and that the parliament being made up, for the most part, of members that formerly ran our enemy down, they will be ready to make their peace as soon as they can, rather than hazard themselves upon an uncertain bottom. I give you but hints of what if I

<sup>1</sup> It is curious that Welwood makes no comment upon these cipher lines, which as I have suggested might have given an entirely different complexion to the real meaning of the letter. The author of the “Memoirs” was, however, convinced that only with great difficulty could Monmouth be induced to join the exiles in their venture. (See Welwood, “Memoirs,” 1699.)

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had time I would write more at length. But that I may not seem obstinate in my own judgment, nor neglect the advice of my friends, I will meet you at the time and place appointed. But, for God's sake, think in the mean time of the improbabilities that lie naturally in our way, and let us not by struggling with our chains make them straiter and heavier. For my part I'll run the hazard of being thought any thing rather than a rash inconsiderate man. And to tell you my thoughts without disguise, I am now so much in love with a retir'd life that I am never like to be fond of *making a bustle in the world again*, I have much more to say, but the post cannot stay, and I refer the rest till meeting, being entirly

“Yours, &c.,

“MONMOUTH.”<sup>1</sup>

At Amsterdam the rebel leaders held conferences and carried on their secret preparations. Arms and ammunition had been shipped thence to Scotland for a year past.<sup>2</sup> Ferguson kept up an active correspondence with his agents in London to bring matters to a speedy climax, for unless things appeared sufficiently encouraging in England, Monmouth proposed to accompany Argyll to Scotland, to which the latter was strongly opposed, as he was also to the suggestion of Monmouth claiming the throne.

Though these preparations were in rapid progress the Prince of Orange declared entire igno-

<sup>1</sup> “A letter of the late Duke of Monmouth, writ in his retirement in Holland, a little before his attempt in the West. (Appendix xv. of Welwood, “Memoirs,” 1699.)

<sup>2</sup> D'Avaux Despatches, *vide* Roberts, “Monmouth,” vol. i. p. 207.

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rance as to what had become of Monmouth since he had dismissed him from the Hague. James II. was informed that it was rumoured that he was hovering between Amsterdam and Rotterdam: but nothing definite was known. Again referring to the duke's pocket-book we find a detailed route, between Tergou [Gouda] and Amsterdam: the road and the footway<sup>1</sup>—and we may conclude that Monmouth passed to and from these places; but the Dutch authorities were blind as well as dumb, and so James learned nothing until the duke's ships were on their way to England.

We gather many interesting particulars of the movements in London from the evidence of the messenger who kept up communication between the rebels at home and abroad. Major Disney, the principal agent in London, sent Robert Cragg early in March to inquire "how matters stood with the duke." When he arrived in Amsterdam, Ferguson told him that Argyll was making preparations for his expedition to Scotland and would be ready to sail in about a month's time and that the Duke of Monmouth also was preparing what strength he could, intending to start fourteen days after Argyll, so as to be in England before James II.'s coronation, or at least before Parliament sat. Ferguson directed the messenger that he should hasten his return and inform the duke's friends he was sadly in need of money, arms and ammunition. Cragg delivered the message to Disney, who consulted "some gentlemen," with the result that Cragg was despatched back to Amsterdam to say that no funds could be

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Appendix B.

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raised upon so short a notice—that there was great backwardness among the gentlemen in espousing Monmouth's cause, for they were quite unprepared and alarmed to think that he should have resource to such rash measures and come over on so short a notice and prayed that he would alter his plans and rather go with Argyll to Scotland. The duke received this message in person, and was very angry at the coldness of his friends putting the blame upon "Major" Wildman, who he said was always the governor of Mr. Hampden<sup>1</sup> and the rest. "He thinks," said Monmouth, "by keeping his own purse-strings fast, and persuading others to do the same, to hinder me in this thing, but he and they shall be mistaken." He instructed Cragg to go back immediately and say he would not retract: that he "had promised the Scots to go for England and would not deceive them, but would hazard his life and all, rather than be found false to them." If they would not send any money, he would go with what he had, but desired that at least five or six thousand pounds should be sent to him at once. Argyll had shipped his provisions and would sail in ten days and if the money was forthcoming he would be able to follow a week later; he therefore was anxious that Wildman, Danvers,<sup>2</sup> and other friends should hold a meeting

<sup>1</sup> The two Hampdens, Richard the father and John the son, both favoured Monmouth's cause. The former, better known as Old Hampden, was the second son of the Patriot. The younger was implicated in the Rye House Plot, and eventually joined the Duke, for which he was committed to the Tower in October, 1685. The father died in 1695, and the son committed suicide the following year.

<sup>2</sup> He was one of the proposed assassins of the Rye House Plot.

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with reference to managing things in London. The duke further suggested that Hampden, upon whom he depended in a great measure, should be consulted, and that Wildman should press Lords Delamere, Macclesfield, Stamford, Gerard, Devonshire, &c.

Upon his return to London, Cragg, after conferring with Disney in the "Devil Tavern" at Temple Bar,<sup>1</sup> sought an interview with Hampden, as he was walking in King's Bench Gardens, who, however, refused to speak with him. The meetings were arranged by Disney in the "Rheinish Wine House," in Steele Yard,<sup>2</sup> where Cragg learned that Wildman had been consulted and that no money could be obtained. Monmouth's friends were ignorant as to what "he intended to set up, or declare," and were of opinion that "it was madness to pull down an old house before they saw how to build up a new one."

When it was dark, by Disney's directions, Cragg went into Lincoln's Inn Fields by the back gate where he found a person in "a great long coat," to whom he gave the pass-word "Diss," the stranger then entered into conversation with him and appeared anxious to know who the duke's counsellors were who intended to ruin both him

Monmouth's chaplain, Hooke, in after years told King James that Danvers had proposed despatching Charles II. by shooting him on his way to Somerset House in the royal barge, or stabbing him at Whitehall or St. James'. (See Macpherson, "Original Papers," vol. i. p. 143.)

<sup>1</sup> Probably "The Young Devil." The more famous "Old Devil," which stood close by, was pulled down in 1788. (See Cunningham, "London.")

<sup>2</sup> In Upper Thames Street. An account of this house will be found in Dyce, "Webster," vol. iii. p. 34.

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and the nation, and said that better advice had been given—viz., to join with Argyll, if he had only followed it, and that Monmouth should have known his interest better in England before undertaking the design, for a great many whom he counted as friends would be very backward when he had most need of them.

Cragg upon his next journey to Holland carried the duke a message from Disney about his children, whom his friends were anxious to secure in safety ; the duchess, however, objected to any interference, the duke was therefore asked to send over a token to satisfy her, which he offered to do—viz., a gold seal set with diamonds, which he said was well known at the Court at Whitehall. But Cragg declined to take it, in fear the seal might be found upon him, for all the passengers to England would be examined, Argyll being then gone to the Texel awaiting a favourable wind. The duke said it was his intention to start in a week's time, and asked what horse he might expect in London : "whether a hundred or more," and directed that they should be sent to him in the west of England and that those who wished to join him should get out of London early, as the roads would be stopped when the news of his landing got abroad : and further that one Alexander should bring half a dozen good horse or foot officers, with a suit of armour made of silk for himself. This bullet-proof armour, it may be explained, was first introduced by Shaftesbury's "Green Ribbon Club," at the time of Oates' Plot, as a prevention against massacre, and the weapon known as the "Protestant Flail" was invented at the same

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time.<sup>1</sup> Early in May, Disney arranged a meeting between Cragg and Alexander at "The White Lion" in Whitechapel, and the latter agreed he would try to get the suit of armour. He said he had not been idle in the business and that he knew several old officers that would be willing to go, but they had no money to buy horses or arms.

Monmouth's final instructions were that a daily council should be held in London by Wildman, Danvers, Mead, and other friends. Sir R. Paton should meet him in the west, or stop in London to direct affairs as he thought best, and that as many officers as could be spared from London should be sent to him. The duke had sent Mr. Battiscomb to England specially about the middle of April, to encourage and prepare the people in the west of England where he expected to find five or six horses for his own use, sent down by Wildman. As soon as he landed he would send a messenger post with a considerable quantity of declarations to be dispersed, and said a press should be ready in London to print daily such things as there might be occasion for, which provision had already been made by Disney with places where the duke's messengers were to be received.<sup>2</sup>

The duke further said he was resolved not to fight before six weeks, or two months, if he could avoid it. As soon as the forces should be drawn out of London, Wildman and Danvers should stir up and secure the city; and the Cheshire gentle-

<sup>1</sup> Roger North, "Examen," p. 173.

<sup>2</sup> In Covent Garden ("at Mr. Locks and Mr. Blacks").

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men should unite their strength to divert the forces coming all upon him at his first landing, and until he had formed his army and fortified some place.

Disney appears to have been indefatigable in his endeavours to carry out Monmouth's directions, and indeed was the only active one of the party, receiving but little encouragement from Danvers and Wildman.

Wildman (Disney's cousin) could not be induced to meet Danvers, and Danvers, who was equally adverse to a meeting, declined to consult Sir R. Paton, as he said he could not be trusted. Fresh meetings were arranged by Disney at a coffee-house in a court near Clements Inn, at the "Bull Head Tavern," without Bishopsgate,<sup>1</sup> and at the "Ross Tavern" in Leadenhall Street. At the last place Paton made his appearance, but declined to act on so short a notice, as nobody, he said, would follow him, and he did not care to have his brains beat out alone.

The next meeting was held at "The Trumpet," an alehouse in Sheare Lane.<sup>2</sup> Three weeks had elapsed since Cragg returned from Holland, but still there was no news of Monmouth's arrival. Everybody was discouraged by the delay, and owing to it, and the news from Scotland—there was a strong alteration in the minds of the people, some of whom expressed the opinion that "it was a cheat only." Several men had been sent down into the west; and the Cheshire gentlemen, to

<sup>1</sup> In the galleried yard of "the Bull" theatrical performances were given in the reign of Elizabeth prior to the erection of the Globe theatre.

<sup>2</sup> Shire, or Rogue Lane, near Temple Bar. (*Vide* Cunningham, "London.")

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whom Monmouth looked for support, were all up in town to attend the sitting of Parliament.

At length, on May 25 or 26, news came from Holland. A Mr. Jones arrived in London with the information "that when he came through the Texel he saw the duke with all his ships under sail for England, and was so near one or two of them that he waved his hat to some one he knew standing upon the deck."<sup>1</sup>

We must here leave the London plotters and return to Amsterdam. From the foregoing we may judge how small was the encouragement that was held out for Monmouth's hazardous undertaking.

Argyll's three ships set sail on the evening of May 2, and, weather permitting, Monmouth was to start six days later. The latter did his utmost to postpone the expedition, at least, for some weeks, until his plans were better matured, but Argyll would hear of no delay.

His enterprise may be briefly summed up as follows: *The Anna*, *The Sophia* and *The David* arrived off the Orkneys on May 5. The earl anchored off Dunstaffnage, and sent his second son, Charles, on shore to call the Campbells to arms. Failing in this, the small armament proceeded to Campbell Town in the peninsula of Kintyre, the stronghold of the extreme Covenanting party, and a gathering of the clans was effected at the Isthmus of Tarbet, where Sir Duncan Campbell joined him with a large force of men. The army then divided; Argyll and Rumbold

<sup>1</sup> House of Lords MSS.; Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 12, App. vi. pp. 392-405.

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remained in the Highlands, and Hume and Cochrane, sailing to invade the Lowlands, landed at Greenock.<sup>1</sup> As their attempts to raise the people proved ineffectual, they joined Argyll, then in the Island of Bute. The squadron was moored at the mouth of Loch Riddan, by Castle Ellan-greig, while Argyll proceeded to Dumbartonshire. In his absence, all his ships, arms and ammunition were taken by the loyalists ; so he resolved to make a bold push for Glasgow. After a disastrous night march, followed by desertion on all sides, he reached Kilpatrick with about 500 men. There was nothing left but flight ; Argyll's party therefore dispersed, and he, and Major Fullerton, made their way to Inchinnan, where, in endeavouring to pass the Ford of Clyde, they were arrested, and, after a desperate struggle, secured and sent to Edinburgh.<sup>2</sup>

With the exception of Lord Grey and Andrew Fletcher, a Scottish laird, those who came over with Monmouth were of inferior birth. The following contemporary list was discovered in the pocket of one of the rebels : " Capt<sup>n</sup> Bruce, Capt<sup>n</sup> Buce,<sup>3</sup> Lieuten<sup>t</sup>-Collonl Vaux, Capt<sup>n</sup> Venner, made a Lieutenant-Collonel, Ensigne Parsons, afterwards Major, Capt<sup>n</sup> Tomson—Taylor, Capt<sup>n</sup> —Homes, Lieut.-Coll<sup>n</sup>—Patchley [Patchell], Capt<sup>n</sup> —Blake, Lieutenant—Tomson, Lieutenant—

<sup>1</sup> Lord Dunbarton wrote to the king that Argyll was standing in at Largs with " three ships, 24 great boats and a great barge for the land." Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 9, App. pt. iii. p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> See Roberts, " Monmouth " (Biographical Notes, vol. ii.) and " Dict. of Nat. Biography " (*Campbell*). Hume effected his escape to Ireland, whence he sailed to Bordeaux.

<sup>3</sup> Anthony Buyse, a Brandenburg officer.

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Fletcher-Dalby, Lieutenant—Hook, Chaplain<sup>1</sup>—Ferguson-Nelthrop, Capt<sup>n</sup>—Wade, Major<sup>2</sup>—Tyly, Capt<sup>n</sup>—Rich<sup>d</sup> Goodenough, Capt<sup>n</sup> and also Paymaster Generall—Francis Goodenough, Capt<sup>n</sup> Tho Dare & Son—Barnardiston, Reformade [*sic*]—Fox, Major—Chamberlain, Reformade [*sic*]—Oliver, Chirurgeon—Gillard, Ditto—Temple, Doctor—Showers, Ensigne—Crag, Ensigne—Woolters, Master of y<sup>e</sup> Ship—Stevenson, Colonel—Kid, Capt<sup>n</sup>—Asca, Ensigne.”<sup>3</sup> To these may be added Captain James Hayes, Lieutenants Mitchell, Lillingston, William Hewling, Ensigns Sanford, Babbington and Vincent, Lieutenant-Colonel Foukes, Major Manley,<sup>4</sup> &c.

Some of those who sailed were entirely ignorant as to the object of the voyage or their destination. One was told he was entering the service of the Duke of Brandenburg, another that he was bound for the West Indies, and so forth; and as the only alternative would have been to remain prisoners on board ship, they chose rather to espouse Monmouth's cause.<sup>5</sup>

The duke's frigate, the *Helderenburgh*, and the two tenders which accompanied her (described by the Mayor of Lyme as a fly boat of 200 tons, and a ketch, of 100 tons<sup>6</sup>), brought over eighty-three

<sup>1</sup> Nathaniel Hook, domestic chaplain to Monmouth.

<sup>2</sup> Nathaniel Wade, third son of John Wade, of Arlingham, Gloucestershire (a major in Cromwell's army). This young lawyer, who had been mixed up in the Rye House Plot, had effected his escape to Holland. He acted as a secret agent between Argyll and Monmouth.

<sup>3</sup> “A paper found in young Hewlings pocckett by Capt. Richards recd. from him August 6, 1685” (Drayton MSS.).

<sup>4</sup> See Roberts, vol. i. pp. 252-53.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 204-5.

<sup>6</sup> House of Lords, “Journals,” *ibid.* p. 258.

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hands, including Monmouth. The vessels started from the Texel on May 30. The duke had embarked from Santfort six days before, but, owing to contrary winds, was unable to reach his frigate. He had been led to believe that a large sum of money would be forthcoming from London, and until the eve of starting hoped that Wildman<sup>1</sup> would send at least £1000, but, as nothing came, he was, from the first, sadly handicapped for want of funds.

About £3000 had been raised among friends in Holland, and a like amount had been advanced upon the duke's "Great George" and other valuables, by one Le Blon, a Dutch merchant, who, with a few others, had assisted in procuring the vessels, shipping the arms, &c.<sup>2</sup> The pawning of Lady Wentworth's and her mother's jewels, contributed an additional £2733.<sup>3</sup> The hire of the *Helderemburgh* alone cost £5500, and the four field-guns, arms, &c., cost £3000, so that there was left but little ready cash, though there were some bills negotiable in London to fall back upon.

The preparations of both Argyll's and Monmouth's expeditions were undoubtedly carried on with the connivance of the Amsterdam authorities. No interference was offered until it was too late, and while official formalities had to be gone

<sup>1</sup> "Major Wildman of Barkshire, was a man much concern'd as an abetter and assistant as to advize, but gave him noe money for w<sup>ch</sup> he (Wade) hath heard M[onmouth] curse him." Wade, "Confession" (Drayton MSS.). See also Appendix B.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Goodenough, the paymaster who succeeded Dare, had a list of the names of contributors in England and Holland. (Examination of Monmouth's servant, Wagstaff. Drayton MSS.)

<sup>3</sup> 32,000 guilders.

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into between the magistrates and the president and assembly of the States General, the necessary time for embarkation had elapsed.<sup>1</sup> Argyll's departure awoke the English Envoy Skelton,<sup>2</sup> to prompt action, but he was helpless; and King James had no hesitation in throwing the blame upon his son-in-law. It is remarkable that the prince did not write to England of the designs of the rebels until the day after Monmouth had set sail (carrying with him the prayers of the congregation at Amsterdam, that his enterprise might find favour with the Almighty).

When the prince dismissed the duke from the Hague upon Charles II.'s death, he (Monmouth) had promised not to act in opposition to the new king, which he afterwards declared to be true; but with all homage to William III. as a king, it is difficult to ignore the fact that there was a deep-rooted suspicion that he abetted the fatal enterprise with a view of getting rid of a popular and dangerous rival. Whatever arguments may be brought forward in contradiction to this, it is wholly inconceivable that he was entirely ignorant of the plans of both Argyll and Monmouth, and a shrewd politician such as he cannot have seen aught but failure before them in their undertaking.

Ailesbury affirms that before he set out, Monmouth had a long and serious conference with the prince, and after leaving him went to bid adieu to Lady Wentworth.

<sup>1</sup> See Roberts, "Monmouth," vol. i. pp. 202-3.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Bevil Skelton, second son of Sir John Skelton, lieutenant-governor of Plymouth, succeeded Henry Sidney as the English envoy in Holland in March 1685. Skelton accompanied King James in his flight from England in 1688.

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No sooner had the duke left than Bentinck was despatched with all speed to acquaint James of the design. The page who waited outside the apartment all the time of the last conference between Monmouth and the Prince of Orange, gave the Earl of Ailesbury <sup>1</sup> this piece of information.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Then Lord Bruce.

<sup>2</sup> "Memoirs of Thomas Earl of Ailesbury," vol. i.

## CHAPTER XII

### JAMES DUKE OF MONMOUTH *VERSUS* JAMES KING OF ENGLAND

THAT some rising was afoot in the west of England became known in London about the time that the news of Argyll's insurrection reached the city. Disquieting intelligence came from the Mayors of Taunton and Exeter. The former wrote to the latter that on June 1, "Eighty horsemen, supposed armed, did passe about one o'clock this morning a by way near this towne," and advised that the militia should be in readiness, and that all strangers in the inns should be disarmed.<sup>1</sup>

The news that "the Protestant Duke" was about to arrive was first intimated in a letter intercepted at Ilminster, which apparently came from the plotters in London. Other letters found at Taunton spoke of Argyll's great success, and advised all true Protestants to stick together and be prepared for the appearance of a "certain person among them."<sup>2</sup> No family was more suspected by the Government at this time of rebellious tendencies than the Spekes, of White

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 5, App. p. 371.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Roberts, vol. i. pp. 214-15.

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Lackington. But one of them at least was a royalist, Captain William Speke, who made the discovery at Ilminster, and immediately rode to carry his information to Whitehall ; and a general search for letters was ordered in the principal post towns of Somerset, Dorset and Devon. To add to the alarm a vessel laden with arms and ammunition was captured and brought into Plymouth.<sup>1</sup>

As before stated, Monmouth's friends in the west had been apprised of his coming by a messenger from Holland—a gentleman of Dorsetshire named Battiscomb—but before this agent could communicate to him the little encouragement that he had received, the duke had already started for England. Trenchard, from whom he had great expectations, and who had promised fifteen hundred men, had recently been acquitted, and upon returning to White Lackington, the rebellious demonstrations of joy of the fanatics occasioned another attempt to arrest him ; which, however, failed, owing to the efforts of Speke, who was afterwards fined 2000 marks for rescuing his son-in-law.<sup>2</sup> Trenchard, upon gaining his liberty, sought safety in France.

Strode, of Barrington, was in prison, as was also (soon after Monmouth's landing) Prideaux, of Ford ; the former contrived to send some money and horses for the duke, but the latter, not having done so, received a visit demanding horses and arms, for which supposed complicity in the rebellion he was afterwards fined £15,000 !

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 5, App. p. 373.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 374.

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Yonge, of Colyton, as well as many other of Monmouth's friends, showed no anxiety to risk their fortunes or necks in his behalf. Speke was willing, but too old, so he sent his son and a small body of men, while he himself had recourse to flight. It had been arranged that when the duke landed in England messengers should be at once despatched to the "Red Lion Inn" at Taunton, and to Speke at White Lackington. These messengers made their appearance about daybreak on June 11, 1685. Some fishermen of the little village of Chideock (between Charmouth and Bridport) were surprised to see a ship's boat, with ten men aboard, pulling in to shore. Three "gentlemen" landed, and after some discourse inquired the way to Hawkchurch, and being told, two of them went in that direction, while the other again joined the boat, the fishermen meanwhile having been regaled with "neat's tongues and bottles of canary."<sup>1</sup> Three mysterious Dutch looking vessels lay some leagues away to the west, which perplexed the worthy inhabitants of the villages lying along this corner of the Dorsetshire coast, and as no colours were flying or guns fired, the surveyor of the port of Lyme Regis<sup>2</sup> set out for a closer inspection. Meanwhile, news having spread of the landing in the early morning, the mayor despatched a couple of men in the direction of Hawkchurch.

<sup>1</sup> Harleian MSS. No. 6845. "An exact relation of the manner of the late James, Duke of Monmouth's proceedings on the day of his invading and rebellious possessing himself of his Majesties town and port of Lyme Regis in the county of Dorset." (*Vide* Roberts, vol. i. p. 220, &c.)

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Tye, a nephew of Archbishop Sancroft. (See Tanner MSS. Bodleian Library.)

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The good folks of Lyme were more than ever perplexed that their official did not return, and came to the conclusion that the delay was owing possibly to the attractions offered by a further supply of neat's tongues and bottles of canary ; but at length, after much weary watching and surmising, the vessels, now within gun-shot, put off seven boats of armed men, who, with great expedition, effected a landing on the west side of the Cobb,<sup>1</sup> that curious semicircular pier which has characterised this little seaport since the reign of King Edward I.<sup>2</sup>

The story is told of a young lieutenant of the navy named Bagster, who happened to be in a boat just off the shore when Monmouth was about to land, and noticing that the duke could not effect this without wetting his legs, jumped into the water and presented his knee for him to step upon, who, striking Bagster familiarly upon the shoulder, said, " Brave, young man ; you will join me ? " " No, sir," said the lieutenant, " I have sworn to be true to my King, and no consideration shall move my fidelity." A descendant (Mr. S. S. Bagster) says one link would connect the courteous lieutenant with his grandfather.<sup>3</sup>

The first act of Monmouth and his followers upon setting foot on the beach was to fall on their knees and offer up a short prayer. His Grace then unsheathed his sword and led his men by a field path over the cliff into the town,<sup>4</sup> care being taken

<sup>1</sup> Harleian MSS. 6845.

<sup>2</sup> Since first erected it has frequently been rebuilt.

<sup>3</sup> Vide *Notes and Queries*, eighth series, vol. x. p. 476.

<sup>4</sup> Harleian MSS. 6845. Roberts says Monmouth entered the town "by some part of 'The Stile Path,' and along the cliffs just

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to avoid the fort guns, which perhaps was unnecessary, as Lyme was strangely deficient in powder,<sup>1</sup> and generally did not appear to be unfriendly disposed towards the new comer. The mayor was at his wit's end what to do, though he certainly did not make much effort beyond issuing an order for the drums to beat up an alarm; but as the enemy's boats approached the shore he got out of the town as quickly as he could, and hastening towards Honiton, spread the news as he went.<sup>2</sup> The rebels marched in files with their leader at their head in advance of the colours—viz., a deep green, with the words "Fear nothing but God" inscribed in letters of gold.<sup>3</sup> The progress of the little army was slow, owing to the crowds which pressed on all sides to see the popular duke, and as it advanced it rapidly increased in bulk.

"A Monmouth! a Monmouth! the Protestant religion," was shouted and taken up by the throng. The people strove to kiss the hand of their new champion; and one girl, on the strength of having formerly been in the service of his sister, received

above the present walk to the Cobb, which has only been made a few years, into Broad Street, thus avoiding the guns of the fort to the west of the assembly rooms." This was written in 1844. Stile Lane in Pound Street is a shady walk leading to the Cobb. (*Vide* Roberts, "Monmouth," vol. i. pp. 222 and 229.) N.B.—The Bowling-Green and Quakers' Burial Ground mentioned by Roberts have now been built over (1900).

<sup>1</sup> Roberts, vol. i. pp. 224-25.

<sup>2</sup> "I am confident," writes Thomas Tye (from Lyme, July 8, 1685), "40 men might have preserved this towne; but our Mayo<sup>r</sup> Capt. Alford immediately ran away, neither had he provided any powder or encouraged any men." (Tanner MSS. Bodleian Library; see also *The Academy*, vol. xlvii. pp. 257-58.)

<sup>3</sup> Dummer's "Diary" MS. in the Pepysian Library, Cambridge.

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the honour of a kiss from the hero of the hour.<sup>1</sup>

The duke's manifesto was next read in the market-place, or perhaps the essence of it, for the whole harangue is both lengthy and tedious. It was Ferguson's composition, and as an excuse for the wild assertions contained in it, Monmouth afterwards declared with his characteristic weakness, that he had signed it without previously reading it.<sup>2</sup> Disney, the principal agent in London, who was still doing his utmost to foment a rising in the city, printed this declaration.<sup>3</sup>

The first copies were probably produced in Amsterdam, for as before stated, Monmouth had originally arranged to send upon his landing a messenger with a number of copies for distribution, and a place of rendezvous had been fixed at Covent Garden.<sup>4</sup>

Briefly, the manifesto provided freedom from tyranny—"the life of the present usurper," it declared, had been "but one continual conspiracy against the Reformed Religion, and Rights of the Nation. . . ." "His instigating a confederacy with France and a war with Holland; his fomenting the Popish Plot, and encouraging the Murder of Sir Ed. Godfrey to stifle it; his forging Treason against Protestants, and suborning

<sup>1</sup> Harleian MSS. 6845.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Jno. Bramston, "Autobiography," p. 188.

<sup>3</sup> Battiscomb's Examination. (See Roberts, vol. i. p. 233.) One Hugh Green was also instrumental in the publication. Add. MSS. British Museum, No. 31957.

<sup>4</sup> "There should be a person appointed to lie continually ready at Mr. Locks and another at Mr. Blacks in Covent Garden to receive such messages as the Duke should send." Information of Robert Cragg. Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 12, App. pt. vi. p. 399.

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Witnesses to swear the Patriots of our Religion and Liberties out of their lives; his hiring execrable villains to assassinate the late Earl of Essex, and causing several others to be clandestinely cut off, in hopes to conceal it; his advising and procuring the Prorogation and Dissolution of Parliaments, in order to prevent inquiry into his crimes, and that he might escape the justice of the Nation. . . . Now, therefore, we do solemnly declare and proclaim war against James Duke of York, as a murderer and an assassin of innocent men; a Popish usurper of the crown; Traitor to the Nation, and Tyrant over the People. . . . And whereas the said James, Duke of York in order to the expediting the Idolatrous and Bloody Designs of the Papists, the gratifying his own boundless Ambition after a Crown, and to hinder inquiry into his Assassination of Arthur Earl of Essex, hath poisoned the late King, and therein manifested his Ingratitude, as well as cruelty to the world, in Murdering a Brother, who had almost ruined himself to preserve and protect him from punishment; We do therefore further declare, that for the aforesaid villanous and unnatural crime, and other his crimes before mentioned, and in pursuance of the resolution of both Houses of Parliament, who voted to revenge the King's death in case he came to an untimely end, we will prosecute the said James, Duke of York till we have brought him to suffer what the Law adjudged to be the punishment of so execrable a Fact. And in a more particular manner his Grace the Duke of Monmouth, being deeply sensible of that barbarous and horrid Parricide committed

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upon his Father, doth resolve to pursue the said James, Duke of York as a mortal and bloody Enemy, and will endeavour, as well with his own hand as by the assistance of his Friends and the Law, to have justice executed upon him."<sup>1</sup>

Such were the sins of the reigning monarch as represented in Ferguson's inflammatory oration.

The subsequent 'listing on the Church cliff<sup>2</sup> is a subject that should be immortalised by one of our painters of English history. The scene lends itself to picturesque treatment. We may assume that it is now twilight, with the glow of a recent sunset lingering in the western sky. The old Church of St. Michael stands a bow-shot away, silhouetted against the light, and beyond, the Cobb, gracefully stretching its massive arm into the sea, and the three mysterious Dutch vessels lying in the bay. The standard has been set up, beside which stands the handsome figure of Monmouth dressed in purple, with a star on his breast. The reckless Lord Grey looks like business with his musket on his shoulder and a brace of pistols in his girdle. The duke's armed followers are in the rear, and the somewhat ungainly Scotchman, Ferguson,<sup>3</sup> is seated, hard at work penning the names of those who stand by to be enlisted: mostly sturdy tradesmen and labourers.

<sup>1</sup> The Declaration is given in full by Roberts, "Life of Monmouth," vol. i. chap. xv. Copies of the original publication are preserved in the Bodleian Library and the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> Long since washed away.

<sup>3</sup> Ferguson acted in the capacity both as chaplain to the army and secretary and adviser to the duke. See "Dict. of Nat. Biography" (*Ferguson James*).



*The Duke of Monmouth.*



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This is the scene handed down to us by an eyewitness.<sup>1</sup>

Military operations now advanced rapidly. All approaches to the town were strictly guarded. Wade with a party of men landed the arms and ammunition and mounted the four guns. The swords, muskets, pikes, &c., were carried into the Town Hall, which had been broken open by the local blacksmith,<sup>2</sup> where they were distributed to the townsmen as they rallied to the Protestant standard. Though Monmouth only brought with him arms for upwards of fifteen hundred men<sup>3</sup> (besides "backs and breasts," which, proving too cumbersome were afterwards left behind), he told one of his recruits that he was prepared to arm 30,000 men!

Close upon midnight Gregory Alford, the Mayor, reached Honiton, and despatching an express to Whitehall, hurried on to carry the news of Monmouth's landing to the Duke of Albemarle<sup>4</sup> at Exeter. Two other inhabitants of Lyme (Dassell and Thorold, Custom House officials) started on the same mission, and having got clear of the town, obtained a horse in the mayor's stable,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Dassell, deputy searcher of Lyme Custom House. Harleian MSS. 6845.

<sup>2</sup> The blacksmith who broke open the Town Hall door had a grand-daughter (named Curtis) living until about 1830. The man's name was Jackson, and descendants of that name were still living at Lyme until a few years ago (1900). (See also Roberts, vol. i. pp. 227 and 252.)

<sup>3</sup> Echaré says arms were landed for 5000, but the accounts of both Grey and Wade oppose this statement. (See also Roberts, vol. i. pp. 254-55.)

<sup>4</sup> Christopher Monk, made Lord-lieutenant of Devonshire in 1675, and captain and colonel of the first King's Own troops of horse guards in place of Monmouth in 1679.

<sup>5</sup> Hay House, or Farm, is about a mile up the Combe at the

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which carried them double to Crewkerne, from which place they also sent messages to Exeter and Taunton, and continuing their journey to London were questioned by the king in council.<sup>1</sup>

Only the day before, James had written to the Prince of Orange, saying that if Monmouth's destination was intended to be the west of England he must have received some news before, and concluded he would make his appearance in the northern counties or in Scotland.<sup>2</sup> Parliament promptly issued a Bill of Attainder against Monmouth with a reward of £5000 for his apprehension, and granted the king £400,000 to suppress the rebellion.<sup>3</sup>

In the King's Secret Service expenses, for June is the following: "To Anthony Thorold and Samuel Dassell, that came from Lyme in Dorsetshire to bring tydings that the Duke of Monmouth was there landed in hostile mann<sup>r</sup>, each of them 20<sup>li</sup> free guift—£40."<sup>4</sup>

back of the town towards Uplyme. It had formerly been the head quarters of Prince Maurice.

<sup>1</sup> The mayor's letter reached Whitehall about twenty-eight hours after it was despatched at Honiton. N.B.—Gregory Alford's predecessor, Richard Alford, wrote the Account of Charles II.'s Adventures at Charmouth in 1651. (See "The Flight of the King.")

<sup>2</sup> Dalrymple. *Vide* Roberts, vol. i. p. 266.

<sup>3</sup> From this time forward Monmouth is always referred to in official papers, &c., as the "late Duke," &c.

<sup>4</sup> Secret service expenses of Charles II. and James II. Camden Society, 1851.



Albermarle



## CHAPTER XIII

### ROYALIST OR REBEL

THE particulars carried to London by the Custom House officials proved Monmouth's force to be far less considerable than the king had been led to suppose by the mayor's letter. Albemarle, also, having received his information from the same quarter, wrote at once for assistance from the capital, but he was reassured by the Secretary of State (Sunderland) that the number of rebels that had landed was exaggerated, but that troops should be despatched at once to Salisbury. While Albemarle mustered the Devon and Cornwall Militia, the more dangerous town of Taunton had been kept from rising by the Somerset Militia under Sir Edward Phelips,<sup>1</sup> and Colonel Lutterell, who was sent there at the time that Albemarle repaired to Exeter (June 7).

During the four days that Monmouth continued at Lyme, he lodged at the "George." This old inn stood in Coombe Street, where the extent of the yard may still be traced in a square enclosure approached through a narrow passage on the east side of the roadway. The building was destroyed

<sup>1</sup> The son of Colonel Edward Phelips of Montacute, who, with his brother Robert, was instrumental in Charles II.'s escape after the battle of Worcester. (See "The Flight of the King.")

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by fire in 1844. The duke's room was on the first floor to the extreme left as one stood facing the inn. The carved oak bedstead upon which he slept was preserved with religious care, and in later years the head of it was made into an overmantel, and eventually transformed into a sideboard.<sup>1</sup>



THE GEORGE INN, LYME REGIS

The inhabitants of the town who enlisted for the duke, were mainly mariners, shoemakers, tailors, carpenters, &c. Many of the residents fled after burying their valuables, which from time to time have since been brought to light.<sup>2</sup>

These precautions were necessary, for Monmouth's funds were deplorably low. Wade summed up the whole at about £100, but the

<sup>1</sup> It is now (1900), or was recently, the property of Mrs. Cotton, wife of the late Colonel Cotton, of Lyme.

<sup>2</sup> See Roberts, vol. i. p. 251.

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duke's servant, Williams, could only account for ninety odd guilders,<sup>1</sup> which would mean the sum of £7 13s. 9d. ! Fortunately for the rebels, £200 was handy—in the custody of a collector of H.M. Customs, who was relieved of the same with little ceremony.<sup>2</sup>

Some of those who refused to join were imprisoned, not forgetting the unfortunate surveyor who had boarded the *Helderenburgh*, who was detained for seventeen days after very "indifferent usage." A council of war was held, at which it was determined to stab and throw him overboard in the case of an attack, but things did not come to this pass, and he was safely landed at St. Ives.<sup>3</sup> But the frigate also carried away one of the duke's principal leaders. Shortly before Monmouth's first encounter with the Royalist army he sustained a severe loss, not only in Fletcher, one of his best soldiers, but in Dare, whose influence in Taunton he reckoned upon in a great measure. Monmouth, Grey and Fletcher had dined together, possibly "not wisely, but too well." On adjourning from the "George" hostelry, the Scotchman, accustomed to foreign ways, took French leave and mounted the best horse which Dare had brought from the stables of Ford Abbey.<sup>4</sup> The paymaster

<sup>1</sup> Lansdowne MS. No. 1152.

<sup>2</sup> The sum had afterwards to be made good by the collector's son-in-law, whose widow (Mary James) made a petition in 1692, to William III., when the £200 was restored to her. (See Calendar of Treasury Papers, November 12, 1692.)

<sup>3</sup> Letter from Thomas Tye, July 8, 1685, dated from Lyme. Tanner MSS. Bodleian Library.

<sup>4</sup> Dare, after landing at Chideock (or rather "Seatown") procured forty horse (though indifferently mounted), and returned to Lyme two days after the duke's landing. Dare was a goldsmith by trade, and had much influence at Taunton.

## King Monmouth

strongly resented this liberty, and offering violence Fletcher, without further ado, sent a bullet through his aggressor. Dare's son at once clamoured for vengeance, so the only way out of the difficulty was for the murderer to join the ship with all haste, and this being accomplished the Dutch vessel set sail,<sup>1</sup> leaving behind the two tenders, which were a few days later captured by Captain Trevanion, the same who assisted King James in his flight from Rochester in December 1688.<sup>2</sup>

The loss of two of his principal adherents at the very outset of his enterprise had a most depressing effect upon Monmouth's weak and superstitious mind, and from that day he was unable to shake off the gloom it cast over him.

Recruits from the surrounding country continued to pour in.<sup>3</sup> By the evening of the 12th (June) the duke had 1000 foot and 150 horse at his command, but the Dorset Militia in Bridport kept many would-be followers from leaving the town. A small troop of horse set out from Lyme, and

<sup>1</sup> Tye, having been sent ashore, the *Helderburgh* directed her course for Spain. A Lyme mariner was forcibly impressed to pilot the ship, it was supposed to Bristol. Upon reaching Spain the unfortunate man was arrested as a traitor (see Roberts, vol. i. pp. 273-74). Fletcher afterwards rejoined the Scottish refugees in Holland, and at the Revolution resumed possession of his estates. He was a member of the Convention for settling the new Government of Scotland, and was very hostile, the latter part of his life, to King William for disapproving his designs. He died in London in 1716. (See Roberts, "Monmouth" (Biographical Notes), vol. ii. ; also Lockhart, "Memoirs.")

<sup>2</sup> See the account of James II.'s flight in "Secret Chambers and Hiding Places," chap. x.

<sup>3</sup> The inhabitants of Colyton were particularly enthusiastic. (See Murdoch, "Hist. of the Presbyteric Churches in the West of England.")

## Royalist or Rebel

after an ineffectual attempt to clear the road, returned intact to headquarters, having in the encounter killed a couple of Royalist troopers. As night advanced rumours were afloat that Albemarle was marching towards Lyme, so Monmouth ordered out the bulk of his infantry and cavalry to form an ambush along the road of the supposed advance of the enemy, the rest of his men remaining in readiness for an attack.

On the following evening, under the command of Lord Grey, a force started in the direction of Bridport to attack the Dorset Militia. The rebels, 400 strong, including Wade, Foukes, Goodenough and Venner, with Grey's cavalry in the rear, secretly approached the town, under cover of the darkness, and there being no outposts to give the alarm, took the Royalists completely by surprise, and would have won the day had it not been for Grey's undisciplined cavalry.

Though the militia greatly outnumbered the rebels, they were entirely disorganised : a company under Colonel Venner, supported by another under Wade, would have made the victory complete, had not the cavalry in the rear, when most needed, turned and bolted at the enemy's fire. Upon this unlooked-for event, the rebel vanguard threw down their arms, but Wade succeeded in effecting an orderly retreat, considering he was left to his own resources. Venner (wounded in the stomach) followed Grey's example, and fled back to Lyme. Near Charmouth, Wade, bringing with him about a dozen prisoners and thirty horses, was met by Monmouth, with a company of horse, who was

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astonished to hear of Grey's supposed cowardice. In this attack the rebels lost seven men and forty muskets,<sup>1</sup> and on the other side about ten lives were sacrificed.<sup>2</sup>

Monmouth now decided to move towards Taunton, the first stage in his intended march to London, *via* Bridgewater, Bristol and Gloucester, at which last place he hoped to be joined by his friends from the northern counties. His inactivity had already been too protracted for a desperate undertaking such as his. The Somerset and Devon Militia were advancing simultaneously with the intention of blocking him up in Lyme, but the duke avoided this by marching out early on June 15, towards Axminster. The old road like the present one, ascends to a considerable elevation, and from this point, the two separate forces of the enemy could be clearly defined winding their course from the N. and the W. also towards the same destination. The regiments under Lutterell, and Phelps, had left Taunton two days before and had been stationed at Chard and Crewkerne, but receiving a message from Albemarle, with whom they were to join forces at Axminster, continued their way southwards.

Arriving at this place, Monmouth, now at the head of 3000 men, quickly guarded the town and lined the hedges of the narrow roads by which the enemy would approach.

But an unexpected event happened greatly to

<sup>1</sup> *London Gazette*, June 18, 1685.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 5, App. p. 373.

## Royalist or Rebel

the duke's advantage, for he was anxious for the present to avoid fighting, until his army had reached larger proportions—was better disciplined—and received the necessary support he hoped to have from Cheshire and other parts.

About four miles west of Axminster, stands the fine old Tudor House of Shute ; near here Wade's advanced post was situated.<sup>1</sup> Albemarle's army (outnumbering Monmouth's by a thousand) upon seeing signs of the rebels, immediately fell back, doubtless in fear of the exaggerated reports of their number.

The Somersetshire Militia, more from sympathy with Monmouth than from real cowardice also retreated in complete disorder, when within a quarter of a mile of the town. Perhaps the most correct account is given by Colonel Sir Edward Phelips himself ; in a letter addressed to Colonel Edward Berkeley from : "Montacute," June 16, '85.

"Brother Berkley,

"I am to write to you the shamefullest story yt ever you heard, the Duke of Albemarle write he would be at Exminster yesterday by 12 o'clock, Coll Luttrell with his regimt. & 4 companies of mine & the horse went towards it, Captaine Littleton said he saw the enemy & said they were drawn thither to have their throats cut for be God they would be, w<sup>n</sup> no enemy really appeared, upon this some of both sorts (*i.e.*, foot & horse) run as he bad y<sup>n</sup>, which was most shamefully, yet they returned to Chard, & after a short

<sup>1</sup> A copy of Wade's Confession. Drayton MSS.

## King Monmouth

time before a refreshment. Captaine Hawley came from the Duke of Albemarle as he told us he was in battle & wee must hasten & would undertake (to shew us) the best way, & the souldiers being weary before, sore in their feet & hungry marched cheerfully but [except] this day it was by the same advice to march before day was cleare seen contrary to my advice and y<sup>n</sup> after all night lying on the heath wee marcht to meet the Duke as told on Shute Hill a long march of 6 miles, & at Stockland where the souldiers staid to drinke they were told it was to no purpose to goe on for the 2 Dukes shooke hands the night before & dranke to each other, & yet they went on but w<sup>n</sup> they came to the place & saw nor heard of any Duke of Albemarle they cried out they were betraied & would not march a foot farther. Coll Luttrells to Taunton though ten miles and Chard ten miles and no persuasion could pervaile. I pressed mine for Honiton, they told mee the Dukes were agreed and they would not stay & I desired them for honours sake to go thither & y<sup>n</sup> they would see the truth of it.—& seeing no persuasions nor intreaties would prevaile but to go to Chard into the enemies mouth, I left them though Captain Long with a good party of horse was there to secure them to Honiton where he is gone. I am sensible I have lost honour never to be gained & if both our lives lay at stake not to [be] hoped, yet I advise you to take surer measures & better informers (for I am afraid it will come to that) I am resolved however to give a push for my life, for the satisfaction of the world if you proceed & I heartily beg a line what you intend

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for more is only for my own consideration and so with my humble service.

“To rest.

“Yours to be comanded<sup>m</sup>,

“E. PHELIPS.”<sup>1</sup>

Monmouth's force, now considerably increased by new recruits from Axminster, and with quite half, if not the greater part of the Somerset militia,<sup>2</sup> who had abandoned their officers, marched in the direction of Taunton and encamped for the night, it is supposed, on the elevated ground known as Membury Castle,<sup>3</sup> on the following night in a field close to Chard, and the next, half a mile beyond Ilminster: localities familiar to the Protestant leader five years before, in “the duking days,” as his grace's progresses were called in the west.

The rebel army, being preceded by a troop of this cavalry on the previous afternoon, entered Taunton on June 18, amid extraordinary manifestations of joy. News having reached the town that Monmouth was marching thither, the militia stationed there were withdrawn towards Bridgewater, at least the few of them that espoused the Royalist cause. The rabble, immediately all restraint was removed, commenced their ravages—opened the gaol, broke into the church for weapons that had been deposited there, and set out towards Ilminster to meet their new monarch,

<sup>1</sup> Montacute House MSS. ; see also Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries, vol. ii. p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 3, App. p. 99.

<sup>3</sup> Roberts, vol. i. p. 290.

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for it was at Taunton that the regal style was first adopted.

Leaving "the Protestant Duke" encamped in a field at the west end of the town, we will return to London, where, on the day that Monmouth set out from Lyme, his Declaration was burnt at the Royal Exchange by the hangman.<sup>1</sup> The Bill of Attainder, which was rapidly passed through both Houses of Parliament, had an additional clause appended, "For ye better security of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> pson, a bill be brought in to make it high treason for any one to say or justify y<sup>t</sup> ye late K. was marry<sup>d</sup> to ye late D of M<sup>s</sup> mother."<sup>2</sup>

The Act declared that—

"Whereas James Duke of Monmouth has in a hostile manner invaded this kingdom, and is now in open rebellion, levying war against the King, contrary to the duty of his allegiance; Be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons in this Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same; That the said James Duke of Monmouth stand and be convicted and attainted of high treason, and that he suffer pains of death, and incur all forfeitures as a traitor convicted and attainted of high treason."<sup>3</sup>

The regular troops under Lord Churchill (including four troops of the King's Dragoons,<sup>4</sup> four troops of the Earl of Oxford's Horse,<sup>5</sup> five

<sup>1</sup> Original draft in the possession of E. W. Hennell, Esq.

<sup>2</sup> MS. in the possession of E. W. Hennell, Esq.

<sup>3</sup> Howell's "State Trials," vol. xi. 1048.

<sup>4</sup> "Royal Dragoons." } See Wolseley's "Life of Marlborough,"

<sup>5</sup> "Royal Blues." } vol. i. pp. 277, 278.

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companies of the Queen-dowager's regiment),<sup>1</sup> set out on June 15, and reaching Bridport on the 17th, rested the next day at Axminster.

Albemarle (encamped at Shute) wrote to Sunderland June 18 :—

“I am now w<sup>th</sup> my Lord Churchill who has brought his troops, being weary w<sup>th</sup> their march. His lord<sup>p</sup> does not think it convenient to joine me till to-morrow or next day, however I shall march early the next morning towards the enemy, & from thence shall send to his lord<sup>p</sup>.”<sup>2</sup>

Churchill quartered for the night at Winsham and proceeded to Chard, receiving reinforcements on the way.<sup>3</sup> The same day (18th) Colonel Percy Kirke, with his notorious “Lambs” and “some 60 lords and gentlemen,” arrived at Dorchester, after a day's march from Andover.

The militia at Wells, having followed the example of their colleagues, under Lutterell and Phelips; their commander, the Duke of Somerset,<sup>4</sup> in a predicament, sent to Kirke for assistance, who writes—“I am sorry I could not comply with your commands to march, but our men lie to-night here, so will not march till to-morrow, for they

<sup>1</sup> Queen's, or West Surrey.” See Wolseley's “Life of Marlborough,” vol. i. pp. 277, 278.

<sup>2</sup> Drayton MSS.

<sup>3</sup> In the Axminster parish books is the following entry :—“Paid for 4 carts to go to Chard to attend on the Lord Churchill and guides and other expenses £1 11s. For one cart and 5 pack horses to convey Captain Churchill's troop of Dragoons to Crewkern, £1 2s.” “Book of the Axe,” p. 347 (quoted in Wolseley's “Marlborough,” p. 279).

<sup>4</sup> Charles Seymour, sixth Duke of Somerset, born 1662, afterwards known as “the Proud Duke,” *ob.* 1748. He fell into disgrace and was dismissed from office in 1687 for refusing to assist in the reception of the Pope's nuncio.

## King Monmouth

came to-day from Andover to Dorchester, but I hope they will be contradicted upon the motion of the rebels."<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile the Duke of Beaufort<sup>2</sup> was guarding the not too loyally disposed city of Bristol with the Gloucester, Monmouth and Hereford militia. So long as this important seaport was held secure, there was no immediate cause for alarm. A great authority upon military tactics says that Monmouth's only chance was to have pushed on at once for Exeter, where he not only would have considerably increased his army but have obtained money, arms and ammunition,—and from Exeter marched upon Bristol before the regular troops could get there ;<sup>3</sup> the militia in the west being mainly in his favour. But so dilatory was his action that by the time he had reached Taunton the Royal forces were at hand concentrating their strength in overwhelming numbers.

Now that the soldiers were being drawn from the capital was the most favourable moment for a rebellion. Many people in town would have joined an enterprising leader had one been forthcoming ; but Disney and his crew had got no further in their preparations than when we last left them. Messages, as arranged, had been exchanged at the "Red Lion Inn" at Taunton. Hook was afterwards despatched to London to hasten the rising ;<sup>4</sup> Delamere had been consulted,

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 3, App. p. 97, and Rep. ii. App. p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Somerset, third Marquis of Worcester, cr. first Duke of Beaufort, 1682. He refused to take the oaths of allegiance to William and Mary. *Ob.* 1699.

<sup>3</sup> See Wolseley's "Marlborough," vol. i. p. 292.

<sup>4</sup> The message came from London that his friends were awaiting



Rungt.

Badminton Sept. the 4<sup>th</sup>. 185



## Royalist or Rebel

but could do nothing until Parliament was up; Danvers refused to have a hand in anything not properly organised, and Wildman would not come forward in "purse or person"; and to complete matters Disney was arrested, upon which Danvers and Mead decamped.<sup>1</sup>

The much reduced party of conspirators, Paton, Cragg and Lock, had two more secret meetings (at "the Pie" and "Bull's Head," Bishopsgate)—the last on the very day that Monmouth was defeated at Sedgemoor—but with no effect, Paton being practically the only one left. Cragg fled to the Continent; but afterwards, being induced to return, was seized and examined before the king, Sunderland, and Jeffreys, at Whitehall, with the object of extracting incriminating evidence against Lords Paget, Delamere, Macclesfield, Stamford, Devonshire, &c.

At the council he was afterwards confronted with Lord Grey, Wade, and Goodenough with similar intent, but various promises of pardon and reward proved unavailing, and he was ultimately liberated, after an imprisonment of about eight months.

a rising in Cheshire. Monmouth answered that it would take place at once, and requested that Sir Robert Paton might be sent down to the west (see Lord Grey's narrative of the Rye House Plot).

<sup>1</sup> House of Lords MSS.; Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 12, App. vi. pp. 392-405.

## CHAPTER XIV

### “KING MONMOUTH ”

“ And rebel arms once more attempt the Crown,  
Sure ruin waits unhappy Absalom.”

*Absalom and Achitophel.*

THE Duke of Monmouth had every reason to be satisfied with his cordial reception at Taunton, which partook of the joyful character accorded to his quasi-royal progress in 1680. The roads were strewn with flowers, the houses were decorated, and crowds flocked from the surrounding country to welcome the Protestant champion. Every hat in the town was adorned with a green bough, the distinguishing badge of the rebel army.<sup>1</sup>

Save “one gentleman, one merchant, and one apothecary,” the Taunton people who flocked to join the insurrection were principally weavers, brewers, smiths, carpenters, shoemakers, masons, bricklayers.<sup>2</sup> These enthusiasts crowded round the Market Cross to hear the declaration read, but a threatening summons for the magistrates to attend this ceremony was not responded to so cordially. Several of the corporation had

<sup>1</sup> “History of the Stuarts,” p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> Add. MSS. British Museum, No. 30.077.

## “ King Monmouth ”

assembled in the house of an anti-rebel, when a party of Monmouth's adherents arrived, and with swords drawn, demanded them to come out in their gowns, “or else would run their swords through their gutts and forced them to gett their gownes & to goe to ye crosse with them.”<sup>1</sup> Lord Grey on horseback waited outside the house nearly an hour before the magistrates would come forth. This outrage was again repeated at the reading of the second proclamation, in which the duke was declared King of England.<sup>2</sup> Horses, arms, and other property of the inhabitants of Taunton having been seized without orders from headquarters, a special proclamation was issued forbidding the same on pain of death.<sup>3</sup> Monmouth was received in the house of Captain John Hucker, a serge manufacturer,<sup>4</sup> who some years before with Shaftesbury and Prince Rupert had financed a supposed silver mine venture, in the west of England. A few days before the duke's landing he had been married, and during the honeymoon was arrested on suspicion, but, managing to effect his escape, he was able to join Monmouth upon his arrival at Lyme.<sup>5</sup> This Hucker was afterwards suspected of treachery, which will be related presently.

<sup>1</sup> Information of John Front, parish clerk of Taunton. Drayton MSS.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Harleian MSS. No. 7006 (quoted by Roberts, vol. i. p. 302).

<sup>4</sup> Hucker's house was near the “Three Cups Inn.” N.B.—Wholesale alterations were made to the town towards the end of George III.'s reign, and probably these buildings were then pulled down.

<sup>5</sup> Drayton MSS.

## King Monmouth

The day after his appearance in Taunton, a procession as original as it was pretty, awaited at his Grace's lodgings, with twenty-seven banners; one of which foretold the regal position which shortly was to be adopted, viz., the letters "J. R." worked upon a golden ground, fringed with lace. The bearers of these colours were their manufacturers, the young girls (aged between eight and ten) belonging to seminaries kept by a Miss Blake and Mrs. Musgrave.<sup>1</sup> The former headed the procession, and with a short address presented a sword and a bible to the duke, who received them saying, "he came now into the field with a design to defend the truths contained in that book, and to seal it with his blood if there should be occasion for it."<sup>2</sup> As each colour was given, the maid who bore it received a kiss from the duke and Lord Grey, who, mounting his horse, led the procession round the town amid much rejoicing.

The incident was afterwards satirised in a song called "The Glory of the West, or the Virgins of Taunton Dean, who ript open their silk petticoats to make colours for the Army of the Duke of Monmouth."<sup>3</sup>

The felicity of this gala day was, however, marred by the news arriving that the Royalist forces had reached Wellington, only a few miles distant. Orders being given that the roads in that direction should be strongly guarded and

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Roberts, vol. i. p. 304.

<sup>2</sup> Echard, *ibid.* p. 303.

<sup>3</sup> Folio sheet, 1685, Guildhall Library Catalogue. N.B.—In applying to see this publication I was informed that some reader had taken possession of it!

## “ King Monmouth ”

entrenchments thrown up, Monmouth and Grey set out to see that the military operations were carried out satisfactorily.

A Quaker named Whiting, hands down a graphic picture of his impressions at this juncture. He had put up at “The Three Cups,”<sup>1</sup> and was about to return homewards, when he saw Monmouth and Grey come out of Hucker’s (where they had dined), and mounting their horses ride down the street and “two great guns were hauled down before them to plant (as they said) at the town’s end. It being reported that the Duke of Albemarle (Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Devon) was coming against them, so we took horse and rode down after; and when we came to the town’s end, the street was so full of people that I thought it impossible to get through the crowd; but asking one if we could ride by, he said we might of one side, so I put forward till I was got into the middle of them, looking about me to see the duke. I asked somebody which was him. He showed me just at my right hand, so I stopped a little to take a view of him, and thought he looked very thoughtful and dejected in his countenance, and thinner than when I saw him four years before, as he passed thorough Ilchester, in his progress as aforesaid,<sup>2</sup> that I hardly knew him again, and was sorry for him as

<sup>1</sup> This inn has long since disappeared.

<sup>2</sup> As the duke passed through Ilchester with some thousands on horseback, Whiting, the Quaker, stood, with many others of the same sect, with their hats on, in the Friary Gate. The duke, taking notice of so many Quakers, stopped and took off his hat to them, which “sweet regard of princes” pleased the worthy Quaker and his companions not a little. See John Whiting’s “Persecution Exposed in some Memoirs,” &c., 1791.

## King Monmouth

I looked at him. I spoke a few words to him, which I do not mention out of vanity, but to show how narrowly I escaped a snare at that time : to the Lord's protecting hand of Providence I ascribe it in my preservation. So we past on, and had not rode above a mile or two, but we met two men coming riding a gallop, as fast as their horses could go (which, as they passed by, I knew one of them), who said, turn out of the road, the Duke of Albemarle is at hand (but it was a false alarm, for he came not near); so we turned off a by-way and came safe home to Hambridge." <sup>1</sup>

Henry Pitman, "churugeon to the late Duke of Monmouth," in his relation of his "sufferings and strange adventures," says he also went to Taunton to see the rebel army, and "after some stay there, having fully satisfied my curiosity by a full view both of his [Monmouth's] person and his army I resolved to return home," but on the way being informed that he would probably fall into the hands of the Royalist soldiers, turned back, and his sympathy for the sick and wounded (including prisoners of the king's army) induced him to continue with the duke and follow his marches until he was routed.<sup>2</sup>

The alarm of Albemarle's advance upon Taunton proving false, Monmouth and his continually increasing army remained in the town the next

<sup>1</sup> John Whiting's "Persecution Exposed in some Memoirs," &c., 1791.

<sup>2</sup> In his flight homewards he was captured and imprisoned in Ilchester Gaol, and at the assizes was condemned to death, but was ultimately transported. See Arber's "English Garner," vol. vii. pp. 333-378.

## “ King Monmouth ”

day. Reports were circulated of James II.'s death, which was believed to be true, and brought further levies under the Protestant standard. Once more the unwilling magistrates were ordered out to hear the new proclamation (June 20):

“ Whereas, upon the decease of our Sovereign Lord Charles the Second, late King of England, &c., the right of succession to the Crown of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, with the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, did legally descend and devolve upon the most illustrious and high-born Prince James Duke of Monmouth, son and heir apparent to the said King Charles the Second; but James Duke of York (taking the advantage of the absence of the said James Duke of Monmouth beyond the seas) did first cause the said late King to be poisoned, and immediately thereupon did usurp and invade the Crown, and doth continue so to doe: We therefore, the noblemen, gentlemen, and Commons at present assembled, in the names of ourselves and of all the loyal and Protestant noblemen, gentlemen, and Commons of England, in pursuance of our duty and allegiance. and for the delivering of the Kingdome from popery, tyranny, and oppression, do recognise, publish, and proclaim the said high and mighty Prince James Duke of Monmouth, our lawful and rightful sovereign and king, by the name of James the Second, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

“ God save the King.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Harleian MSS. No. 7006.

## King Monmouth

Ferguson and Grey had persuaded the duke to adopt this strong measure in opposition to his original promise to Argyll, and those of his adherents who favoured a Commonwealth to any form of monarchy; but the latter were won over in the hopes that the better families in the West would be induced to join under the Statute of Henry VII., which assured a perfect immunity to all persons obeying a king for the time being, however defective his title might come to be considered when another claimant should gain possession of the throne.<sup>1</sup> The previous declaration claimed for the "now head and captain-general of the Protestant forces of the kingdom," that though he had a legitimate right to the crown, he would not at present insist upon his title, but leave the determination thereof to the authority of a Parliament legally chosen.<sup>2</sup> The new assumption altered all this; but though the enthusiasm increased among the rabble, the landed gentry made no further move in the duke's favour.<sup>3</sup>

One of Monmouth's royal passports ran thus :

"To officers and souldiers of our Army and to all others our loving subjects whom this may concern. You are in His Ma<sup>ties</sup> name straitly charged and commanded to suffer the Post to

<sup>1</sup> "Hallam's Constitutional History" (Roberts, vol. i. p. 313).

<sup>2</sup> Original declaration in the Bodleian Library.

<sup>3</sup> Colonel Dore, of Lymington, raised a hundred men for his service. He was afterwards pardoned and was an active agent in dethroning James II. Milner's "History of Winchester" (Roberts, vol. i. p. 321).

## “ King Monmouth ”

passee w<sup>th</sup> out Interruption. Dated at Taunton  
y<sup>e</sup> 20, day of June 1685.

“(signed) Richard Goodenough.

“ Paym<sup>t</sup> to ye Army.”<sup>1</sup>

A letter from “ James Rex ” himself was despatched to Albemarle at Wellington to signify his resentment at his “ well beloved cousin ” commanding troops under the Duke of York, with orders to repair immediately “ to our camp, ” where a kind reception awaited him.<sup>2</sup> The messenger returned with the reply that the royalist duke “ never was nor intended to be a rebel to his lawful king, and that when they met he doubted not that James Scott would be convinced he had better left the rebellion alone and not put the nation to so much trouble.”<sup>3</sup>

A little skirmish between a party of rebels and some of Churchill’s scouts at Ashill,<sup>4</sup> between Taunton and Chard, as well as the fear of being blocked up in the town decided Monmouth to move his army (now amounting to about 7000 in all) to Bridgewater (Sunday June 21).

To return to the Royalist troops. Churchill and Kirke having joined forces at Chard, upon hearing that Monmouth had moved out of Taunton, also hastened in the direction of Bridgewater. Meanwhile, King James had appointed a

<sup>1</sup> Drayton MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Harleian MSS. 7006. Ellis’ original letters.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Ashill is about three miles N.W. of Ilminster. “ The fight ground, ” on the heathy land known as The Forest, is still pointed out. The Royalists lost one man and Monmouth four and several wounded.

## King Monmouth

new commander-in-chief, the naturalised Frenchman, Lewis Duras, Earl of Feversham,<sup>1</sup> who with a hundred and fifty horse guards, and sixty horse grenadiers,<sup>2</sup> set out on June 20, and marching by Maidenhead and Newbury, towards Bath, despatched Colonel Oglethorpe with a party of fifty guards and grenadiers, by Andover and Warminster, to ascertain Monmouth's position.<sup>3</sup> Writing (to the Secretary of State) from Marlborough on the morning of June 22, Feversham says :

“ I am now come to this place & am going to Chipenham w<sup>th</sup> all speede. I have received a letter from my Lord Pembroke, who is att the Devises, he tells me he is marching to Chipenham with the Wiltshire and Hamshire Militia. I have sent to him to desire him to order his horse to march thither without staying for the foot. I do not yett know what number of horse and foot he has. I have also sent to the Dukes of Somerset and Beaufort, for to informe them of my marching to Chipenham. • And I do desire them both to lett me know what news they have of the Rebels that I may governe myselfe accordingly.”<sup>4</sup>

Later in the day the new Commander-in-chief and Pembroke (with the Wilts and Hants Militia) joined hands at Chippenham. On the 23rd the

<sup>1</sup> Feversham was a former suitor of Henrietta Lady Wentworth.

<sup>2</sup> See Wolseley's "Marlborough," p. 283. The train of artillery followed two days later. Christopher Crofts writes, June 23, 1685: "Twenty pieces of cannon and 50 waggons with ammunition sent out of ye Tower." *Vide* Appendix C.

<sup>3</sup> Drayton MSS.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

## “ King Monmouth ”

amalgamated forces reached Bristol, where they were met by the Duke of Somerset, recently forced to retire from Wells to Bath.<sup>1</sup> Early next day (June 24) Feversham removed to Bath, where he was joined by Colonel Oglethorpe's company.

Albemarle, as soon as Monmouth was clear of Taunton, marched his troops there from Wellington, and despatched the proclamations of “ Jacobus Rex ” at the “ factious city,” for the diversion of “ Jacobus Rex ” at Whitehall.

One of these, read as before in the presence of the magistrates, at the Market Cross, declared the company of persons at Westminster who voted and acted as a Parliament to be a treasonable convention of “ rebels and traitors,” who were after June 30 (should they continue to assemble) to be pursued with war and destruction.<sup>2</sup>

Before setting out from Taunton, a council of war was held as to whether it would not be advisable to fall back and attack the king's forces, which would certainly have been a wise measure ; but that idea was abandoned, and the

<sup>1</sup> The Duke of Somerset had written on all sides for reinforcements. He was left with only one regiment of foot and a troop of horse, “ which,” he said, “ I am afraide wi'l hardly stand because the others have show'd y<sup>m</sup> the way to run. The enemy is now at Bridgewater, from whence I am. My Lord Stawels regiment are all fled, and most of them gone over to the rebels at Bridgewater.” The Duke informs the King that “ Sr Francis Ware will give your Majesty a full account of all things and with the reason that makes me now forced to retire to Bath, where I hope your Majesty will soone send me some assistance—or else the whole country is lost” (Drayton MSS.).

<sup>2</sup> Harleian MSS. British Museum, No. 7006. This Proclamation was “ Given at our Camp at Taunton the 21st day of June, 1685, in the first year of our reign, James R.”

## King Monmouth

original plan of marching upon Bridgewater adhered to. There was no necessity for a compulsory reading of the proclamation at the Market Cross here, for the Mayor and Corporation came forward voluntarily to perform that office. The old Cross has long since disappeared,<sup>1</sup> but to the last retained a memento of the rebellion in the shape of an inscription, "Mind your own business," put up by some loyalist inhabitant to succeed the rebel proclamation that was posted up. The majority, however, were in the duke's favour, and outnumbered by hundreds the arms which could be found for them. From the first breaking out of the insurrection the paucity of weapons had sent great quantities of would-be followers homewards. Every conceivable form of agricultural implement which could be turned to account was quickly converted by the local blacksmiths into something of a warlike appearance, and of these the scythes, always associated with Sedgemoor, formed no inconsiderable share.

An order was issued under "James R." for the constables and tything-men to search, seize, and pay for any scythes they could lay their hands on.<sup>2</sup> The blades being attached to poles, made as ugly looking a weapon as could well be conceived, though perhaps somewhat ungainly, necessitating some skill in their manipulation.<sup>3</sup>

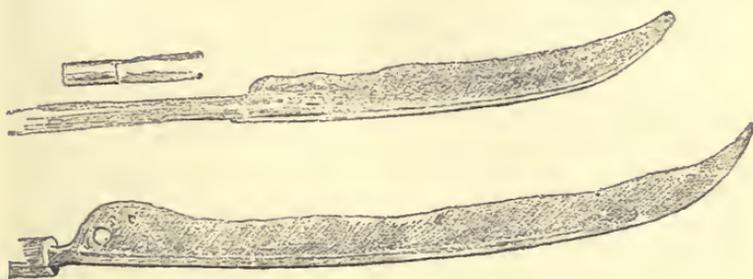
<sup>1</sup> It was taken down in the early part of the last century. An engraving of it will be found in the Somerset Archæological Transactions, vol. v. pp. 49, 50.

<sup>2</sup> See Heywood's Appendix to Fox's "James II."

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to my friend Seymour Lucas, R.A., for a drawing, specially executed for this work, from the two existing speci-

## “ King Monmouth ”

Monmouth made the Castle his headquarters, and his men encamped in the adjacent Castle field. Of this old stronghold, which stood on the west side of the river (behind the present Clarence Hotel), nothing remains but a fragment of a wall.<sup>1</sup> Even in 1685 it was partly ruinous, for forty years before it was gallantly defended by Colonel Wyndham against Fairfax,



*Sedgemoor 1685*

SCYTHE WEAPONS FROM THE FIELD OF SEDGEMOOR

who eventually reduced it. The next night (June 22) a few of Monmouth's troops were quartered at Wells, the rest found it necessary to encamp in and around the famous Abbey of Glastonbury (another of the remarkable specimens of ancient architecture associated with the Duke of Monmouth), and those of the rebel army

mens preserved in the Armoury of the Tower of London. Mr. Lucas' well-known painting of the Monmouth rebel seeking refuge while the Royalist troops are passing the cottage door also gives a very accurate idea of these Sedgemoor weapons.

<sup>1</sup> Forming part of a stable in Castle Street.

## King Monmouth

who could find shelter among these ruins made themselves as comfortable as the circumstances would permit, for a steady and depressing down-pour of rain had accompanied their day's march. The groups of rustic scythe-men by their camp fires<sup>1</sup> among those picturesque remains once



MONMOUTH HOUSE, SHEPTON MALLET

more suggests a scene worthy of the brush of the historical artist.

Next day the army resumed its march to Shepton Mallet, where more comfortable quarters were to be found. The duke was the guest of Edward Strode<sup>2</sup> (the brother of William Strode of Barrington, his host of 1680), whose house ("Monmouth House") still exists, and preserves

<sup>1</sup> Axe Papers, and Wade's Confession (see Roberts, vol. ii. p. 2).

<sup>2</sup> Strode presented Monmouth with 100 guineas.

## “ King Monmouth ”

many of its ancient characteristics, in particular a massive oak staircase. The room Monmouth occupied is still to be seen, and within living



THE STAIRCASE, MONMOUTH HOUSE

memory the original furniture was *in situ*.<sup>1</sup> The duke's second visit to this house will be mentioned presently.

<sup>1</sup> The house has recently been converted into co-operative stores.

## King Monmouth

By Wade's advice the rebels now moved northwards with the object of crossing the Avon at Keynsham and approaching Bristol on the Gloucestershire side of the river; and while the army encamped at Pensford (about four miles from Keynsham) news was brought that the bridge had been destroyed,<sup>1</sup> whereon Monmouth despatched a troop of horse under Captain Tyly (or Tyler) to repair it, which he accomplished after dispersing a company of the Gloucester militia.

The king's troops under Churchill and Kirke upon leaving Chard made a halt at Langport (situated to the south of, and midway between Bridgewater and Glastonbury), from which position Monmouth's movements could be watched with a keen eye. As before stated, Colonel Oglethorpe, having brought Feversham information of the enemy's position (Shepton Mallett), was again sent to reconnoitre, and a despatch reached Bath at midnight that the duke's camp was pitched at Pensford, upon which the Commander-in-chief returned at once to Bristol and took up his position in a meadow near the South Gate<sup>2</sup> on the morning of June 20. Monmouth

<sup>1</sup> Among the archives at Wells, under date July 1, 1685, is the following entry: "Upon credible information made and given unto this Court that a certain common antient bridge, commonly called Keynsham Bridge, one parte whereof lyeth within this county and the other parte whereof lyeth within the county of Gloucester, is now become impassable by reason of the said bridge was lately prostrated to prevent the passage of the late rebels over the same, &c.—The defects, decayes, ruines, and disrepaires upon the Somersetshire side are accordingly to be restored" (Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 7, App. p. 699).

<sup>2</sup> Drayton MSS.

## “ King Monmouth ”

marching for Pensford, crossed the repaired bridge of Keynsham, intending to attack Bristol that evening, and, as a ruse, recrossed it, as if meaning to encamp for the night in a field called “ Sydenham,” lying in the parish of Bitton (a little to the north-east of Keynsham).

The rebel army, by a Keynsham account, consisted of above 1000 horse and about 8000 foot, “ 8 field pieces (!) with some drakes and 30 ploughs, whereof 4 was teemes of good horses and the rest oxen ; his men some well armed, others indifferent, and some not at all, only having an old sword or a stick in their hand . . . many muskets and other ammunition in their carriages.”<sup>1</sup> Squire Creswicke, who lived near Keynsham, repaired with the rest of the inhabitants to see the strange army, and was afterwards committed to gaol on suspicion of having handed some papers to Lord Grey, who gave them to “ a man that was by him with a star on his left breast.”<sup>2</sup> Another friend was handy, Lady Hart, a neighbour of Creswicke’s, who had declared that if the duke had come a little farther into Gloucester, to her farm at Filgrove, she had some hundred cheeses there at his disposal.<sup>3</sup>

During some time of the day, when the high road was full of Monmouth’s soldiers, an unexpected encounter with the enemy took place. Oglethorpe’s troop, strange to say, in ignorance that the rebels were so close at hand, came

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 5, App. p. 328.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Grey afterwards denied having had any communication with Creswicke (*ibid.*).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

## King Monmouth

galloping through the village, and at first mistook the rebels for Royalists. Oglethorpe charged and killed fourteen men, but was at length beaten off, leaving some prisoners behind, who were secured in the stables of the Manor House, once the Abbey of Keynsham. This old seat of the Bridges family (ancestors of the Dukes of Chandos) had been seized for Monmouth's occupation, which was very brief, as the army moved cautiously away that night along the south side of the Avon to Bath, and halted on the hill side above the town. The idea of attacking Bristol was considered by the council of war to be out of the question now that the half-hearted militia were supported by the regulars, for Feversham had returned with considerable despatch, with the greater part of his mounted troops and all his infantry, to give his Grace a warm reception. A second suggestion of marching northwards towards Gloucester, destroying the bridge over the Severn, and joining the duke's friends in Cheshire and Shropshire, was likewise abandoned, as extensive reinforcements were expected in Wiltshire,<sup>1</sup> and the advance to Gloucester was thought impracticable owing to Lord Churchill's column, which of late had been in uncomfortable proximity.

Bath, far from showing any symptoms of surrender, shot the herald who summoned the city; upon which, without contesting the point, the rebels were ordered to march southwards towards Philips Norton. At the same time Feversham once more returned to Bath, along the north side

<sup>1</sup> A Mr. Adlam had promised 500 horse.

## “ King Monmouth ”

of the river, where he was joined by the troops under Churchill and the Duke of Grafton, and further reinforcements from London and Portsmouth. The Royalist army, now being concentrated in sufficient strength, moved out in one body also towards Philips Norton to commence the aggressive in real earnest.

Monmouth at last began to realise the hopelessness of his cause. Numbers of men certainly were continually coming in, but without weapons they were useless. The non-appearance of Adlam's promised troops from Wiltshire added to his series of disappointments, cast a gloom over the Protestant “king” which nothing could dispel, and to his other anxieties the fear of treachery and even assassination haunted him, for among his ill-disciplined and unprincipled followers there might reasonably be supposed to be some who would be tempted by the offer to sell their leader “dead or alive,” for the proffered reward of £5000; indeed, he had already been shot at more than once by his own men.<sup>1</sup>

Such was the grim reality of the vain belief with which his evil advisers had tempted him, viz., “if he landed anywhere in England with a switch in his hand he might safely march to Whitehall!”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Appendix C.

<sup>2</sup> Grey's cousin, Henry Ireton, brought this information to the duke in Holland from his friends in London.

## CHAPTER XV

### CLOSE QUARTERS

THE pretty, old village of Philips Norton (about seven miles to the south-east of Bath) presents much about the same appearance as it did in 1685. It is full of old buildings, and preserves some lingering traditions of Monmouth and the "Norton fight."

As a party of the rebels approached, an inhabitant, who held a gate open for them to pass, was killed for his pains, as he admitted that he was for "the king," probably thinking that it was the Royalist army which was marching in.<sup>1</sup> The duke took up his quarters in "the Old House," now the George Inn, which is certainly one of the most interesting mediæval hostelries in England. The horses were kept in the village, and the infantry encamped in two fields adjacent. The next morning (June 27) no sooner were the rebels about to move out than they were attacked by the advanced guard of Feversham's army, commanded by the Duke of Grafton<sup>2</sup> (Charles II.'s

<sup>1</sup> See Roberts, vol. ii. p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Grafton's troops had only just joined Feversham's army. Henry Fitzroy was the second son of Charles II., by the Duchess of Cleveland (though it was some time before the king would acknowledge him). Born September 20, 1663; married at the age of nine to

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son by the Duchess of Cleveland). As Monmouth's half-brother entered a lane thickly lined with hedges close to where the infantry were quartered, he was greeted with a volley in flank, and with difficulty escaped, as the end of the lane was closely barricaded and guarded, and Monmouth's horse had arrived to cut him off in the rear.



THE GEORGE INN, PHILIPS NORTON, SOMERSET

But he escaped being thus entrapped, and gallantly forcing his way through, took up his position on a hill about a quarter of a mile away, and played on the enemy with his artillery, who returned the compliment with the four field pieces.

Isabella, only daughter of Henry Bennett, Earl of Arlington, aged five ; created Duke of Grafton, 1675, and re-married to his wife November 6, 1679 ; he was shot during the siege of Cork, September 28, 1690.

## King Monmouth

Churchill's infantry meanwhile lined another hedge, and the two armies exchanged shot for some hours until dark. Monmouth, having come off the victor with only eighteen killed against eighty Royalists, decided to come to closer quarters and renew the attack, but it being discovered that the enemy had fallen back towards Bradford-on-Avon<sup>1</sup> (about seven miles to the north-east), the duke was advised to move his troops southwards to Frome; so, soon before midnight, the march was resumed under most distressing conditions of rain and mud. But not a few of the rebels had already had enough of it, and made the best of their way homewards; and this desertion proved so contagious that next day at Frome the army had lost some 2000 followers!<sup>2</sup> The arms thrown down, however, found other hands to handle them, the manufacturing towns like Taunton and Bridgewater being strongly in favour of the Protestant hero.

Three days before "King Monmouth's" proclamation was posted up in the market-place, but the Earl of Pembroke hurrying there with a small force of militia, made the authorities display a Royalist proclamation in its place. The duke's army, as it tramped into Frome early on the Sunday morning (June 28), up to the knees in mud, wet through, and worn out with the previous day's engagement, was a pitiful contrast to the

<sup>1</sup> There is a long letter in French giving details of the Norton fight, written by the Commander-in-chief at Bradford, among the Drayton MSS. A hill to the N.W. of Norton is said to be the spot where Grafton withdrew his troops before marching to Bradford.

<sup>2</sup> *London Gazette*.

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brilliant entry into Taunton a little over a week before. Monmouth found quarters in the town, while some of his regiments found accommodation outside.<sup>1</sup> A certain amount of discipline which had hitherto been maintained seems to have been abandoned at this stage of the insurrection. Houses were ransacked, dwellings turned into stables, and all order and decorum ignored.

The rebel "king," disconsolate as ever over his ill fortunes and faithless friends, while at Frome



ARGYLL'S PISTOL

received intelligence of Argyll's defeat.<sup>2</sup> This was the last straw. A council of war was held, and a proposal of flight to Holland seriously debated. That night those who had landed at Lyme were to take horse to Poole, seize a ship,

<sup>1</sup> At Lower Keyford and elsewhere (see Roberts, vol. ii. p. 33).

<sup>2</sup> Argyll's defeat did not cause much bloodshed. Some of his followers were sent to the plantations in the West Indies. The men had a piece cut out of their ears, and the women were branded on the shoulder, so that in the event of returning they could be distinguished and executed. In the saloon at Inverary Castle is preserved the embroidered worsted coverlet which was taken to the prison at Glasgow by a lady for the earl's use. Argyll's pistol, left by him at Dunstaffnage, is still in the possession of the Campbells of Dunstaffnage. The photo of it (here reproduced) has been kindly provided by Lord Archibald Campbell.

## King Monmouth

and return to the continent. By Wade's account this was Monmouth's own suggestion, but another leading contemporary authority says the proposal was put to him by his chief officers. That the Duke of Monmouth, with all his weaknesses, could have been the author of this mean action seems inconsistent with his unquestionable courage and generosity of disposition. Lord Grey, on the other hand, was the more likely man to make such a suggestion; but whatever may have been the real truth, Wade certainly condemns Monmouth. Presuming this to have been the case, the defence has been made that it was the duke's desire that his followers should avail themselves of a pardon recently published in a proclamation by James II., from which he and the officers who accompanied him from Holland were exempt.<sup>1</sup> But this argument is far from convincing, particularly when we consider the clemency that might be expected from a monarch like James, and a judge such as Jeffreys!

The council of war decided not to have recourse to this ignoble desertion, after which he who had most favoured the idea, and possibly proposed it—Colonel Venner, with two others (Majors Holmes and Parsons)—slunk off by themselves, the last carrying away £400,<sup>2</sup> with the intention, as was afterwards said, of buying and despatching arms and ammunition from Amsterdam. The paymaster, Goodenough (who suc-

<sup>1</sup> See Roberts, vol. ii. p. 27, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Tanner MSS. Bodleian Library, "Letter from Thomas Tye," July 8, 1685.

## Close Quarters

ceeded Dare), was also missing, for reasons best known to himself.

Feversham's army, meanwhile refreshed by the halt at Bradford (which grand old Wiltshire town preserves stories of its unwelcome visitors to this day), moved on June 29 to Westbury, a few miles to the east of Frome, as intimation had been brought to the Commander-in-chief that the rebels were about to march for Warminster (five miles to the east of Westbury). Here the Royalists would have attacked, but Monmouth, hearing of their advance, turned west instead of east to Shepton Mallet. The same day (June 30) Feversham entered Frome, and encamped his infantry at the upper end of the town ready to follow the rebels.<sup>1</sup>

A large number of tents despatched from London reached the army at Frome. The commander of the Royal Artillery thus writes to Lord Dartmouth :—

“FROME, *July 1, 1685.*”

“The tents came very seasonably, for, unless we encamp, the country will be ruined, for we have been hitherto much their greater enemies than the rebels. In plain English, I have seen too much violence and wickedness to be fond of this trade, and trust we may soon put a period to the business, for what we every day practise among this poor people cannot be supported by

<sup>1</sup> Whiting, the Quaker, records the alarm caused by the advance of Churchill's troopers. “Terror marched before them (for we could hear their horses grind the ground under their feet almost a mile before they came), and 'twas reported there were six houses to be burnt” (John Whiting, “Persecution Exposed,” 1791).

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any man of the least morality. The enemy lay in Wells last night, where they took a waggon of Kirke's, with arms and ammunition and money, which he pretends now he left there because he was forced to lend us his horses for the canon, which is the greatest falsehood in the world, and therefore if any such thing be intimated let this be an evidence against it. They marched to-day by three o'clock and are come to Glastonbury, and we believe are returning from whence they came on towards Bridgewater. We learn by gentlemen that were prisoners that we did extraordinary execution with our canons the other day."

If the quartering of the Royalist soldiers was attended with cruelty and oppression, that of the rebels at Shepton Mallet and Wells was scarcely less objectionable, and there was no money to compensate as in the case of the other army. The cathedral at the latter place suffered to some extent from their ravages. Lead was torn off the roof to make bullets, horses were stabled within the sacred walls, and the silver vessels stolen,<sup>1</sup> though Grey is said to have stood before the altar with his sword drawn to defend it from insult.<sup>2</sup>

In returning to Bridgewater *via* Wells and Glastonbury yet another disappointment was in store. Ten thousand Quakers were expected to assemble and join Monmouth on the way, but

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 10, part iii. p. 264; also *London Gazette*, July 1685.

<sup>2</sup> "Fights and Skirmishes in the West and the Manner of taking of Ford, late Lord Grey, and the late Duke of Monmouth," 1685, p. 3.

## Close Quarters

only a hundredth part of the promised force made their appearance!<sup>1</sup> At night the army bivouacked on Pedwell Plain, to the east of Sedgemoor, where the duke received a deputation from Taunton praying that he would not return there, to which he replied that it would have been better if they had persuaded him not to go there when he was at Lyme.<sup>2</sup> By the next morning another large body of men had deserted.

On the following day the march was continued to Bridgewater, while warrants were issued to call in labour and materials from the surrounding districts to aid in fortifying the town. A summons (dated July 2) to the hundred of Whiteleigh is signed by Richard Goodenough, paymaster of the rebel army :

“ You are hereby strictly charged and comanded in his Ma<sup>ties</sup> name imediately to sumon, or cause to be sumoned, all the carpenters inhabiting w<sup>th</sup> in the s<sup>d</sup> hundred provided w<sup>th</sup> axes, hatchets and other instruments belonging to their trade, alsoe 190 laborours sufficiently provided w<sup>th</sup> sawes, spades, pickaxes, wheel barrows, and hand barrows, to be and appear this day if possible or before to morrow noone at farthest at Bridgewater to be employed in such worke and buissness as his Ma<sup>tie</sup> shall from time to time appoint, and alsoe you are hereby farther comanded to sumon all the inhabitants of the s<sup>d</sup> hundred to bring in w<sup>th</sup> all speed imajonable to the s<sup>d</sup> town of Bridgewater all the corne and provisions of what sort soever and all the bread and cheese, oxen, sheep, calves, and

<sup>1</sup> See Roberts, vol. ii. p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Paschall's narrative (see Heywood's "Vindication of Fox").

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hay and oats that can be spared at a reasonable price without present destruction and warre to the inhabitants of the s<sup>d</sup> hundred whereof you are not to faile upon pain of being treated as enemies, and if the people you sumon fail they are to be treated withall in like manner.”<sup>1</sup>

Feversham (on July 3) followed the route taken by Monmouth, and encamped at Somerton<sup>2</sup> (about seven miles south of Glastonbury, and double that distance to the south-west of Bridgewater) and, neighbouring villages.

Lord Churchill, writing from Somerton to Lord Clarendon, observes that the enemy “have more a mind to gett horses and sadells than anny thing else, which lookes as if he had a mind to break away with his Horse to some other place and leave his Foot intrenched att Bridgwater.”<sup>3</sup> This was true enough, for Monmouth’s intention was to go back to his original plan, and move northwards by way of Keynsham and Gloucester, join his Cheshire friends and march Londonwards, for a messenger arrived saying only a leader was wanted, and that 3000 men were ready to take up his cause.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This document is mentioned in the Ninth Report of the Historical Manuscript Commission as significant of the executioner’s work of the Bloody Assize, but the date and Goodenough’s name should have suggested that “His Majesty” in this instance was the Duke of Monmouth—not James II.

<sup>2</sup> “Dummer’s Journal,” Pepysian Library.

<sup>3</sup> Singer, “Hyde Correspondence,” July 4.

<sup>4</sup> Drayton MSS. Major Manley’s son brought the information. Monmouth’s servant, Wagstaff (who had the care of the duke’s carriages until the battle of Sedgemoor) “heard it discussed in the late duke’s chamber and in the p’sence of the said Major Manley that they had an acco<sup>t</sup> of 3000 men that were listed about London ready to be headed” (Wagstaff’s examination).

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Lord Wolseley tells us that the power of divining his enemy's plans was one of Churchill's chief characteristics—a peculiar instinct by which he was able to calculate with almost prophetic accuracy.<sup>1</sup> The keen sight of the brigadier-general

put the Royalist army on the alert.

Feversham personally reconnoitred the expanse of level moorland to the north-west of Somerton and its surrounding villages, and selected Middlezoy for his next encampment, but the preference was afterwards

given to Weston Zoyland,<sup>2</sup> two miles nearer Bridgewater, and thither he removed and quartered his forces (consisting of 500 horse and five regiments of foot soldiers), on July 5,

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CHEDZOY CHURCH

<sup>1</sup> Wolseley, "Life of Marlborough," vol. i. pp. 308, 309.

<sup>2</sup> Diary of Feversham's Marches, Drayton MSS.

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while five other regiments encamped on the moor in the vicinity of the village.<sup>1</sup> The militia were stationed at Middlezoy<sup>2</sup> (south-east of



WILLIAM SPARKE'S SPY GLASS. ALSO A POWDER FLASK AND PISTOL  
FROM THE FIELD OF SEDGEMOOR

Weston Zoyland) and Othery (a mile further south).

<sup>1</sup> Penzoy Pound in Zoy, in the parish of Weston (see Roberts, vol. ii. p. 55).

<sup>2</sup> A brass in Middlezoy church has the following inscription:—

“ Here lyes the body of Lovis Chevalier  
D<sup>e</sup> Misiers, a French gentleman who  
Behaved himself with great covrage  
And gallantry 18 years in the English  
Service and was vnfortunately slaine  
On y<sup>e</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> of jvly 1685 at the Battel of Weston  
Where he behaved himself with all the  
Covrage imaginable against the Kings  
Enemies comanded by ye rebel  
Dvke of Mvnmvth.”

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The advance of the army towards Weston meanwhile had been narrowly watched from the tower of Chedzoy Church (a couple of miles away, and nearer Bridgewater) by an anti-Royalist named Sparke, who despatched a neighbour<sup>1</sup> to gather what particulars he could and convey them at once to Monmouth. This information, as we shall see, suddenly altered the duke's plans and brought about a speedy and disastrous termination to his hopeless enterprise.

<sup>1</sup> The telescope used by William Sparke, of Chedzoy, is now in Taunton Museum (*vide* illustration). The spy, Richard Godfrey, lived in a farm (some two miles to the north east of Weston) which is still known as Godfrey's Farm.

## CHAPTER XVI

### THE BATTLE OF SEDGEMOOR

A RAPID and secret flight from Bridgewater was Monmouth's only chance, unless he went out to attack the enemy or allowed himself to be surrounded; for fight he would have to now, and at great disadvantage, except he got away northwards as he proposed. For this purpose his cannon, ammunition, &c., were stationed on the road leading out of the east end of the town, with his army close handy in Castle Field on the right side of the river Parret. Feversham was well aware of the duke's secret orders, though commands had been given to the rebels to march upon Taunton; the general was therefore ready for pursuit, and sent Colonel Oglethorpe with a troop of Life Guards to keep a watch upon the two roads leading out of Bridgewater in the direction of Keynsham and Bristol, it being his intention to give chase on the following morning.

Godfrey, the spy from Chedzoy, reached Monmouth's headquarters about noon, and from his account of the position of the enemy a council of war was held and the proposed retreat abandoned in favour of a night attack, if the Royalist camp should be found to be unentrenched. The position was further reconnoitred by telescope

## The Battle of Sedgemoor

from the tower of St. Mary's Church, where an embrasure on the east side of the parapet is



BRIDGEWATER CHURCH

pointed out as the spot where Monmouth and Grey stood to make their inspection.<sup>1</sup> Towards

<sup>1</sup> The duke recognised some of his old troops, and observed that if he were still their colonel he would have no doubt of success.

## King Monmouth

evening Godfrey brought more particulars, that the army was not entrenched, and a considerable distance divided the infantry and artillery; that Feversham's soldiers had imbibed freely, and that even ordinary precautions were disregarded in the way of defence, reliable sentries, &c. This encouraging information, and the prospect of immediate action attended probably with success, speedily roused the duke out of his recent despondency, and he cheerfully set about making preparations for the great venture.

Monmouth's army may be roughly estimated at 3500 men, inclusive, viz., the Red, White, Blue, Yellow, and Green regiments, under Colonels Wade, Foulkes, Basset, Matthews, and Holmes, with Grey's body of 600 horse;<sup>1</sup> his scythe men, and his four guns. In the morning Captain Hewling had been sent with a detachment of horse to the north coast of Somerset to capture half a dozen guns from the quay at Minehead, so the services of eighty good mounted men were thrown away in the battle which soon was to take place.

The Royalist army numbered about seven hundred less than the rebels (minus the militia, who were not called into action), viz., fourteen troops of horse and dragoons (about 700) and thirty-four companies of foot (about 2100), with sixteen field pieces.<sup>2</sup> Those in command were

<sup>1</sup> Upon the margin of Wade's confession is the following: "Ye horse 600—Bl reg<sup>t</sup>. 600, Whit 400, Red 800, Greene 600, Yellow 500—an Independ<sup>t</sup> comp w<sup>ch</sup> came from Lime 80" (copy of Confession in the Drayton MSS.).

<sup>2</sup> "King James' Account of the Battle" (see Roberts, vol. ii. p. 61).

## The Battle of Sedgemoor

Lieut.-Colonel Villiers, Sir Francis Compton, Lord Cornbury, Lieut.-Colonel Douglas, the Duke of Grafton, Major Eaton, Lieut.-Colonel Sackville, Colonel Percy Kirke, Lieut.-Colonel Charles Churchill, and his brother Lord Churchill.

Feversham, much as he has been censured for his bad generalship and strategic skill during the campaign, at least was wise in the selection of a good position for his camp, which was protected from the north and west by a great ditch or rhine, consisting not so much of water as a swamp of mud sufficiently deep to make a formidable impediment to an enemy advancing in that direction. The spy Godfrey was fully aware of the existence of the ditch, but in his ignorance of military matters the idea never occurred to him that a large body of men could experience any inconvenience in making a passage across. That Monmouth or his officers knew nothing of it seems incredible when we consider that eight at least of his followers were natives of Weston Zoyland, and must have known how the ditch would impede a surprise attack, especially in the dark!

Feversham's artillery, guarded by Churchill's dragoons, was planted on the left of the line fronting the main road to Bridgewater, for this reason therefore a circuitous route of about six miles had to be taken, so as to approach the camp on its right flank and rear. The rebels were to march to the north of Chedzoy, by narrow and difficult lanes<sup>1</sup> (one of which is still

<sup>1</sup> By Bradney Lane and Marsh Lane to Bradney Green, thence

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called "War Lane"), and before reaching the great drain, two other rhines, known as the Black Ditch and Langmore Rhine, had to be crossed.

The open moor being reached after these impedimenta, Lord Grey's horse were to get to the back of the village of Weston, set it on fire and attack the Royalist forces in their right flank and rear, while Monmouth's infantry was to advance to the front of the enemy's line. So sanguine was the duke of the result that he remarked, "We shall have no more to do than to lock up the stable doors and seize the troopers in their beds." And, doubtless, this would have been accomplished if the guard had been properly reconnoitred and strict silence preserved. To ensure the last precaution, orders were issued that "whoever made a noise should be knocked on the head by the next man."<sup>1</sup>

Before setting out, Ferguson held forth from the text, where the Almighty is appealed to *not* to save those who instigate rebellion!<sup>2</sup> But the orator, of course, made it clear to the multitude that he who rebelled was the other "Jacobus Rex," at Whitehall. "About eleven at night," says Oldmixon, "I saw the Duke of Monmouth ride out attended by his Life Guard of horse, and though then but a boy, observed an alteration in his look which I did not like." The shadow of the coming event!

by Peasy Farm on to North Moor, keeping Chedzoy on the right on the way to Weston (see Roberts, vol. ii. p. 62).

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 12, App. v. p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> See Roberts, vol. ii. pp. 52, 53.



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## The Battle of Sedgemoor

Godfrey was engaged to act as guide. Wade led the advanced guard, which was followed by the other infantry regiments, Grey's Troopers, and lastly, the four guns and baggage waggons. Following the Bristol road, or "Eastern Causeway," for about a couple of miles, the rebel army was led by narrow lanes to the vicinity of Peasy Farm, where the direct road to Keynsham was joined, and here the forty-two waggons were left under a small guard, ready to advance. At the second rhine (Langmore Rhine) the guide missed the proper ford, which occasioned some delay, but so far no serious mishaps had occurred.

Grey's horse now took the lead; as no other ditch was expected, the guide was dismissed near Langmore Stone. This once famous landmark—locally known as *The Devil's Upping Stock*—formerly stood out a conspicuous object on the level moorland, about a mile from Weston village; and since the battle of Sedgemoor, an historical landmark, for at this spot, Monmouth's presence was revealed to the enemy. But landmarks, whether historical or not, must disappear in the utilitarian days of modern civilisation; and this particular boulder has many years since been cut up for chimney-pieces!<sup>1</sup>

The long silence was suddenly broken by a pistol or musket shot, which by some accounts was fired by a vedette of Churchill's life guards, at the first sight of the advancing enemy. The man then galloped off to spread the alarm.<sup>2</sup> A

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Roberts, vol. ii. p. 73, note.

<sup>2</sup> "For the security of the King's partie there was set three watches, 2 men alone, a distance off in the first watch, then 20 men,

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Royalist sentry had been stationed by Langmore Stone two or three hours before, but for some reason had withdrawn towards midnight. Another version of the story was that Monmouth was betrayed by his host of Taunton, Captain Hucker, who was attached to Grey's company of horse. Ferguson declared that it was he who fired the alarm, and the rebels generally were under the same belief, although he remained with his troop until the battle was lost.

An interesting letter from the Rev. Andrew Paschall, dated from Chedzoy, April 8, 1686, thus refers to the supposed traitor: "It is now confidently reported heer by some that say they were eye witnesses, that Captain Hucker (who entertained ye Duke at his house in Taunton) was ye man who discharged the gun (whether carbine or pistoll) at Langmore Stone which is say<sup>d</sup> to have given the Alarme. And that the Duke charged him with treachery and that he had been shot presently had it not been that they feared to make more noise. But when they rode to y<sup>e</sup> King's camp to call y<sup>m</sup> to armes, according to my servants relation, confirmed by Captain Mackenzy, both eye witnesses, I do not hear or know. Tis certain Hucker was extremely odious to the party as one that they beleaved had betrayed them, in so much that when he was in prison he feared being torn in pieces by the angry women. It was say'd that at his tryall he pleaded this to my Ld Chancell<sup>r</sup> but it did not

and nearer to the army more." (A letter from the Royalist camp, quoted in a letter from James Wilkinsen to the Countess of Rutland, July 7, 1685; Belvoir MSS. *vide* Appendix D.)



*The Duke of Monmouth*



## The Battle of Sedgemoor

save him. . . . He had the first information of ye Dukes landing and made it known to a Militia Colonell. He professed y<sup>t</sup> he meant (being marryed but a few dayes before) not to medle but being made prisoner by ye Militia Comanders. He made his escape to Lime, and then all his good resolutions came to nothing. He gott a certificate from a Justice of Peace in Devon of his having lay<sup>d</sup> down his armes within ye time limited in the proclamation. But on ye Sunday before the fight appeared in Bridgewater. . . . He was suspected by the Duke, a guard was set on him, or at the gates upon this occasion, to prevent his making an escape. . . . When the Horse led by the L<sup>d</sup> Grey being fired at by the Kings Army wheeled off to ye rear, he rode from ye head of his troop southwards. His troupe was lead by his Lieutenant (Savage excepted in ye generall pardon) back to Bridgewater who used his indeavour there with y<sup>m</sup> to bring y<sup>m</sup> back to fight but could not prevaile. He vowed to kill Hucker his captain for his base cowardise if ever he should meet him but the publick justice hath saved him that labour.”<sup>1</sup>

It may be added that at his trial Hucker himself affirmed his treachery in the hope of being pardoned.<sup>2</sup>

Grey hastened forward to Weston and, had not the guide been dismissed, would have been able to enter the village, set fire to it, and attack the Royalist infantry, as previously arranged; but nothing having been said of the ditch encom-

<sup>1</sup> Drayton MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Dakhymple, vol. i. book ii. p. 200.

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passing the camp, he received a sudden and unexpected check, for the way over it, when most needed, could not be found. In his ignorance he turned to the right along the bank ; but had he been a true soldier, says Lord Wolesley, he would have taken the opposite direction to seek a ford, as the farther he moved to the left the more he would have turned the enemy's flank,<sup>1</sup> for Dunbarton's regiment and a battalion of foot guards, stationed on the extreme right of the line, were facing him on the other side of the great ditch, and Sir Francis Compton, with a guard of horse, occupied the crossing which Lord Grey should have taken.

Directly the rebel horse appeared on the opposite bank they were challenged by Captain Berkeley. The answer came they were for "King Monmouth and God with us," upon which the slow matches, just visible in the darkness, were applied by the musketeers with deadly effect. The adjoining battalions likewise fired a volley, making Grey's horse rear and fly helter-skelter back to Langmore Stone, encountering on the way some of the advancing infantry, who at first took the flying horse for royalists ; but, recognising their own men, joined in the general stampede.

A spirited attempt had been made by a company of 300 horse, under Captain Jones, to force the passage over the rhine where Compton's guard was posted, but without success, and they

<sup>1</sup> Wolesley, "Marlborough," vol. i. p. 328.



*Jewersham*



## The Battle of Sedgemoor

retreated back as far as Sutton Mill, about a mile to the north-east of Weston.

To go back for a moment to the sudden call to arms. Edward Dummer of the Royalist artillery writes as follows, July 6 :

“At 2 o'clock this morning (securely sleeping) our camp was rous<sup>d</sup> by the near approach of the Rebels. A dark night & thick fogg covering the moore, supiness and a preposterous confidence of our selves, with an under valuing of the Rebels that many days before had made us make such tedious marches had put us into the worst circumstances of surprize. Our Horse in Quarters, some near some remote : our artillery distant, & in a separate Post to that of the Camp.—Thus we rec<sup>d</sup> the alarme from S<sup>r</sup> Francis Compton upon the right, whose successfull charging the whole body of the Rebels Horse commanded by the Lord Gray, with his simple party of 150, Horse & Dragoons Broke their Body of near 1200, & routed them.”<sup>1</sup>

Feversham's camp meanwhile, though in the wildest confusion, was gradually recovering from the surprise and assuming some order. The Commander-in-chief, who was in bed in the village at the time of the alarm, heard the first sound of the trumpet call, and rode at once to camp,<sup>2</sup> though Oldmixon says : “He made not so much haste as to forget to set his cravat string at a

<sup>1</sup> “A Journal of the Proceedings of ye D. of Monmouth in his Invading England, with the Progress and Isseu of ye rebellion attending it, kept by Mr. Edward Dummer, then serving in the train of Artillery employ'd by his Majesty for ye suppression of y<sup>e</sup> same” (Pepysian Library).

<sup>2</sup> Diary of Feversham's marches, Drayton MSS.

## King Monmouth

little paltry looking-glass in one of the cottages.<sup>1</sup> The Duke of Monmouth, pike in hand, led the battalions of foot forward at a rapid pace, until the fatal ditch brought them to a standstill. Orders were first given to cross, but were quickly countermanded, with directions not to fire until within the enemy's lines; but as soon as "the Yellow regiment" came up it opened fire, and the Red and Green regiments following the example, the fusillade became general and all discipline was disregarded. Volley after volley was poured across the rhine, but did comparatively little execution, as the aim was unsteady and too high.

But the same cannot be said of Monmouth's cannon which, being brought up at a short range in advance of Holmes' and Mathews' regiments, had deadly effect upon Dunbarton's company and the battalion of foot guards next to it. The firing continued thus for over an hour, when the Royalist cannons were planted facing the rebels. Their original position, looking towards the Bridgewater road, occasioned some difficulty in bringing them into action, owing to the bad condition of the roads with the recent rains. But the Bombardier Prelate of Winchester happened to be handy, and rendered invaluable aid with his carriage horses in bringing the guns into position. Dr. Peter Mews (recently translated to Winchester) had been used to war since 1648, when he became an officer in the king's army in Holland, and the particular services he gave upon this occasion have always

<sup>1</sup> See Roberts, vol. ii. p. 69, note.



*J. D. B. & W. M.*



## The Battle of Sedgemoor

associated his name with the battle of Sedgemoor.<sup>1</sup>

With the exception of Dunbarton's regiment the fire of the musketry had been reserved until the rebels came within closer range; this they could not be induced to do, but stood firm where they were, blazing away their ammunition, which ran out only too soon, for upon the first intimation of Grey's retreat reaching the vicinity of Peasey Farm, the drivers of the baggage waggons, thinking the game was up, drove off in hot haste northwards towards Axbridge. The Royalist cannon soon began to tell upon the enemy (Sergeant Weems afterwards received £40 for his successful manipulation of "the great guns"<sup>2</sup>), and, with the support of the Queen's and the Queen Dowager's regiments, had disastrous effect upon Monmouth's infantry.

The firing on the rebel side having considerably abated for want of powder, some companies of the household cavalry and dragoons were sent over the ditch, and there joined by Oglethorpe's troop, just returned from reconnoitring the roads leading out of Bridgewater, strange to say, without either having encountered the enemy or learned anything of their whereabouts until it was too late. The major charged a battalion of Monmouth's foot, with ill success, and was forced to

<sup>1</sup> There are portraits of the bishop at Farnham, Wells, and Orchard Portman. The first, here reproduced, descends to the successors of the see. In the original painting is a representation of the medal given by James II. to Mews, in recognition of his services at Sedgemoor. The bishop died in 1706, *æt.* 89, and was buried in Winchester Cathedral.

<sup>2</sup> Royal Warrant, State Papers, Dom., Feb. 26, 1686.

## King Monmouth

retire with the loss of several of his men, including Captain Sarsfield.<sup>1</sup>

Lord Churchill was more successful, and attacked the duke's guns, which (with most of his colours)<sup>2</sup> were carried off by some of the Royalist infantry, now swarming over the ford and forming up ready to charge. But the cavalry charges had already proved too much for the unfortunate rebel foot, unprotected and deserted as they were by the horse that should have guarded their flanks.<sup>3</sup> Panic-stricken, the bulk turned and fled and were slaughtered wholesale, mainly by the Scotch regiment under Douglas.

Until the final rout Monmouth was in the thick of the fight, leading his men forward with the daring courage he had displayed in his earlier days, when fighting for King Louis and for the Prince of Orange; but his ultimate action in quitting the battlefield while many of his brave followers fought on to the death can find no defender.

While these wretched untrained pike and scythe men were being driven into the ditches and enclosures to be cut to pieces, both Grey and Monmouth, disarming, hastened in the direction of Polden Hill to look after their own safety.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Probably a relative of the first husband of Monmouth's half sister Mary (see Appendix A).

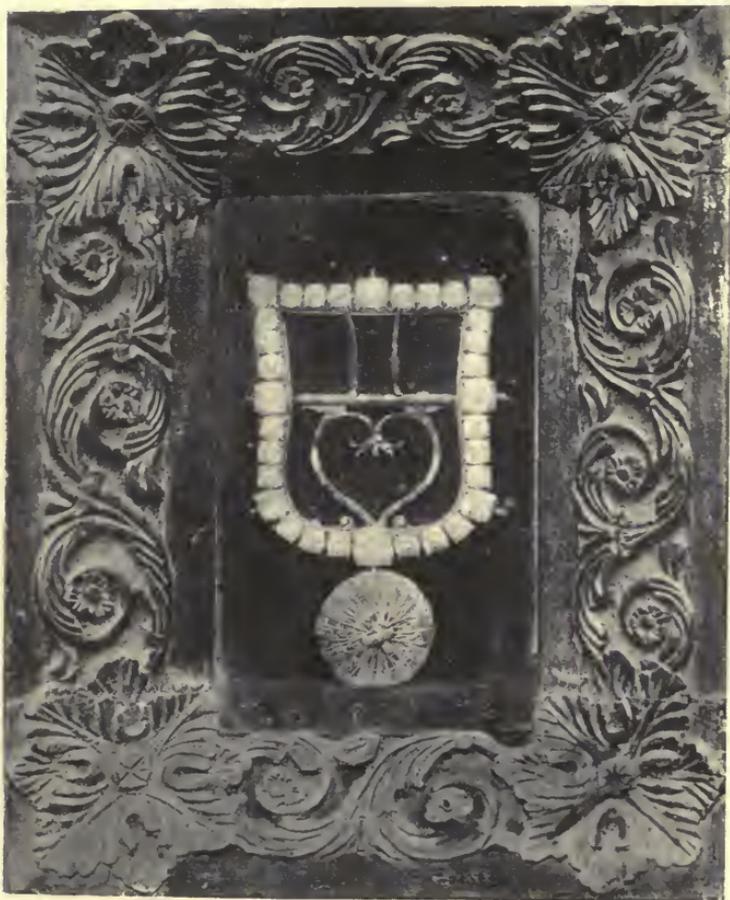
<sup>2</sup> Twenty-two standards were captured on the battlefield. One Robert Young received £10 bounty "for the charge of his journey to bring his said Mat<sup>ie</sup> the colours of the late Duke of Monmouth." Secret Service Expenses of Charles II. and James II. (Camden Society).

<sup>3</sup> See Wolesley's "Marlborough," vol. i. p. 334.

<sup>4</sup> The gauntlets used by Monmouth at Sedgemoor are said by Roberts to have been preserved at Warwick Castle. Possibly they

## The Battle of Sedgemoor

The duke's cloak and star, and a buckle were afterwards found on the battlefield, as was also a



MONMOUTH'S BUCKLE AND BUTTON

button of gold thread torn off the former by a may have perished in the fire which destroyed a large portion of the armoury some twenty-five years ago, for I am informed by the Earl of Warwick that they cannot now be traced.

## King Monmouth

Royalist bayonet. This last relic was long treasured by two brothers who fought for Monmouth, one of whom had the button and the other the piece of cloth to which it was attached.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The button and the buckle are now in Taunton Museum (*vide* illustration).

## CHAPTER XVII

### THE FLIGHT OF THE "KING"

By about half-past three in the morning the battle was practically over, and soon after the fugitives came streaming back to Bridgewater. When Wade, who had fought gallantly, got back with the remainder of his Red regiment, he found Captains Hucker, Tucker, and Alexander already there with the several companies of horse under their command, who shortly afterwards dispersed in all directions, as Feversham was advancing to summon the town. Wade, Ferguson, and some fifty troopers, in the hope of joining the Hewling horse sent to Minehead, got safely to Ilfracombe, where a small craft was hired ; but as soon as it left the coast it was driven ashore by a man-of-war, and the occupants had to escape as they best could. Wade got as far as Brendon in Devonshire, but was chased and disabled with a pistol shot in the back.<sup>1</sup>

Some days later Colonel Kirke receiving information from a clergyman that Ferguson (who had been reported slain) and other rebels were lurking somewhere on the north coast of Somerset, sent

<sup>1</sup> Wade's confession, often alluded to, was made between his fainting fits after he was wounded.

## King Monmouth

some of his "Lambs" into that neighbourhood; but the arch traitor was too cunning, and reached Holland in safety, where he afterwards utilised his scheming powers towards promoting the Revolution.

A letter from the Royalist headquarters to the Duke of Ormonde's secretary, dated July 6, 7 A.M., says: "Our men are still killing them [the rebels] in ye corne and hedges and ditches whither they are crept." The poor wretches had little mercy to expect from Feversham, and if they were saved from immediate despatch it was only that they might figure more conspicuously as examples upon the gallows; indeed, the subsequent cruelties were in a great measure attributable to the king, for James had only a few days before expressed his dissatisfaction that sufficient severity had not been shown towards the rebels at Frome, and he had empowered the general to hang without the formality of a trial.

Monmouth's losses were estimated at 2000 men, the greater part being killed in their flight towards Bridgewater and other places. In the battle itself the Royalists' numbers exceeded the rebels by about 400 to 300. "I was on the spot," says Oldmixon, "before the dead were buried, and, young as I was, observed the slain to be more on the king's part than on the duke's." Edward Dummer, of the king's artillery, notes; "The dead in the moore we buried and the country people took care for the interment of those slaine in the cornfields."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Dummer's Journal," Pepysian Library.

## The Flight of the "King"

Not far from the Bussex rhine a huge grave was dug for the slain, but the covering of earth proving inadequate, complaints were made to Colonel Kirke, who ordered the constable of Chedzoy to press twelve labourers to throw up a



WESTON ZOYLAND CHURCH

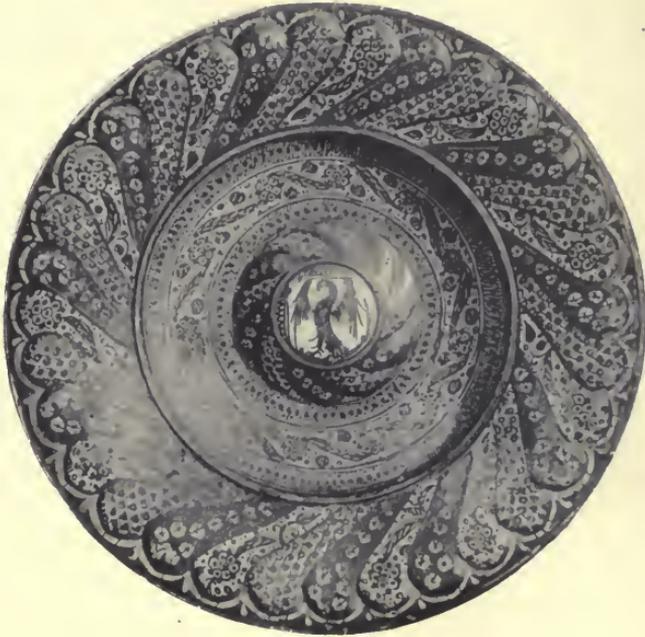
mound over the dead as the inhabitants should think fit. The expenses incurred in this operation, including "making gallowes and gibbets jimmies to hang up fower prisoners," came to the not exorbitant price of £2 4s. 1d.<sup>1</sup>

The spot where the bodies lay thickest and where the pit was dug for their interment, still goes by the name of "the Grave Ground." Mr. Francis Knight made an interesting investigation

<sup>1</sup> See Roberts, vol. ii. pp. 92, 93.

## King Monmouth

upon the spot a few years since. There now being no sign of the mound, owing to the yielding nature of the peat earth of the moor, its position was determined according to tradition. Under a foot of the black soil, first of all the sand that



THE "FEVERSHAM DISH"

was piled over the bodies was found, and beneath it, scarcely two feet from the surface, six skeletons lay close together, face downwards, upon a mass of human remains. The skulls were in a perfect state of preservation. Tradition says the bodies were stripped before burial. The names of some

## The Flight of the "King"

of the men who carted the sand to cover the bodies are still remembered in the parish.<sup>1</sup>

About twelve hundred of Monmouth's followers surrendered; five hundred prisoners were "brought into our church," says the Weston Zoyland Register, "of which there was seventy-nine wounded, and five of them died of their wounds." Weston is full of Sedgemoor traditions, from the grey old church, to the quaint little



BUTTRESS, CHEDZOY CHURCH

"Three Greyhounds Inn," where the Royalist soldiers caroused and sharpened their swords against the wide stone chimney-piece.<sup>2</sup> The dish upon which a junket was served for the

<sup>1</sup> See *Contemporary Magazine*, vol. lix.

<sup>2</sup> A buttress of Chedzoy church is pointed out as having served a like purpose.

## King Monmouth

Commander-in-chief is now in Taunton Museum.<sup>1</sup> The original collector of these relics records that an old woman then living (1837) was the daughter of the girl who waited upon Lord Feversham. The house where the general took up his headquarters long went by the name of "Monmouth House" (more recently known as "Verney Farm"). A fragment of a wall is all that remains, as it was burned down many years ago.



THE "BRIDGE SWORD"

A sword formerly preserved here and now in the possession of Samuel Dobree, Esq., of the Chalet, Ealing, has the story connected with it that a Royalist soldier upon offering violence was stabbed to the heart with his own weapon, by the daughter of the house, a young girl named Mary Bridge. She was afterwards handed over to the tender mercies of Kirke, who, be it recorded in his favour, acquitted her.

A more painful story is told of the fate of a Bridgewater girl, who upon the eve of the battle

<sup>1</sup> It is a broad, shallow dish of Hispano Moorish workmanship, ornamented with figures in white upon a lustrous metallic brown ground (*vide* illustration p. 296).

## The Flight of the "King"

stole out of the town to give warning of the intended night attack on the camp at Weston, in reward for which she is said to have encountered her own ruin. This is one of the many acts of brutality which characterised the campaign of the French Commander-in-chief. Scarcely less notorious is the tradition of a rebel who, with a halter round his neck, was made to keep pace with a fast horse, only to be strung up to a tree by the Bussex rhine, from which many of his colleagues were also suspended.<sup>1</sup>

Having made examples of twenty-two rebels and satiated themselves with the hogsheads of cider that had been sent into Weston<sup>2</sup> as a peace-offering from the neighbouring farmers, Feversham's army marched into Bridgewater, where other butcheries speedily followed,<sup>3</sup> to form a gruesome decoration of human remains between the town and Sedgemoor. Dummer, whom we have once or twice quoted before, records other executions, including one of Monmouth's Dutch gunners, upon the removal of his regiment to Wells.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Within the hazel copse in Locksley Wood, between Bridgewater and Glastonbury, may still be seen four stones which mark the leaps of a prisoner named Swain, who, in showing his agility to the Royalist soldiers, managed to effect his escape. The place is known as "Swain's Leap."

<sup>2</sup> Among the churchwardens' accounts of Weston is the following: "Expended upon the day of Thanksgiving after the ffight, upon the ringers, 11s. 8d."

<sup>3</sup> In the Taunton Museum is preserved an iron hook from the east gates of Bridgewater. It is said that Feversham strung up some of the rebels to this support.

<sup>4</sup> Six other rebels were hanged at Glastonbury upon the march through that place ("Dummer's Journal").

## King Monmouth

For the present we must leave the "Reign of Terror" commenced by Feversham and Kirke, to follow the fugitives.

"Returning into my county," writes Lord Pembroke to the king, "I spyed neer four score of ye Rebels trying to escape. I have taken most of them, there are some Dutch officers but ye princip<sup>l</sup> amongst them is one Kid he calls himself S<sup>r</sup> John Kid (ye first & only knight ye King of Taunton made) he was Mr. Thin's keeper. I believe by this time most of them are taken who escaped in ye rout at Sedgmoor."<sup>1</sup>

We left Monmouth and Grey speeding towards Polden Hill. Reresby says the former did not quit the battlefield until the greater part of his Foot were cut to pieces, and so narrowly escaped that his coat and papers were captured.<sup>2</sup> Grey, seeing the danger of prolonging his unaccountable inactivity, joined his comrade as he was disarming, and with Buyse (the Brandenburg officer), the surgeon, Dr. Oliver; the duke's servant, Williams;<sup>3</sup> and some of Grey's troopers, fled by way of Brinsfield Bridge, Chedzoy, and Crandon Bridge, in a north-west direction towards the Mendip Hills.

From the wooded ridge of Polden, parties of Monmouth's sturdy adherents could be seen still

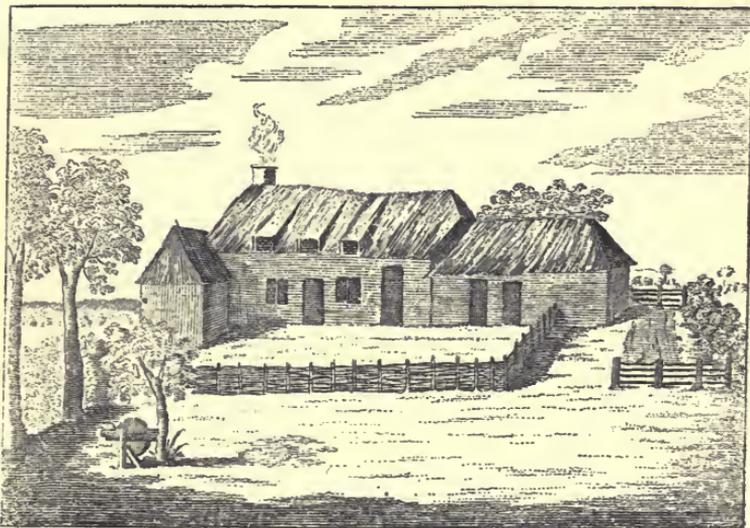
<sup>1</sup> Drayton MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Reresby, "Memoirs," July 6, 1685.

<sup>3</sup> William Williams is described as Monmouth's steward by the duke's coachman, Wagstaff. The latter and Robert Hampton (Monmouth's butler) were captured in Shropshire, having evidently followed the route originally intended by their master. Their examination took place on August 18, 1685, at Shrewsbury (Drayton MSS).

## The Flight of the "King"

contesting the day against fearful odds. In the absence of any evidence to prove the actual direction taken by the fugitives in the first part of their journey, it may be presumed the Axbridge road was taken. The road runs directly north from the Polden Hills, beneath which, a



EDGE HOUSE, GRENTON

little to the south of the main thoroughfare, between London and Bridgewater, is the village of Grenton, where, according to local tradition, the duke made a halt at a shepherd's cottage called Edge House.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The building has long since fallen into ruins (see *Gentleman's Magazine*, July 1772). It is not improbable some other fugitive may have been mistaken for Monmouth. An old farmer named Cox, of Romsey, used to relate an incident of which his grandmother was an eye-witness, who, when a child of six, lived at "The Holts" near South Perrott, and remembered the house being

## King Monmouth

Presumably it was his original intention to cross the river Avon at Keynsham, but for some reason, when within about twelve miles of Bristol, Monmouth, Grey, and Buyse, went in a south-easterly instead of a north-easterly



PLUME OF FEATHERS FROM THE DUKE OF MONMOUTH'S HAT WORN  
AT SEDGEMOOR

direction. Oliver had pointed out the desirability of bearing to the west until the coast was reached near Weston-super-Mare, and from there

searched with bloodhounds, as it was believed Monmouth was hiding there. The incident was impressed upon the youngster's memory from the fact that she was perched upon the table, having a pair of new boots tried on by a local shoemaker when the search was made (see Pulman's "Book of the Axe," pp. 269, 270).

## The Flight of the "King"

getting across the Bristol Channel into Wales. Grey, however, was opposed to this, so the doctor shifted for himself and made for Bristol,<sup>1</sup> carrying with him the duke's hat, which he had exchanged for his own, as so far there had been no time for the rebel "king" to effect a disguise. The black plume from Monmouth's hat may still be seen in Bath Museum, where it was presented by Captain Oliver, a descendant of the physician. Other much-valued relics were left upon the flight, viz., a silver clasp or buckle and a brace of horse-pistols. The former was attached to a lady's girdle of richly embroidered blue ribbon, which Monmouth wore round his neck (a favour perhaps of my Lady Wentworth's) and is said to have been given by the Duke to a little boy of Chedzoy. The buckle is now preserved in Taunton Museum. For years after the duke's execution it was touched for king's evil.<sup>2</sup>

The pistols were left at Edward Strode's house, "Downside," near Shepton Mallet, an old building still standing (though much reduced in size) about a mile outside the town, where "King Monmouth" slept on the night of the eventful July 6.<sup>3</sup> It is much to be regretted that these

<sup>1</sup> Oliver lay concealed for a time, and eventually got to London in disguise, and by a strange coincidence had for his travelling companion no less a dangerous person than the clerk of Judge Jeffreys! (See Woolrych, "Life of Jeffreys.")

<sup>2</sup> An illustration of the buckle will be found on p. 291.

<sup>3</sup> There are evidences that it was once a house of some importance. It has recently undergone a good deal of restoration. In Shepton Mallet church are mural tablets to many members of the Strode family. Among these Monmouth's host (*ob.* 1703). He left five sons and five daughters. Sir Edward Strode of Cranmore, who died some five years ago (*æt.* 70), was the last direct representative of this branch of the Strode family.

## King Monmouth

relics cannot now be traced, though but a few years ago they were carefully preserved at Lyme Regis, with a document of great interest giving a detailed account of the duke's movements after the disastrous battle.<sup>1</sup>



"DOWNSIDE," SHEPTON MALLET

Still bearing to the south-east, Monmouth crossed the northern incursion of Dorsetshire near Gillingham, where he procured a guide to lead the way by unfrequented lanes towards the New Forest.

<sup>1</sup> The relics descended to Sir Henry Bayly, and after the death of his wife, to his son Captain Henry Bayly ; but at his death in 1898 no trace of them could be found among his effects. Captain John S. Swann (Sir Henry's son-in-law) informs me that a miniature supposed to represent Colonel Strode, but bearing a strong likeness to Monmouth, disappeared at the same time.

## The Flight of the "King"

By a strange coincidence, the duke at this point of his journey crossed the track followed by his father when a fugitive, thirty years before, upon his way from Trent to Heale.<sup>1</sup> But how different were the fates that awaited each! A crown loomed in the distance for the one—a scaffold for the other!



WOODYATES INN

Leaving Shaftesbury to the west, "White Street" was passed near Berwick St. John,<sup>2</sup> a few miles to the north-west of the extensive wooded tract known as Cranbourne Chase (on the confines of three counties, Hants, Wilts, and Dorset), which in early times was connected with the New Forest. The old mail road between Salisbury and Blandford crosses the Chase about

<sup>1</sup> See "The Flight of the King," 1897.

<sup>2</sup> This must not be confused with The Hill, White Street Camp, to the north-west of Mere.

## King Monmouth

midway, at which spot stands a famous old post-ing house known in the old coaching days as "Woodyates Inn," but now (or rather what remains of it) as the "Shaftesbury Arms." The greater part of the hostelry has been rebuilt, but the older portion still presents the quaintest



WOODYATES INN (BACK VIEW)

labyrinth of low-ceilinged apartments and corridors which may well go back to Monmouth's days.

Here it was that the ill-fated duke quitted his saddle and donned the garb of a shepherd. Lord Grey and Buyse likewise disguised themselves and the three horses were turned loose, the saddles and trappings having previously been hidden to destroy any clue as to the whereabouts

## The Flight of the "King"

of their riders.<sup>1</sup> With the object of getting to the coast in the vicinity of Christchurch or Poole,



MONMOUTH'S SWORD

<sup>1</sup> A sword, conjectured to have been Monmouth's, was purchased from a party of mummers who were giving a performance at Woodyates Inn in 1844. Eighteen pence was the sum given for it. Upon the guard and pommel are the rose and crown and Prince of Wales' feathers, and two portraits (Charles I. and his queen). The royal emblems suggest the possibility of the weapon having once belonged to Charles II., who may have given it to his favourite son (see *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxi. p. 63). Monmouth's gold snuff-box, full of gold pieces, was afterwards discovered in a pea-field in the vicinity of his capture (see Roberts, vol. ii. p. 106).

## King Monmouth

the fugitives made the best of their way southwards. At Cranbourne, some five miles from Woodyates, the duke must have been on familiar ground, as St. Giles, the mansion of his former associate and evil genius, stands in that locality; but had "Little Sincerity" been alive and in habitation, the odds are he would not have accorded his *protégé* a cordial welcome under the circumstances!

With a proffered reward of £5000 for his apprehension, and the roads alive with Royalist troopers scouring the country high and low in their efforts to make the important capture, Monmouth's progress could only be made with the greatest caution and principally under cover of darkness. By the night of July 7 the fugitives had got within some twelve or fourteen miles from Poole, in the moorland country to the north of Wimborne, and west of Ringwood. At the present day this part of Dorset is particularly primitive and secluded, and until the close of the eighteenth century was a favourite smuggling centre. In 1685, therefore, it may readily be supposed the locality was well adapted for hiding; indeed, in the vicinity of Holt Lodge, near to which the first arrest was made, the rural and picturesque character of the scenery requires no great stretch of the imagination to animate it with some scouts of the Sussex Militia of 1685, drawing rein at a spot where the road divides to scrutinise a couple of suspicious looking yokels.

The ever reckless Lord Grey turned out to be the one and the other Holyday, the guide!<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The sentence passed upon "Richard Holyday for conducting  
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## The Flight of the "King"

Lord Lumley and Sir William Portman were quickly on the spot, for where Grey was, Monmouth might be expected to be near at hand. The search was now continued with renewed vigour and Lumley confined his attention more particularly to a cluster of fields between the two roads leading to Fordingbridge and Ringwood, because two men had been seen getting over the hedge leading to the enclosure.

Among the secret service expenses of James II. is the following: "To Amy Farant, bounty for giving notice to the Lord Lumley where the Duke of Monmouth lay concealed, whereby he was apprehended, 50<sup>l</sup>." <sup>1</sup>

The cottage of this informant stood a hundred yards or so from the actual spot where the duke was eventually discovered. Portions of it remained until a comparatively recent date, but from the day that Monmouth was taken a curse fell upon it, and there it stood shunned and deserted as all ill-omened dwellings would be in a rural spot such as this, where inborn superstition, as a rule, defies even the up-to-date civilisation and culture of the School Board! <sup>2</sup>

Though the enclosure (known as "The Island," on Shags Heath) had been rigidly guarded and searched, no further discovery was made that day (July 7); but early next morning Buyse was

the Lord Grey from Gillingham to Ringwood after the fight at Weston" was "to be whipt twice, fined a marke, and to find sureties for the good behaviour for a year" (Add. MSS. British Museum, No. 31,957).

<sup>1</sup> Sept. 29, 1685. Secret Service Expenses James II. (Camden Society, 1851).

<sup>2</sup> The actual spot is still locally known as "Louse Lane."

## King Monmouth

captured, who confessed that he had been with Monmouth only three or four hours before, and possibly gave a clue as to his whereabouts, for he was ultimately pardoned.<sup>1</sup> Again the wheat-



THE "MONMOUTH ASH"

fields and bracken were carefully beaten. Three hours after the lurking-place of the Brandenburger was found, a militiaman (named Parkin) espied among the ferns and brambles, beneath an ash-tree, the skirt of a brown coat. The unfortunate wearer, according to some accounts, was asleep,<sup>2</sup> while other old traditions say it was the glistening of the duke's eye that first attracted the searcher's notice! In any case, the worn-out fugitive was in the

<sup>1</sup> See Howell, "State Trials," vol. xi., also footnote, Roberts, ii. pp. 106-7.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix C.

## The Flight of the "King"

last stage of exhaustion for want of food and rest.

The old ash-tree above alluded to is still alive,<sup>1</sup> and shows but little signs of decay beyond keeping its equilibrium by the aid of a crutch. The limb it has lost lies embedded in the brambles and bracken at its base, much in the fashion that "King Monmouth" lay on the morning of July 8, 1685. Upon its trunk may faintly be traced initials that were carved upon it by the curious who visited the spot not long after the fugitive's capture. It is strange to note that notwithstanding that there is no paling to protect this historic relic from the hands of vandals, there are no modern signs of the pocket-knife of the picnickers of to-day. Had the Duke of Monmouth been a great hero, the odds are that the old tree would long since have succumbed to the onslaughts of the tourist, ever ready to leave behind a memento of his visit!

<sup>1</sup> It stands in the corner of a field, a bowshot from "Crowther's Farm," which was not erected until after 1685.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### MONMOUTH'S LAST APPEALS

AT midnight on the day that Monmouth was taken the welcome news reached the king, and was substantiated by the George and the memorandum books found upon the prisoner. Some of the gold pieces which were also found in the duke's pockets were distributed between the militiaman, Parkin, and the two troopers who assisted in securing the prize.<sup>1</sup>

The secret service expenses record that Philip Calderall and Captain Thomas Bickley received a gratuity of £100 each for bringing the news to Whitehall. Also: "To Richard Lord Lumley,<sup>2</sup> viz. 5000<sup>l</sup> for the persons that discovered and took the late Duke of Monmouth and brought him to his said Ma<sup>ty</sup>.—500<sup>l</sup> for the persons that discovered and took Ford Lord Grey and brought him to his said Ma<sup>tie</sup>—& 144<sup>l</sup> 19s. for the fees p<sup>d</sup> for passing warrants & to the officers of the excheq<sup>r</sup> for the fees on receiving the said 5,500<sup>l</sup>." <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Parkin received £20 and the two troopers 10 guineas each. The militiaman is said to have burst into tears when he discovered whom he had captured.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Lumley, afterwards first Earl of Scarbrough.

<sup>3</sup> Secret Service Expenses of Charles II. and James II. (Camden Society, 1851).

## Monmouth's Last Appeals

Thoroughly unmanned by his recent privations and misfortunes, the captive, almost in a complete state of collapse, was carried to the nearest magistrate, Anthony Ettrick,<sup>1</sup> of Holt Lodge, which old farmhouse is situated about a mile from the historic ash-tree. Being interrogated



THE "ETTRICK COFFIN," WIMBORNE

here, Monmouth, with a glimmer of his old spirit, is said to have declared that with a good

<sup>1</sup> The Anthony Ettrick, who lies buried in the wall of Wimborne Minster south aisle was son of the above (*vide* pedigrees of the family in Hutchins' "Dorset"). A suggestion was recently made to remove this curious coffin a few feet to facilitate the movements of the organist, but such an act of vandalism was not permitted by the authorities ; it therefore remains exposed to view in its original position.

## King Monmouth

horse at his disposal he would still defy his captors.<sup>1</sup>

From Holt, the three prisoners were conveyed to Ringwood, where they were detained two days. A tradition comes from here that as the military escort took horse at the inn where the halt was made, Monmouth, though his arms were pinioned, placed his foot in the stirrup and, refusing assistance, sprang lightly into the saddle. Of this—his last athletic performance—a correspondent to *Notes and Queries*<sup>2</sup> in 1850 records the fact that his great-grandmother was an eye-witness. Another link with the nineteenth century is mentioned by Hutchins in his history of Dorset. A certain farmer, Kerley, living in the thirties, used to relate with pride that his grandmother saw Monmouth after his capture, and described him as a “black, genteel, tall man, with a dejected countenance.”<sup>3</sup>

The day after the military escort started for London by way of Romsey, Lord Lumley wrote to the Duke of Somerset: “On the 10th, in the morning, we marched, and came the last night to Winchester. We shall march this day to Farnam; to-morrow we designe for Gilford: from thence, my Lord, I think the best way will be to goe by the way of Hampton, where there is a good ford, & I think is much a better way, than by Cobham & Kingstone; & his Majesty shall think fitt, he [the Duke of Monmouth] may be brought by

<sup>1</sup> Tradition handed down by Rev. B. Vince, of Ringwood (see Roberts, ii. p. 109).

<sup>2</sup> Series i. vol. i. p. 358.

<sup>3</sup> Hutchins, “History of Dorset,” third edition, 1868.



HOLT LODGE, WOODLANDS



## Monmouth's Last Appeals

water from Theselworth [Isleworth] or Branford [Brentford]."<sup>1</sup>

Passing the nights of the 11th and 12th at Farnham Castle and in the town of Guildford, the prisoners reached Vauxhall on Monday, July 13. During the latter part of the journey, Monmouth was conveyed by coach under the guard of Colonel William Legge, who had special instructions from James to stab his nephew in the event of an attempt at rescue upon the road.<sup>2</sup> At the same time any such disturbance was carefully avoided by the extensive military guard of militia all the way from Ringwood to Vauxhall: "I, coming from the City by water," says the Earl of Ailesbury in his memoirs, "unfortunately landed at the same moment & saw him [Monmouth] led up the other stairs on Westminster side—lean and pale & with a disconsolate physiognomy, with soldiers with pistols in their hands. The yeomen of the guard were posted, & I got behind one of them that he should not perceive me, & I wished heartily & often since that I had not seen him, for I could never get him out of my mind for years, I so loved him personally."<sup>3</sup>

Arriving at Whitehall, the prisoners were conducted to the apartments of the notorious Keeper of the Back Stairs, William Chiffinch, in whose "Spy office,"<sup>4</sup> overlooking the river, the king,

<sup>1</sup> Drayton MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Earl of Dartmouth's MS. notes to Burnet, quoted by Roberts, ii. p. 121.

<sup>3</sup> "Memoirs of Thomas Earl of Ailesbury."

<sup>4</sup> See Roger North, "Life of Lord Keeper Guildford." Chiffinch died on July 13, 1691, at "Philberts," near Bray, an old house which, according to tradition, was the scene of Charles II.'s private pleasure trips when at Windsor.

## King Monmouth

like his brother Charles, was accustomed to hold his most secret interviews and intrigues. Before alluding to the painful meeting which followed, reference must be made to the three letters which Monmouth wrote in the interval between his capture and appearance at Whitehall.

These submissive appeals recall the duke's earlier tactics, when Halifax and Sunderland were using him for their own ends. The first was penned to the king on the day of his capture :

“ SIR,

“ Your Majesty may think it the misfortune I now lay under makes me make this application to you ; but I do assure your Majesty it is the remorse I now have in me of the wrong I have done you in several things, and now in taking up arms against you. For my taking up arms, it was never in my thought since the king died. The Prince and Princess of Orange will be witness for me of the assurance I gave them, that I would never stir against you. But my misfortune was such as to meet with some horrid people that made me believe things of your Majesty, & gave me so many false arguments, that I was fully led away to believe that it was a shame & a sin before God not to do it. But, sir, I will not trouble your Majesty at present with many things I could say of myself that I am sure would move your compassion, the chief end of this letter being only to beg of you that I may have that happiness as to speak to your Majesty, for I have that to say to you, sir, that I hope may give you a long and happy reign.

## Monmouth's Last Appeals

“ I am sure, sir, when you hear me, you will be convinced of the zeal I have of your preservation & how heartily I repent of what I have done. I can say no more to your Majesty now, being this letter must be seen by those that keep me. Therefore, sir, I shall make an end, in begging of your Majesty to believe so well of me, that I would rather die a thousand deaths than excuse any thing I have done, if I did not really think myself the most in wrong that ever a man was, & had not from the bottom of my heart an abhorrence for those that put me upon it, and for the action itself. I hope, sir, God Almighty will strike your heart with mercy and compassion for me, as He has done mine with the abhorrence of what I have done. Wherefore, sir, I hope I may live to show you how zealous I shall ever be for your service : & could I but say one word in this letter, you would be convinced of it ; but it is of that consequence that I dare not do it. Therefore, sir, I do beg of you once more to let me speak to you, for then you will be convinced how much I shall ever be

“ Your Majesty's most humble and dutiful  
“ MONMOUTH.”<sup>1</sup>

The next letter was written on the following day to the queen, as follows :

<sup>1</sup> The above letter was purchased in 1743 by Dr. Rawlinson at the sale of the effects of Catherine Bridgeman, daughter of William Bridgeman, clerk of the Privy Council and Under-Secretary of State to King James. It, with other of Monmouth's letters acquired at the same time, is now among the Rawlinson MSS. (A 139b) in the Bodleian Library (*vide* Macray's Catalogue of the Rawlinson MSS). N.B.—Fox quotes the letter in his “History of James II.” See also Roberts, vol. ii. pp. 112, 113.

King Monmouth

Madam from Ringwood the 9<sup>th</sup>  
of July 1754

Being in this unfortunate  
Condition and having none left but your  
Maj<sup>ty</sup> that I think may have some compa-  
=sion of me and that for the last King's sake  
makes me take this boldness to beg of you to  
intercede for me, I woud not desire your Maj<sup>ty</sup>  
to do it, if I wear not from the bottom of my  
hart convinced how I have bine deceived  
in to it, and how angry God Almighty is  
me for it, but I hope Madam your inter-  
=cession will give me life to repent of it, and  
to shew the King how ready and truly I will  
serve him here after, and I hope Madam  
your Maj<sup>ty</sup> will be convinced, that the life  
you save shall ever be devoted to your  
service, for I have bine and ever shall be  
your Maj<sup>ty</sup> most dutifull and obedient  
servant. *MONMOUTH*

## Monmouth's Last Appeals

The third letter, to Hyde, Earl of Rochester, was also sent from Ringwood the same day :

“ MY LORD,

“ Having had some proofs of your kindness when I was last at Whitehall makes me hope now that you will not refuse interceding for me with the king, being I now, though too late, see how I have been misled. Were I not clearly convinced of that, I would rather die a thousand deaths than say what I do. I writ yesterday to the king, & the chief business of my letter was to desire to speak to him, for I have that to say to him that I am sure will set him at quiet for ever. I am sure the whole study of my life shall hereafter be how to serve him ; & I am sure that which I can do is more worth than taking my life away ; & I am confident, if I may be so happy to speak to him, he will, himself, be convinced of it, being, I can give him such infallible proofs of my truth to him, that though I would alter it, it would not be in my power to do it. This which I have now said I hope will be enough to encourage your Lordship to show me your favour, which I do earnestly desire of you ; & hope you have so much generosity as not to refuse it. I hope, my Lord, & I make no doubt of it, that you will not have cause to repent having saved my life, which, I am sure, you can do a great deal in it, if you please ; being, it obliges me for ever to be entirely yours, which I shall ever be as long as I have life.

“ MONMOUTH.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This letter is now in the collection of MSS. formed by the late

## King Monmouth

In the belief that Monmouth and Grey had some important secret to divulge, and perhaps in the hopes of extracting some incriminating proofs of double dealing on the part of his ministers, James was induced to see the prisoners, though he had no intention of saving his nephew from the scaffold, except, as he afterwards asserted, "he had any proper assurance that he [Monmouth] could make a 'sincere discovery,'"<sup>1</sup> but the revelations evidently did not come up to the king's expectations, judging from a letter he wrote to the Prince of Orange after the duke's execution.<sup>2</sup>

According to Bishop Kennet, the queen, as well as the two Secretaries of State, Lords Sunderland and Middleton, were present at the interview, but this is doubtful; and as the king never trusted his most confidential advisers (even to the very day that he quitted England for good), it is most probable the first part of the meeting was strictly private, for even the penetration of Barrillon could gather nothing definite for the diversion of the French monarch.

The ambassador of the States, on the other hand, according to James' own account, was in a "grievous agony" lest some revelations should be made compromising the Prince of Orange.<sup>3</sup>

Alfred Morrison, Esq. It is quoted in Singer's "Clarendon Correspondence." See also Roberts, vol. ii. p. 120.

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Dr. Jebb to Dr. Rawlinson, 1743, Camden Miscellany, vol. viii.

<sup>2</sup> See Dalrymple's "Memoirs."

<sup>3</sup> Clarke, "Life of James II." vol. ii. p. 34; also Macpherson, "Original Papers," vol. i. p. 146.

## Monmouth's Last Appeals

But among those who had most to fear was the subtle statesman Sunderland,<sup>1</sup> who, by holding out promises of a reprieve, is supposed to have tied Monmouth's tongue.<sup>2</sup>

Ailesbury says that some five years after Monmouth's execution he met Ferguson, who declared "before the living God" that the duke told him on shipboard, just before landing at Lyme Regis, that in the event of success Sunderland had promised to be Prime Minister.<sup>3</sup> This was corroborated by James himself,<sup>4</sup> when too late he became convinced of his minister's treachery, and Rochester also declared that Monmouth had damning proofs of his double dealing; but we shall presently refer more fully to Sunderland in connection with a darker transaction.

After Monmouth (his hands bound behind him) had prayed for his life upon his knees in the most submissive and abject manner,<sup>5</sup> and thrown the blame of the insurrection entirely upon his evil advisers, at the same time declaring, which was true enough, that in the first instance he was induced against his will to listen to the dangerous counsels of Ferguson and the Scottish exiles in Holland, Branston records in his autobiography: "He stayd at M<sup>r</sup>. Chiffin's lodge-

<sup>1</sup> Robert Spencer, second Earl of Sunderland, born 1640, *ob.* (at Althorp) 1702.

<sup>2</sup> Clarke, "Life of James II." vol. ii. p. 34; also Macpherson, "Original Papers," vol. i. p. 146.

<sup>3</sup> "Ailesbury Memoirs," vol. i. p. 117.

<sup>4</sup> Clarke, "Life of James II."

<sup>5</sup> Who can forget the dramatic picture upon this painful subject by the late John Pettie, R.A.

## King Monmouth

ings untill the tyde served to carrie him to the Tower. Chiffins had prepared for him a short supper. Gray and the Brandenburgher eate with him." <sup>1</sup>

Grey, reckless as ever, was in good spirits, a striking contrast to the gloomy duke, who, complaining of a cold he was suffering from, was comforted with the remark by his friend that his royal uncle would shortly provide an excellent cure.<sup>2</sup> About eight o'clock, the prisoners, guarded by a large detachment of soldiers, again entered the royal barges, and soon afterwards mounted the fatal steps beyond the ominous Traitors' Gate of the Tower. Upon the way Monmouth prayed the Earl of Dartmouth to plead for a reprieve upon any terms, but was told that having set himself up as king, death was the only alternative. Still unconvinced, the wretched man yet clung to the hope that one at least of his letters of humiliation might have the desired effect upon James' frigid heart, as had formerly been the case with the easy-going Charles. He also is said to have hinted at changing his religion, but the king's priests pointed out that he was anxious only to save his life, not his soul.<sup>3</sup> Another appeal was therefore made to the queen by letter after his interview with the king.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Autobiography," p. 186.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Lonsdale's "Memoirs," quoted by Roberts, vol. ii. p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> See Roberts, p. 139.

<sup>4</sup> Had the queen been present at the interview and treated Monmouth with the brutality described by Kennet, he would surely not have addressed a letter of appeal to her.

## Monmouth's Last Appeals

“MADAME,

“I would not take the boldness of writing to your Ma<sup>ty</sup> till I had shew<sup>d</sup> the King how I doe abhor the thing that I have done & how much I desire to live only to serve him. I hope, Madame, by what I have sed to the King to-day, will satisfy him how sinceir I am, & how much I detest all those people that has brought me to this. Having done this, Madame, I thought I was in a fitt condition to beg your interseesion, w<sup>ch</sup> I am sur you never refuse to the distressed, & I am sur, Madame, I am an object of your pity, having bine cousened and cheated into this horid busines. Did I w<sup>ch</sup> [wish], Madame, to live for living sake, I would never give you this trouble, but it is to have life to serve the King, w<sup>ch</sup> I am eable to doe, & will doe beyond what I can express, therefor, Madame, upon such an account as that I may take the boldness to presse you & beg of you to intersaid for me, for I am sur, Madame, the King will harken to you: your prairs can never be refused, espetially when tis beging for a life, only to serve the King. I hope, Madame, by the King's generosity & goodness, & your interseesion, I may hope for my life, w<sup>ch</sup> if I have, shall ever be employ<sup>d</sup> in shewing to your Ma<sup>ty</sup> all the sence immadginable of gratitud for your great goodness, and in serving of the King like a true and faithfull subject & ever be, Your Ma<sup>ty</sup>s most dutiful & obedient servant,

(Signed) MONMOUTH.<sup>1</sup>

“To the Queen.’

<sup>1</sup> This, and another letter quoted later (in the Rawlinson collec-

## King Monmouth

The day after Monmouth's capture a warrant was issued under the Royal sign-manual for the committal of the duke's children to the Tower,<sup>1</sup> and their mother voluntarily accompanied them.<sup>2</sup> In less than a month after the loss of her husband the unhappy duchess had to mourn the loss of her little daughter, Lady Anne Scott (aged ten). In referring to her bereavement, the mother writes to the Duchess of Buckingham: "I believe death & absence never was more cruel to any than me. I do absolutely despair of ever being contented as I have been with you, for it is not imaginable what satisfaction I had to go with you to see my poor child. But I will not say any more of what is past for ever."<sup>3</sup>

On August 14 the body was removed from the Tower, and buried in Westminster Abbey by permission of the king.<sup>4</sup> Monmouth's two sons were released on November 17.<sup>5</sup>

The night that the duke was brought to the Tower his wife was permitted to see him, the first time they had met since his final disgrace, over a year and a half before. At the first intimation that the duchess desired an interview, Monmouth refused, complaining that she had not acted as a wife towards him, either by showing any great

tion at the Bodleian Library), are supposed by Dr. Jebb to have been intercepted by the Under-Secretary of State, Bridgeman (see Camden Miscellany, vol. viii., also footnote, ante).

<sup>1</sup> Warrant in the Public Record Office.

<sup>2</sup> Luttrell's "Diary," also Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 12, App. 5, p. 92.

<sup>3</sup> Letter in the Charter Room at Dalkeith Palace.

<sup>4</sup> State Papers, Jas. II. Entry Book, vol. lvi.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

## Monmouth's Last Appeals

concern for him then, or before at the time of his father's death.<sup>1</sup> A meeting, however, took place in the presence of a third person, Lord Clarendon, to whom the prisoner principally addressed himself in the hope of obtaining a reprieve. The Lord Privy Seal, however, pointed out that he was only there to attend the duchess, and desired he would use the little time left him to better purpose. Cold and restrained as was this formal interview, the much-wronged wife prayed she might be forgiven if she had ever failed in her duty and obedience, though she resented, naturally enough, her husband's amours and general course of life.<sup>2</sup>

A second meeting<sup>3</sup> on the morning of his execution was of a more painful character. From the time that he became convinced that there was no hope, Monmouth behaved with the dignity and firmness which hitherto had been entirely wanting. He asked forgiveness for his many failings and offences, and spoke tenderly of their children, who shortly before had come to bid him the last adieu. The poor duchess "fell down in tears at her husband's feet and begged him to pardon her if ever she had done anything to offend and displease him, and clasping his knees fell into a

<sup>1</sup> In his affliction he told Archbishop Tenison she had gone to plays and public companies, by which, he said, "I know she did not love me" (see Roberts, vol. ii. p. 142).

<sup>2</sup> Buccleuch MS.

<sup>3</sup> The Earl of Sunderland wrote to the Lieutenant of the Tower that it was the king's pleasure a final interview should be allowed on the evening of the 14th of July or the next morning (Document in the Public Record Office).

## King Monmouth

fainting fit, from which she was with difficulty, and long after, recovered.”<sup>1</sup>

Monmouth was informed of his fate the day previous to his execution (July 14) by Bishops Turner and Ken.<sup>2</sup> The death warrant, preserved among the State Papers in the Record Office, is signed by James in a firm hand, with neat little flourishes.<sup>3</sup> Until the last, however, the duke was in hopes of a reprieve. He wrote to various noblemen to use their influence to delay the execution for a few days. An Italian astrologer who had cast his horoscope had foretold that if he outlived St. Swithin's Day (presumably of the year 1685) he had nothing to fear! This fortune-teller, the Abbé Pregnani, was introduced to Charles II. by Monmouth at Newmarket in 1669. The king, writing to his sister, the Duchess of Orleans, March 22, 1669, says: “L'Abbé Pregnani was there [Newmarket] most part of the time, and I believe will give you some account of it, but not that he lost his money upon confidence that the starrs could tell which horse would winn, for he had the ill luck to foretell three times wrong together, and James [Monmouth] believed him so much, as he lost his mony upon the same score.”<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Buccleuch MSS. (see Scott's "Dryden," vol. ix. p. 257).

<sup>2</sup> The Act of Attainder passed against Monmouth made any trial unnecessary.

<sup>3</sup> The writ commands the Lieutenant of the Tower to take the Duke of Monmouth to the usual place without the Tower Gate between the hours of 9 and 11 in the forenoon of July 15, and deliver him to the sheriffs of London and Middlesex for execution. Dated July 13, 1685.

<sup>4</sup> Letter preserved in the French archives (see "Madame," by Julia Cartwright, pp. 278, 284).



DUKE OF MONMOUTH WITH ASTROLOGER



## Monmouth's Last Appeals

A strange story of a supposed intercepted letter was related by Colonel Scott, who had command of the guard at the Tower when Monmouth was a prisoner. According to his account the duke sent a sealed letter to the king by the hands of a certain captain under Scott's command, but before he was able to deliver it, Sunderland took it from him, promising to hand it himself, as James was then dressing and could not be approached. Years afterwards the exiled monarch, hearing the story, interrogated Scott about it, and upon being assured it was true, remarked, "As I am a living man I never saw that letter, nor did I ever hear of it till within these few days."<sup>1</sup>

Another supposed intercepted letter is now in the Bodleian Library, and may for reasons best known to himself have been suppressed by Sunderland, but the date of it shows that it was written on the journey up to London, between Farnham and Guildford, whereas the letter of Scott's narrative was written and sealed in the Tower. The Bodleian letter is given on the next page.

Another story of Sunderland's secret connection with the rebellion appears in James II.'s memoirs.

<sup>1</sup> See Singer's "Hyde Correspondence." Dr. Jebb, who heard the story related by Colonel Scott at Boulogne in 1723, gives a somewhat different version. The Colonel promised, when off duty, to carry a letter (which was lying on the table) to the king; meanwhile a third person entered the room, "which," says Jebb, "if I misremember not, was Mr. Bridgeman"; and the duke, altering his mind, sent the letter by him, saying he could rely upon its safe delivery (see letter from Dr. Jebb to Dr. Rawlinson, March 1, 1743, Camden Miscellany, vol. viii.).

## King Monmouth

I had forgot to tell your Ma<sup>ty</sup> that it would  
be very necessary to send some troups down in to Chescheire  
for there are severall gentlemen there, that I believe  
are in good disaffection. I hope your Ma<sup>ty</sup> will not  
be angry with me if I take this opportunity to put you  
in mind that these severall doe wish me out of the way  
for there own sakes, without considering your Ma<sup>ty</sup>  
service but I am sure if you are soe just and soe good that  
wee such people will have any credit with you. pray  
I do not be angry with me if I tell you once more that  
I long to live to show<sup>you</sup> how well and how truly  
I can serve and if God Almighty send me that blessing  
to all upon Earth I will ever aske, being that I hope  
I shall end my days in showing of you that you have  
not a truer and faithfuller subject then your  
most dutifull

Monmouth

“July 12, 1685.”<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Ralph Sheldon, by Monmouth's request, carried a message to the king conveying intelligence of the Secretary of State's double dealing. As he was delivering this message Sunderland entered the chamber, but he was reassured by James (who possibly had his suspicions that anything could be said in his presence); at which, much to the statesman's discomfiture, Monmouth's mes-

<sup>1</sup> Rawlinson MSS. (formerly in the possession of Bridgeman, Under-Secretary of State) Bodleian Library.



Sunderland





*Head of the Duke of Monmouth,  
after Decapitation.*



## Monmouth's Last Appeals

sage was delivered. Dr. Jebb, in referring to the same story, says that the king merely remarked, "Poor Monmouth! he was always easy to be imposed on."<sup>1</sup>

The condemned man's final appeal was sent to James on the day before the execution :

" SIR,

"I have received your Majesty's order this day that I am to dye to-morrow. I was in hopes, Sir, by what your Majesty said to me yesterday, of taking care of my soul, that I should have had some little more time ; for truly, Sir, this is very short. I do beg of your Majesty, if it be possible, to let me have one day more, that I may go out of the world as a Christian ought.

"I had desired several times to speak with my Lord Arundel of Wardour, which I do desire still. I hope your Majesty will grant it me ; & I do beg of your Majesty to let me know by him if there is nothing in this world that can recall your sentence, or at least reprieve me for some time. I was in hopes I should have lived to have served you, which I think I could have done to a great degree ; but your Majesty does not think it fit. Therefore, Sir, I shall end my days with being satisfied that I had all the good intentions imaginable for it, & should have done it, being that I am your Majesty's most dutiful,

" MONMOUTH.

"I hope your Majesty will give Doctor Tenni-

<sup>1</sup> See Camden Miscellany, vol. viii., and Clarke, "Life of James II."

## King Monmouth

son leave to come to me, or any other that you will be pleased to grant me.

“To the King.”<sup>1</sup>

But former experience had proved what faith might be put in the duke's promises and “good intentions.”

<sup>1</sup> Harleian MSS. British Museum. See also Ellis's “Historical Letters,” iii. 346, and Roberts, ii. p. 138.

## CHAPTER XIX

### THE FATAL FIFTEENTH OF JULY

MONMOUTH'S request that Dr. Thomas Tenison might be sent to comfort his last hours was granted, and the archbishop, with Dr. Hooper, joined the other two bishops on the morning of the 15th. "I was sent for," says Tenison, "to the Duke of Monmouth in the Tower on the day of his execution: the Duke knowing me better than the two prelates, Bishop Ken & Bishop Turner. He took me aside to the window, & held a long conversation with me too much upon his own follies, when among other things I mentioned a report of his Graces preaching in the army. 'No,' said the Duke, 'I never preached; nobody preached but Ferguson, & he very foolishly many times. That man,' says he, 'is a bloody villian.' When I minded him of being better reconciled to his Duchess, he owned his heart had been turned from her, & he pretended the cause of it to be, that in his affliction she had gone to plays & into public companies, 'by which,' said he, 'I knew she did not love me.' When I charged him with his conversation with Mrs. Wentworth, he freely owned it, & said he had no children by her; but he had heard it was

## King Monmouth

lawful to have one wife in the eye of the law, & another before God. I then took a Bible & laboured to convince him of the falsehood and the ill consequences of such a principle. 'Well,' says he, 'but if a man be bred up in a false notion, what shall he do when he has but two hours to live?' The Duke pulled out a gold watch<sup>1</sup> & pressed me to carry it in his name to M<sup>rs</sup>. Wentworth: which I positively refused, & said I could not be concerned in any such message or token to her. The Duke did not seem at all profane or atheistical, but had rather a cast of enthusiasm in him."<sup>2</sup>

Monmouth also gave his servant<sup>3</sup> a ring and a toothpick case containing some charms in the shape of scriptural allusions, with directions to deliver them to Lady Wentworth. Beneath the stone of the former was found another charm, professing to be a security against imminent danger,<sup>4</sup> which, by the way, in the present instance, had not proved particularly efficacious. When the duke was captured in Dorsetshire several of these charms were found tied about him.<sup>5</sup>

Lady Henrietta is described by her once admirer,

<sup>1</sup> Reresby mentions the watch and £300 in gold being found on him when he was captured ("Memoirs," p. 340).

<sup>2</sup> Jesse, "Memoirs of the Stuarts," 1855 ed., vol. iii. pp. 154, 155. James II. also said Monmouth died a downright enthusiast.

<sup>3</sup> One Marshall, an old servant of Sir Thomas Armstrong; see letter from Dr. Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, to Bishop Fell, July 16, 1685 (*Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxxiii. p. 345).

<sup>4</sup> Archbishop Tenison said the charm was obtained from a German mountebank (see Jesse, "Memoirs," vol. iii. p. 150).

<sup>5</sup> Colonel Legge, who guarded Monmouth to London, showed these charms to his nephew (afterwards the Earl of Dartmouth). See the earl's MS. notes on Burnet, quoted by Roberts, vol. ii. p. 121.

## The Fatal Fifteenth of July

Ailesbury, as "a visionary," which, perhaps, in some measure accounts for the sympathy between her and her paramour.

At ten o'clock in the morning (Wednesday, July 15), Monmouth, accompanied by the Lieutenant of the Tower, left the fortress by coach, and was handed over to the City sheriffs, who led the procession, the prisoner being guarded by three officers with loaded pistols in their hands. When the people caught sight of their old favourite, there were sounds of lamentation on all sides.<sup>1</sup> There is a story that an old partisan of the duke contemplated a rescue by charging through the guard, but failed owing to the lack of necessary support.<sup>2</sup>

Upon the way to the scaffold (draped in black, by the king's permission<sup>3</sup>), the duke showed great resolution, and smiled as he saluted the horse and foot guards surrounding the grim erection. Being asked by the sheriff if he had anything to say, he answered that he never was good at speeches, and would not begin now, for he was confident he would not be heard, and if he was not, it did not signify.<sup>4</sup>

So persistent were the sheriffs and bishops that a public acknowledgment should be made of his repentance for causing the rebellion, that the doomed man turned away from them several times,<sup>5</sup> though he at length declared his sorrow for the loss of life he had caused; but nothing

<sup>1</sup> Ralph, quoted by Roberts, ii. p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> "Western Martyrology," p. 154.

<sup>3</sup> State Papers, Dom. Jas. II. Entry Book, vol. lvi. p. 258.

<sup>4</sup> Buccleuch MS.

<sup>5</sup> "Memoirs of the Verney Family," vol. iv. p. 358.

## King Monmouth

would induce him to address himself to the crowd. The only statement he seemed anxious to make was with reference to Lady Wentworth.

According to a contemporary account of the execution: "I have had a Scandal raised upon me," said Monmouth, "about a Woman, a Lady of Vertue & Honour. I will name her, the Lady Henrietta Wentworth. I declare, that she is a very Vertuous and Godly Woman. I have committed no Sin with her; & that which hath passed betwixt us was very Honest and Innocent in the sight of God."<sup>1</sup>

An eye-witness upon Tower Hill gives the same account, and says, "he did not say in express words either that he was or that he was not married to her, tho' it is said he intimated very much as if he were married to her."<sup>2</sup> Though we were of a little distance from him," says the writer, "we could easily perceive he did not seem to be any way daunted at the greate preparations that were made for his dying."<sup>3</sup>

After the bishops had repeated some lengthy prayers, in which Monmouth joined with fervour, he picked up the axe and tried the edge with his thumb, and giving the executioner six guineas, said if he did his work properly his servant had six more to give him; for if he was to be served like Lord Russell he would not promise to lie still.<sup>4</sup> Having removed his coat and peruke, the

<sup>1</sup> "An Account of what passed at the Execution of the late Duke of Monmouth," &c., 1685.

<sup>2</sup> Belvoir MSS. Letter from Chaloner Chute to the Countess of Rutland (see Appendix E).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Buccleuch MS.



AN

# ACCOUNT

Of what passed at the

## EXECUTION

Of the late

### Duke of Monmouth,

On Wednesday the 15th. of July, 1685 on Tower-hill.

TOGETHER

With a Paper Signed by Himself that morning in the Tower in the presence of the Lords Bishops of Ely, and Bath and Wells, Dr. Tenison, and Dr. Hooper.

AND ALSO,

The Copy of His Letter to His MAJESTY after he was taken. Dated at Ringwood in Hampshire, the 21st. of July.

**T**He Late Duke of Monmouth came from the Tower to the Scaffold, attended by the Bishop of Ely, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, Dr. Tenison, and Dr. Hooper, which four the King was graciously pleased to send him, as his Assistants to prepare him for Death; and the late Duke himself intreated all four of them, to accompany him to the place of Execution, and to continue with him to the last. The two Bishops going in the Lieutenant's Coach with him to the Bars made seasonable and devout Applications to him all the way; and one of them desired him not to be surprized, if they to the very last upon the Scaffold, renewed those Exhortations to a particular Repentance, which they had so often repeated before.

At his first coming upon the Scaffold, he looked for the Executioner, and seeing him, said, *Is this the man to do the business? Do your work well.*

Then the late Duke of Monmouth began to speak, some one or other of the Assistants, during the whole time, applying themselves to him.

Monmouth, *I shall say but very little; I come to die; I die a Protestant of the Church of England.*

Assistants, My Lord, if you be of the Church of England, you must acknowledge the Doctrine of Non-resistance to be True.

M. *If I acknowledge the Doctrine of the Church of England in general, that includes all.*

A. Sir, it is fit to own that Doctrine particularly, with respect to your Case. Here he was much urged about that Doctrine of Non-resistance, but he repeated in effect his first Answer.

Then he began as if he was about to make a pre-meditated Speech, in this manner

A

M,

FACSIMILE OF THE PUBLISHED ACCOUNT OF MONMOUTH'S EXECUTION

(For the continuation of the Pamphlet see Appendix F, p. 427.)

## King Monmouth

duke, refusing to be bound or have any covering to his head or face, prayed for a short space, and with great composure fitted his head to the block.

But it was the poor man's fate to be mangled in a far more ghastly fashion than had been the fate of Lord Russell, for two strokes of the axe sufficed to sever the head of the latter, while no less than five were delivered in this instance.

An eye-witness thus describes the dreadful scene :

"The Executioner had five blowes at him ; after the first he look'd up & after the third he put his leggs a cross & the Hangman flung away his axe, but being chidd tooke it againe & gave him tother two strokes, & severed not his head from his body till he cut it off with his knife."<sup>1</sup> Having completed his butchery, short work would have been made of the executioner by the enraged mob had not the guard covered his retreat. Handkerchiefs and shirts that had been dipped in the poor duke's blood were long afterwards kept as precious relics, and a preventive against the "king's evil." The actual shirt, with deep lace collar attached, worn by Monmouth on the fatal day, is still preserved in the muniment room at Dalkeith Palace.

A coffin, covered with black velvet, having received its melancholy burden, was carried to the Tower in a hearse followed by one coach, each drawn by six horses. Here, as was the custom, the head was sewn on, before interment

<sup>1</sup> Verney MSS. (see "Memoirs of the Verney Family," vol. iv. p. 358 ; see also Appendix E).

## The Fatal Fifteenth of July

in St. Peter's Chapel. Various stories were circulated at the time that the body of the duke was not interred in the Tower. Charles Bertie, writing to his niece, the Countess of Rutland, July 16, 1685, says: "The King gave his [Monmouth's] body to be disposed by the Dutchesse, who I think buries itt at Moore Park."<sup>1</sup> In 1852 a decapitated body was discovered during some alterations at Newnham Regis, Warwickshire, which at the time was conjectured to be Monmouth's, because the property belonged to the Buccleuch family, though it was shown that the estate came at a later period through the Dukes of Montagu.<sup>2</sup> There is, however, little doubt now, for on November 11, 1876, owing to a subsidence in the pavement of the chapel, the stones of the chancel were removed, and beneath the Communion table, close against the east wall, and lying north and south, upon the concrete foundation, was seen (for the earth was only partially removed) the leg bones of a tall man, and from the relative positions of the other bodies, excepting that of Katherine Howard (which could not be identified), the remains were clearly those of the Duke of Monmouth.<sup>3</sup>

The burial register entry is as follows: "1685, James Duke of Monmouth, beheaded on Tower Hill ye 15<sup>th</sup> and buried ye 16<sup>th</sup> July."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 9 App. 5, p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> See "Notes and Queries," 1st Series, vol. vi. p. 488, &c.

<sup>3</sup> See Doyne Bell's "Notices of the Historic Persons buried in the Chapel of St. Peter in the Tower."

<sup>4</sup> There are several medals in the British Museum commemorative of Monmouth's execution. Of those reproduced (by the courtesy of Mr. G. F. Hill, of the Medal Department), one represents a bust with the inscription: "Jacobus, infelix Dux Monumethensis,"

## King Monmouth

The unfortunate Lady Wentworth awaited the result of her lover's hazardous enterprise in



Zealand, having in her care (says Dangeau) the duke's jewellery and signet rings. <sup>1</sup> About a fort-

reverse, the duke's head upon the ground spouting blood; *inscription*, "Hunc Sanguinem libo Deo liberatori," and in *exergue* "Caesa Cervix Lon. Julij 15/25, 1685." The other represents a bust of James II. on a pedestal, "ARAS et Sceptra Tuemur," Neptune in his car and ships in the distance; *reverse*, "Ambitio malesuada ruit," on a pedestal, on which stands Justice trampling on a serpent, and weighing three crowns against sword, torch, and serpent of discord. At her feet the bodies of Monmouth and Argyll, their heads on blocks inscribed with their names; above, the sun, on one side lightning descending on rebel troops, on the other, the heads of the two victims stuck up over the Tower gates. Other medals represent Monmouth's profile, with reverse of a youth falling in attempting to climb a rock surmounted by three crowns, with the motto: "Superi risere"; a youth falling from a column surmounted by a crown, with cannon, standards, &c., beneath, and the inscription, "Providentia improvidentia"; a youth struggling with a lion, and the motto: "Parum successit feci sedulo;" and two cupids holding a crown over the initial M, and over it "Caput inter nubila." See also Franks and Grueber's "Medallic Illustrations," vol. i. p. 615, &c.

<sup>1</sup> "Les Memoires de Dangeau." It appears from the State Papers that Henrietta Lady Wentworth had relatives living at Middleburg. Sir Gelyn Quirine, who traded between Amsterdam, Middleburg, and London, had married Aletta, a sister of Lady Philadelphia and a niece of Sir William Throckmorton, Knight Marshal of England. At the time of his exile Charles II. "lodged divers weeks at their house" (*vide* Cal. State Papers, Dom. Dec. 3, 1666).



## King Monmouth

him into ye custody of ye Bearer, one of his Ma<sup>ty</sup>s messengers, together with ye 3 letters you mention he brought with him directed to S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Smith.

“ I am,  
M<sup>r</sup>. Mayor, &c.”<sup>1</sup>



It would be interesting to know the purport of these letters, or whether they ever reached their intended destination. The writer arrived in England shortly afterwards “in a most lamentable condition of health,” says the Earl of Ailesbury,<sup>2</sup> who saw her.

In April of the following year she was dead. It will be remembered that various small articles—charms—

were discovered tied about Monmouth's body when he was taken at Woodlands; one of these he had preserved, and at the last moment handed

<sup>1</sup> State Papers, Dom. Jas. II. Entry Book, vol. lvi. p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> “Memoirs of Thomas Earl of Ailesbury.”

## The Fatal Fifteenth of July

it wrapped up in a piece of paper to the Bishop of Ely, desiring him to give it to Lady Wentworth.

The bishop afterwards acquainted the king, and hesitated in complying with the dying man's wish, but James desired him to deliver it. As may be imagined, the interview was very painful. "The poor lady swooned away," says Ailesbury, "and



being come to herself told my Lord, 'Good God! had that poor man nothing to think of but of me!'"<sup>1</sup>

There was some unpleasantness at Lady Wentworth's interment at Toddington on April 30, 1686. Sir William Smith, presumably to give publicity to his righteous indignation at the Wentworth-Monmouth scandal, cut the church bell ropes to prevent them from tolling, much to the indignation of the villagers, who were deeply attached to the young baroness. No time was

<sup>1</sup> "Memoirs of Thomas Earl of Ailesbury."

## King Monmouth

lost by the mother in realising the rents. Pressure was brought to bear upon the tenants by

notices to quit and threats of bailiff proceedings, and Lady Anne Lovelace, hearing of these harsh measures, arrived on the scene to see things righted.<sup>1</sup> Sir Ralph Verney was informed on July 7 that all the estates passed to the mother for life, so she was considered "a brave match for Sir William Smith."<sup>2</sup>

The mother died ten years afterwards (May 4, 1696).<sup>3</sup> By her will, dated a month previously, she leaves a legacy to her daughter's former suitor, Lewis, Earl of

Feversham,<sup>4</sup> and £2000 for a monument in



<sup>1</sup> From a MS. in private hands.

<sup>2</sup> "Verney Memoirs," vol. iv. p. 414.

<sup>3</sup> Sir William Smith died the same year.

<sup>4</sup> Add. MSS. [B.M.] 22230, ff. 17, 23, and 63.

## The Fatal Fifteenth of July

memory of her daughter. This handsome marble tomb is to be seen in the north transept of the fine old church at Toddington, shorn, however, of Henrietta's bust, which surmounted it, and which now lies in fragments on the adjacent tomb of Lady Maria Wentworth. The inscription runs as follows: " Sacred to the memory of the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Lady Henrietta Maria Baroness Wentworth, who died unmarried April ye 23<sup>rd</sup> 1686. She was sole daughter and Heir of ye Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> Thomas Lord Wentworth, buried here the 7<sup>th</sup> of March 1664 (5) by Philadelphia his wife, Dau<sup>tr</sup> of S<sup>r</sup> Ferdinando Cary K<sup>nt</sup> who was interred near her husband ye 9<sup>th</sup> of May 1696. And Grand daughter & heir of the Rt Hon<sup>ble</sup> Thomas Earl of Cleveland Lord



## King Monmouth

Wentworth of Nettlested &c. also buried here  
April the 4<sup>th</sup> 1667.”<sup>1</sup>



THE PORCH, TODDINGTON CHURCH

<sup>1</sup> The Stepney estates, granted to the Wentworths in the reign of Edward VI., confiscated by Cromwell, and restored by Charles II., continued in the family until 1720, when they were sold. There being no issue of the marriage of Martha Baroness Wentworth (only surviving child of John, third Lord Lovelace, and grandchild of Lady Anne Lovelace, Henrietta's aunt, who held the barony until her death, May 7, 1697) with Sir Henry Johnson, Knight, of Poplar, the Toddington estate passed into another branch of the Wentworth family by the marriage of Thomas Earl of Strafford with Sir Henry Johnson's only daughter by his first wife. The barony of Wentworth held by the Byrons was a re-creation in 1762, and came through the wife of the poet, who was descended on the mother's side from Lord Lovelace of Hurley, which title becoming extinct in 1736, was revived in the last century. Lady Place, the old seat of the Lovelaces at Hurley, where the third earl (Henrietta's first cousin) kept house with profuse hospitality in James II.'s reign, was, after his death, sold under a decree of the Court of Chancery, the estates being heavily encumbered, and after passing through several hands was pulled down in 1837. In the vault which still remains, Lovelace organised treasonable meetings, and tradition



HENRIETTA, LADY WENTWORTH'S MONUMENT AT TODDINGTON



## The Fatal Fifteenth of July

The old-world village of Toddington, with its sad and romantic associations, is full of interest, and carries one's imagination back to the unhappy love story. A small portion of Toddington



THE "MONMOUTH TREE" AT TODDINGTON

"Place," or Manor House, remains, and, viewed from the back, near the "old fish-ponds," shows some vestiges of its original character. In the park, not far from the house, stands a majestic oak-tree, upon the trunk of which may still be seen the indentation where Henrietta's initials,

asserts that certain documents in favour of the Revolution were signed there. *Vide* "Secret Chambers and Hiding Places."

## King Monmouth

carved by Monmouth, remained within living memory. The portion of the bark containing the letters was cut out by some vandal some fifty years ago.

The greater part of the building, originally a large quadrangular Elizabethan mansion with corner turrets,<sup>1</sup> was pulled down in 1745 after the Earl of Strafford came into possession. The north turret, with some rooms attached (the old kitchen, bakehouse, &c.), is all that now exists. The present dining-room contains a fireplace of huge dimensions (seventeen feet across). When the house was dismantled the interior decorations, oak carvings, &c., were removed to Hockliffe, a few miles away, where some of the woodwork may still be seen incorporated in the village inn, "The White Horse."<sup>2</sup>

Some idea of the extent and arrangements of the interior of Toddington "Place" may be gathered from an old plan still in existence and used as a fire-screen.<sup>3</sup> Adjoining the south turret,<sup>4</sup> admitting into it, and with an entrance on

<sup>1</sup> By the kind permission of W. C. Cooper, Esq., of Toddington, I have copied an original drawing by Radulph Agas, which shows the mansion as it appeared in the year 1581.

<sup>2</sup> The arms of the Crofts and Cheneys and other families connected with the Wentworths are here. The principal part of the carving is over the entrance-gate and in the inn yard: A curious panel, dated 1566, is in the bar parlour. Some of the interior decorations of Toddington Place were re-erected in a building adjoining Hockliffe Grange, known as "the Temple," but this was demolished a few years ago, and some of the carvings by Grinling Gibbons found their way back to their original home at Toddington. The present occupant of Hockliffe Grange found among the *débris* of "the Temple" a fine ornamental iron fire-back, which is now in the hall of the Grange.

<sup>3</sup> In the possession of W. C. Cooper, Esq.

<sup>4</sup> In Agas' bird's-eye view (see p. 357) the south tower is that

## The Fatal Fifteenth of July

one side into the "marble gallery," and on the other to "my lady's parlor," is the "Duke of Monmouth's parlor." Near at hand are the "long parlor" and "gilded parlor." At right angles



OAK CARVINGS FROM TODDINGTON "PLACE"

with this suite is the hall, "Stuards parlor," butler's pantry, &c. From an inventory of 1644 and survey of 1719 further particulars are gathered.<sup>1</sup>

nearest to the spectator, with Monmouth's apartments adjoining it on the west side, the windows looking out on the pleasure gardens. The enclosure to the north of these grounds and west of the stables is now the kitchen garden, beyond which, further to the west, is the meadow containing "Monmouth's tree."

<sup>1</sup> See Rutton's "Three Branches of the Family of Wentworth."

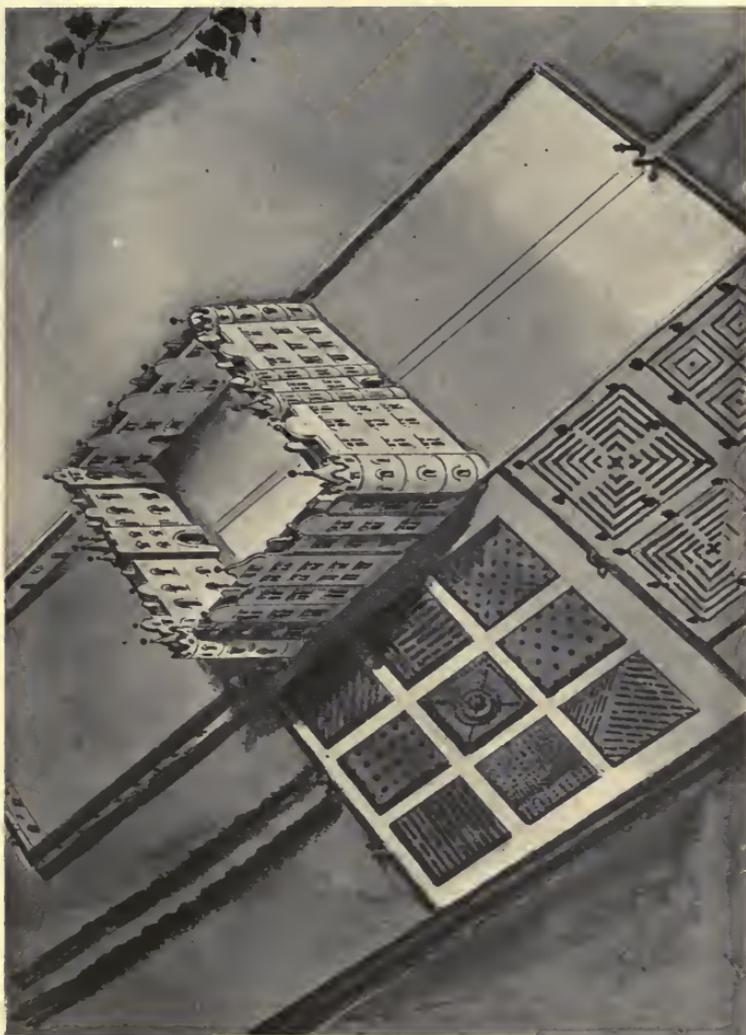
## King Monmouth

A staircase led from the great hall to the "long" and "north" galleries, the great dining-room and the great State room. In commemoration of a visit of Good Queen Bess was the "Queen's chamber," the "Queen's inward chamber," and at the end of the "picture gallery" the "Leicester chamber," and in addition to these "my little lady's chamber," "the old nursery," "the green gallery," "the fencing room," "the huntsman's chamber," "the great parlor," &c.

After the premature death of her daughter, the Lady Philadelphia continued for a time at Toddington, though she did not "go about with that boast" as she had formerly done. Sir William Smith was now a widower, but he and her ladyship did not make a match of it, as was thought would be the case when it became known that the daughter's will was made in her favour during her lifetime. There was an estrangement after the rope-cutting episode at Henrietta's interment; indeed, Sir William feared to show himself at Toddington; and after one or two secret visits there, and having also fallen into disgrace at Court, he retired to his country house in Buckinghamshire.

At Lady Philadelphia's death Toddington remained deserted and untenanted for some years, and eventually fell into a hopelessly ruinous condition. Everywhere was nothing but broken floors, windows, and ceilings, and the two cupolas of the new front, which had never been completed, were open and exposed to the weather.

The last picture of the once lordly manor house in its sad desolation and decay is handed down



TODDINGTON "PLACE," IN 1581



## The Fatal Fifteenth of July

by the descendant of a tenant who occupied some of the habitable rooms before the greater part was pulled down. Several of these rooms had been sealed up for years, and the Duke of Monmouth's apartments, adjoining the south tower, though ruinous, remained practically untouched.

Through the dilapidated ceiling of the lower room could be seen the apartment above (reached originally by a spiral staircase in the tower), still retaining the duke's bed, with its faded green velvet hangings, dust-surmounted plumes, and counterpane, black with age and damp.<sup>1</sup>

Though the Duke of Monmouth declared on the scaffold that he had no children by Lady Wentworth, he undoubtedly left a son by her<sup>2</sup> (born in 1681), who was adopted and educated in Paris by Colonel Smyth (one of the duke's adherents), and who left him his fortune.

This son, who took the name of R. Wentworth Smyth-Stuart, engaged in the Stuart cause both in 1715 and 1745. He married, when he was sixty-six years of age, Maria Julia Dalziel, *née* Crofts, the daughter of Major-General James Crofts (the natural son of the Duke of Monmouth by Eleanor Needham), and left a son, Ferdinand Smyth-Stuart, who died in the early part of the nineteenth century (December 14, 1814) after a strangely adventurous career.

At the age of six he (Ferdinand) was left an orphan, his father having, three years before, met

<sup>1</sup> See W. L. Rutton's "Three Branches of the Family of Wentworth."

<sup>2</sup> According to the Earl of Ailesbury (Thomas, second Earl), she was supposed to have had children, but he surmises that they died in infancy (Memoirs).

## King Monmouth

with a violent death in the highlands during an encounter with some Hanoverian soldiers, two of whom had seized him, but in the struggle which ensued, the three fell over the parapet of the bridge and were drowned. After studying medicine in Aberdeen, Ferdinand led a roving career as planter and physician in the back settlements of America. Upon his return to England in 1785, having lost a fortune and undergone many vicissitudes, he was imprisoned at Plymouth for debt. In December 1792 he was presented at Court and was graciously received by the king. Three years later he held the post of assistant barrack-master at San Domingo, being afterwards transferred to Billericay and Landguard Fort. He was eventually pensioned, and settled in London at Vernon Place, Bloomsbury Square. At the age of sixty-seven he also met with a violent death, being run over by a vehicle in Southampton Street, Holborn.

He left a widow, two sons, and a daughter. Dr. Stuart had a taste for literature, and contributed to the *Monthly Magazine*, besides writing a work on travels in America, and his memoirs, including a genealogical chart of the descendants of the Stuarts. The latter, however, was never completed, though it was nearly ready for publication at the time of his death.<sup>1</sup>

By Eleanor Needham, mentioned in the early part of this work, Monmouth had four children, all of whom took the surname of Crofts : James,

<sup>1</sup> See Chambers' *Edinburgh Journal*, New Series, vol. vi. pp. 312-314; also *Notes and Queries*, Second Series, vol. v. pp. 395, 443.

## The Fatal Fifteenth of July

the eldest, afterwards described as "Colonel" or "Major-General" James Crofts, of Stratton Street, St. James, and Warfield, Berks. He married the daughter of Sir Thomas Taylor (after 1706, when he is described as single) and left a daughter, Maria Julia, who, as before stated, married R. Wentworth Smyth-Stuart, who claimed to be Monmouth's son by Lady Wentworth, thus uniting two separate generations of the duke's illegitimate offspring.

From a portrait of the major-general at Dalkeith, he appears to have inherited his father's good looks. He is represented in the military costume of Queen Anne's time, and holds a baton in the right hand. For some years he was aide-de-camp to King Charles III. of Spain. He died in March 1732.<sup>1</sup>

Henry, the second son of Eleanor Needham (living in 1704), died unmarried. Of the two daughters, Isabella died young, and Henrietta, the elder, married in 1697 Charles Poulett, sixth Marquis of Winchester, afterwards second Duke of Bolton (whose third wife she was). She survived her husband, and died February 27, 1729-30, and was buried at Old Basing, Hants. The only son of this marriage, Lord Nassau Poulett (born 1698), died August 24, 1741.

Both the duchess and her son possessed Monmouth's affection for the Charlton Hunt, and on several occasions were to be seen following the

<sup>1</sup> The arms granted to the general, July 25, 1709, were: Gules, a band cremallée or, between two bucks' heads, caboshed argent, attired of the second. *Crest*, on a chapeau azure, turned up ermine, an eagle's neck with two heads, erased sable, gorged with an eastern crown, or.

## King Monmouth

hounds with Monmouth's old huntsman, Edward Roper, of Eltham, who died in 1715 at the age of eighty-four. The mother inherited the duke's handsome features.<sup>1</sup> A beautiful miniature of the duchess was purchased in Italy by the late Lord Bolton, with others, including the Duke of Monmouth, which are supposed to have belonged at one time to the last of the Stuarts, Prince Henry, Cardinal of York.<sup>2</sup>

The date of Eleanor Needham's death is unknown. She was living in 1707.<sup>3</sup> According to Sandford she afterwards married John South, Esquire, one of the Commissioners of the Revenue of Ireland, by whom she left a daughter, Jane, who married in 1709-10 Philip Doyne, of Wexford. During the reign of William III. she was in the receipt of bounty from the Privy Purse.<sup>4</sup>

Before concluding this somewhat lengthy digression about Monmouth's illegitimate issue, another daughter must be mentioned, by Elizabeth, the daughter of the poet, Edmund Waller. She married James de Cardonnel, secretary of the Duke of Schomberg, who fell in the battle

<sup>1</sup> Lady Cowper was evidently not of this opinion. Writing in 1716, she says: "The duchess was with the ladies to make them believe she was one of the royal family, though that won't do. It's too plainly writ in her face that she's Penn's daughter" (!) (Lady Cowper's Diary). A fine portrait of the Duchess of Bolton by Kneller, formerly in the possession of J. Stewart Hodgson, Esq., was sold at Christie's in June 1893. I have been unable to trace its present whereabouts, or should have endeavoured to reproduce it in this work.

<sup>2</sup> "Journal of the Archæological Association," vol. xxv. p. 166.

<sup>3</sup> She must not be confounded with a disreputable character of the eighteenth century bearing the same name.

<sup>4</sup> In 1691, £75, and 1692, £300. Commissioners' accounts of the House of Lords.

## The Fatal Fifteenth of July

of the Boyne, and left a son, Mansfeldt de Cardonnel, who died at Musselburgh in 1783, aged eighty-four. His son, Adam de Cardonnel, took the name of Lawson, and practised



OAK CARVINGS FROM TODDINGTON "PLACE"

for many years as a doctor at Chirton, near Shields.<sup>1</sup>

The Earl of Ailesbury records that the Elector

<sup>1</sup> He also left some daughters. Major Findlay, of Pontefract, writing in 1887, says that Mansfeldt de Cardonnel was his wife's maternal great-grandfather, and that there was a tradition in his family that he was buried at Dalkeith, near to which town "New Battle," the old seat of the Duke of Schomberg is situated. Lord Dynevor is also descended from the Cardonnels. See also *Notes and Queries*, series ii. vol. ii. p. 335. and Dr. Carlyle's "Autobiography," pp. 218, 219. N.B.—The latter confuses *Adam* with *James* de Cardonnel.

## King Monmouth

of Bavaria had a mistress at Brussels in 1697  
“who passed for a natural daughter of the late  
Duke of Monmouth by a woman of mean ex-  
traction.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “Memoirs of Thomas Earl of Ailesbury,” vol. ii. p. 477. There was also a certain “Mary Hicks,” said to be a natural daughter of Monmouth (see *Notes and Queries*, series iv. vol. ix. p. 407).

## CHAPTER XX

### AFTER THE REBELLION

As a security against any further trouble to the throne by Monmouth's heirs, the duke signed a declaration in the Tower, in the presence of the bishops (see next page).

Nevertheless, the eldest son, James, who after his father's death took the title of Earl of Dalkeith (the title of Monmouth having become extinct by Act of Attainder), was looked to by many as the legitimate king of England.

The Earl of Yarmouth records that "Ferguson, Sir Pacent Wards, and all those conventeetels (*sic*) people due now pray for the marters wife & hur children, and say the Duke of Munmouth was a marter for his religion & that his sons are the rit ayrs to the crowne, & that the Munmouth party is very great & many in Amsterdam." <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The above was noted by the Earl of Yarmouth from information received from Miss Langford, Jan. 4, 1685-6. He further writes: "The Princes & Prince did turne away Porter Conell, Mrs. Langford, hur son & Mis Trelany, & another of the chaplins att an hours warning & did not se them nor hear them speak for themselves & without giving them anything; & Mis Langford says she can not imagone any reason for it but that all those five persons were violently set against the Duke of Munmouth & spook against his dancings & all those honors & favours the Prince & Princes did shew him at the Hague" (Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 7, App. p. 535).

## King Monmouth

Even after the lapse of seven years, an assembly of people took upon themselves to proclaim

I Declan<sup>e</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Title of King was forced upon  
me & of it was very much contrary to my opinion  
when I was proclaimed For y<sup>e</sup> Satisfaction of  
the world I doe Declan<sup>e</sup> that y<sup>e</sup> late King told me that  
Hee was never married to my Mother

Having declared thus I hope y<sup>e</sup> King who is now  
will not let my Children suffer on this Account And so  
This I put my hand this fifteenth day of July  
1685

*Monmouth*

Declared by Himselfe & Signed in the presence of

Iran Elie  
Tho: Bathurst  
Tho: Tenison  
Geo: Hooper

### MONMOUTH'S DECLARATION

(Facsimile [reduced] of the Original Document in the Bodleian Library)

the Earl of Dalkeith king at the cross at Sanquhair.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS. at Dalkeith (see Fraser, "Scotts of Buccleuch").

## After the Rebellion

Not until 1732 was the title of Duke of Buccleuch revived, by the death of the Duchess of Monmouth, who held the second title in her own right. The successor, Francis (grandson of the duke), also received by Act of Parliament the titles of Earl of Doncaster and Baron Tynedale, which had also become extinct in 1685. This Act was confirmatory of a new grant made November 17, 1687, under the Great Seal, by which Anne, Duchess of Buccleuch, held all her honours and estates.<sup>1</sup>

By Monmouth's will, dated September 28, 1678, his wife was appointed sole executrix, and the whole of his "movable property" was left to her. His horses, sent from England in March 1684, were left in Skelton's hands, who wrote to Captain Paston in London (August 28, 1685): "I am this day bid 100*l.* sterling for 'Tanckard,' by the Duke of Luneburg, who formerly bid the Duke of Monmouth 500 dollars for him, & if Lord Yarmouth has a mind for him for 600, he is at his service."<sup>2</sup>

The private fortune of the duchess was considerably reduced at the time of her husband's death; the bulk of the money had gone towards his expenses, and she told him at their meeting in the Tower that she had received only eleven hundred pounds in the last four or five years. Her property in Scotland was so far impoverished that an annuity of £4000 from the Crown was settled upon her.

<sup>1</sup> For further particulars upon this point see Fraser, "Scotts of Buccleuch," p. 454.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 7 App. pp. 481 and 534.

## King Monmouth

When her children were released from the Tower, the duchess returned with them to Moor Park ; up till that time she continued to reside at the Mews (or Mewse) near Charing Cross. Monmouth's better known residence, in Soho Square, was in course of erection at the time he was in hiding at Toddington. A correspondent to the Secretary of State wrote, October 8, 1683: "The Domicell w<sup>h</sup> was nominated in this Square [Soho] for ye Duke, goes on w<sup>th</sup> great vigor & ye workmen are paid (as I am inform<sup>d</sup>) by one Mr. Ford, a joynor, ye Ds Survayor, who is ye sole architect of this House." <sup>1</sup>

The time that the duke was in residence here was consequently of very brief duration, viz., between his reconciliation with the king in November 1683, and his final disgrace shortly afterwards.

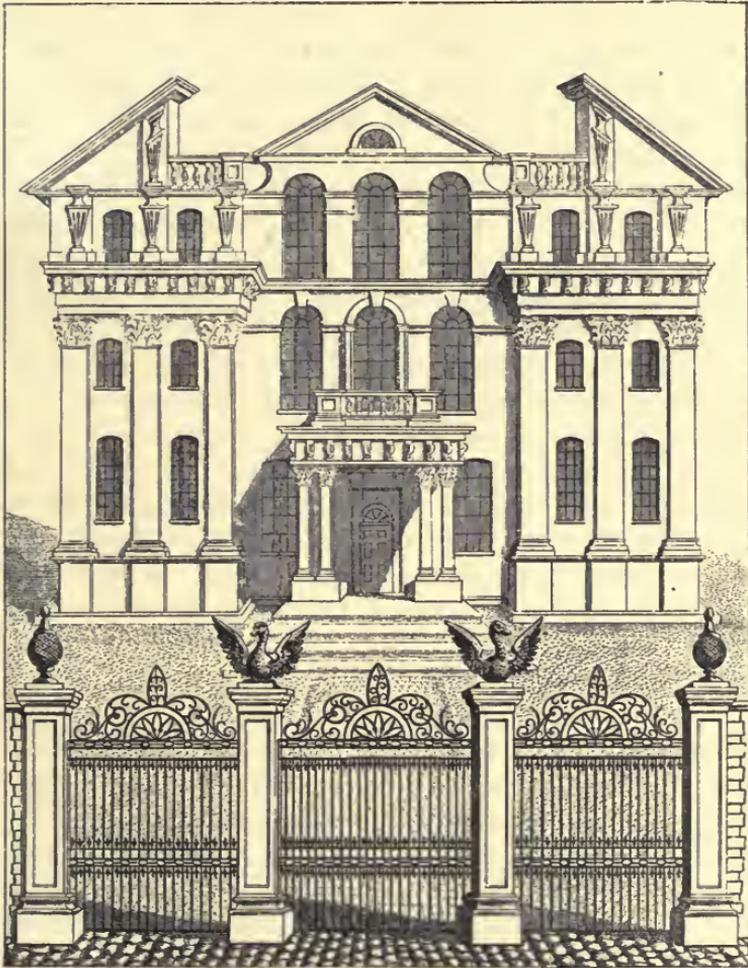
In 1717, Monmouth House was converted into an auction room, and some fifty years later was used as a residence for the French and Russian ambassadors ; after which, a scheme of turning it into an "academy for young gentlemen" <sup>2</sup> having fallen through, it was pulled down in 1773, and "Bateman's Buildings" erected upon its site. It was the centre house in the square, facing the statue. The principal room on the ground floor (which comprised eight rooms) was the dining-room, ornamented with large carved and gilt

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Thos. St. George to Sir Leoline Jenkins, State Papers, Dom. Ch. II. vol. 433.

<sup>2</sup> Each pupil had "to bring with him a spoon, a pint mug & porringer of silver marked with his arms or cypher as the table is intended to be genteelly furnished." Prospectus, "Monmouth House," Jan. 1, 1772.

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panels, once containing full-length pictures. The



MONMOUTH HOUSE

duke's arms were over the fireplace, and on the four corners of the ceiling. The landings of the

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oak staircase were tessellated with dark and light woods, and upon carved brackets were busts of Seneca, Caracalla, Trajan, Hadrian, &c. On the first floor, the principal apartment had the walls lined with blue satin, upon which birds were embroidered in gold; the piers between the lofty windows were fitted with looking-glasses, and the window shutters were brown, with gold beading to the panels. The chimney-piece was of fine workmanship, richly ornamented with carvings of fruit and foliage, and over it was a circular recess for a bust, surrounded by a wreath of oak-leaves. A red-brick wall with heavy stone copings (twenty-five feet high) surrounded the paved yard.<sup>1</sup>

In September 1690, we hear of the Queen of William III. being sumptuously entertained by the Duchess of Monmouth at Moor Park. In the early years of the eighteenth century she restored the old castle of Dalkeith into the present palatial mansion, and made it her principal residence. Here she lived in great state, being served on the knee in regal style. Lady Margaret Montgomerie, being a cousin, and therefore privileged, was allowed to be seated at table during meals, while all other guests had to stand! In the old palace may be seen her sitting-room and adjoining writing-closet, with the original gilt oak carvings and furniture from the cockpit apartments at Whitehall. The old red velvet chairs in the hall are richly embroidered in gold, and bear the duchess' initials surmounted by a coronet.

<sup>1</sup> See J. T. Smith, "Nollekens and his Times."

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She also occasionally resided at Chelsea, in an old mansion at the upper end of Lawrence Street. It was known as "Monmouth House," and stood until 1833, when, having become ruinous, it was pulled down.<sup>1</sup> Here Gay, the poet, acted as her secretary and steward. Queen Caroline visited her in this house in 1716.<sup>2</sup> Lady Cowper says that her Majesty loved her "mightily." In her latter days the old Duchess of Monmouth, in spite of her years, was a constant attendant at the card-table in the Queen's Gallery at Hampton Court, "still full of all the fire of youth."<sup>3</sup>

She married again in 1688. Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, enters in his diary (May 28), "Visited the Duchess of Monmouth, she being newly come to town. She owned that she had been married three weeks to Lord Cornwallis,<sup>4</sup> and that she went into the country to avoid the clutter usual upon those occasions."<sup>5</sup> She was his second wife. He died April 29, 1693. According to Luttrell, in August 1703, she was privately married, for a third time, to the Earl of Selkirk, brother of the Duke of Hamilton.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Duke of Monmouth gave a sumptuous feast on July 30, 1673, at this house, to the king and Duchess of Portsmouth, a few days after that mistress received her title (see *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* 7, App. p. 491).

<sup>2</sup> Faulkner's "History of Chelsea," vol. i. p. 266.

<sup>3</sup> Lady Cowper's "Diary" (see Law, "History of Hampton Court," vol. iii. p. 212).

<sup>4</sup> By Charles, third Lord Cornwallis, she left a son and two daughters.

<sup>5</sup> "The Correspondence of the Earls of Rochester and Clarendon," vol. ii. pp. 173, 174.

<sup>6</sup> Luttrell, "Brief Diary," vol. v.

## King Monmouth

though at his death, on March 13, 1739 (aged seventy-six), he is described as unmarried.<sup>1</sup>

The duchess died at the age of eighty-two, having survived her first husband nearly fifty years. She is interred in the Buccleuch chapel at Dalkeith. The inscription upon the coffin-plate is as follows: "Ann Scott, Dutchess of Buccleuch, Countess of Dalkeith, Baroness Scott of Whitchester, Eskdale, & Tindale. Died Febyr ye 6, 173 $\frac{1}{2}$ , aged 82 years."<sup>2</sup>

Scarcely four months after Monmouth's execution, Lord Grey, having thrown himself upon the king's mercy by making a full confession of his share in the rebellion, was pardoned, mainly owing to Sunderland's influence, for which that minister received a bond for £40,000.

Grey's letter of appeal was certainly more dignified than Monmouth's:

"If the shedding of my blood," he wrote, "can be for your Majesty's interest, I shall be very willing to part with it & only desire I may have the satisfaction to know that it will be an atonement for the crimes I have committed against you; but if y<sup>r</sup> Majesty out of y<sup>r</sup> great clemency shall

<sup>1</sup> See *Notes and Queries*, seventh series, vol. x. p. 327.

<sup>2</sup> Kneller's full-length portrait of the duchess, seated, and her two sons, the Earl of Doncaster and Lord Henry Scott (well-known from the mezzotint engraving of it), is in the dining-room at Dalkeith. A replica of the head is at Langham Lodge. Another fine full-length portrait by Kneller is at Montagu House, Whitehall. Lely's portrait of the duchess as a young girl, at Dalkeith, I reproduce in this volume. Other portraits by Kneller and Wissing are also at Dalkeith and at Longleat.

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think fit to save me, I hope you will believe that (beside the ties of honour, justice, & gratitude) my own inclination will ever oblige me to sacrifice the life you give to your service when you please to command it. I lie, sir, at your Majesty's feet, where, though I cannot expect, yet it is a pleasure to beg for mercy. The consideration of myself destroys all hopes of that kind, but the observation of your Majesty's universal goodness affords me many. I pray God bless your Majesty with a long & happy reign over your people : & may all those perish that ever lift up a thought against y<sup>r</sup> Majesty's life or for disturbing the peace of your Government.

“Your Majesty's most unfortunate subject,  
“FORD GREY.”<sup>1</sup>

Among the State papers are various orders from the Secretary of State to the Lieutenant of the Tower with reference to the prisoner. On July 21, Lord Grey is allowed pen, ink, and paper ; on the 24th the prisoner's daughter is allowed to remain with her father ; August 23, Lady Grey is to “have access to her husband as often as she pleases.” The earl's sister, Mrs. Neville (ancestress of the Lords Braybrooke of Audley End), and his brothers Charles and Ralph, are also allowed the same liberty. October 23, permission is granted “for walking in the Tower with a keeper” ; and finally, in November, Sunderland procured his pardon, which, he informs the lieutenant, “is now [November 12] past the Great Seale, & his Ma<sup>ty</sup> commands me to signify his

<sup>1</sup> See H. D. Gordon's “History of Harting.”

## King Monmouth

pleasure to you that you forthwith discharge & set at liberty the body of the said Lord Grey.”<sup>1</sup>

He was restored to favour soon afterwards, for in the following February we find him at a masque ball at Court,<sup>2</sup> and later in the year he commenced to rebuild the existing mansion at Up Park, an imposing building and a fine example of the architecture of the latter part of the seventeenth century. The house stands high, and its situation is particularly beautiful; the old coach road, winding up to it between a forest of giant beech-trees, is romantic in the extreme, and conjures up memories of the midnight supper beneath the trees before the reckless peer and his runaway sister-in-law took horse towards Chichester Harbour.

Though the name of Ford, Lord Grey has long since been forgotten by the inhabitants of Harting—in which village both he and Monmouth were once familiar figures—thanks to the late, as well as the present rector, there are still some links preserved to carry us back to “the Duking Days,” and the builder of Up Park House, among them one of his horse’s shoes and a door of the smith’s forge, bearing the coronet and strawberry-leaf of Tankerville, conferred upon him by William III.<sup>3</sup>

The newly created Earl of Tankerville and Viscount Grey of Glendale became a statesman of some distinction, and, having attained the posi-

<sup>1</sup> State Papers, Entry Book, vol. lvi.

<sup>2</sup> See letter from Peregrine Bertie to the Countess of Rutland, Feb. 17, 1685-86 (Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 12, App. pt. v. p. 104).

<sup>3</sup> Information kindly provided by Rev. A. J. Roberts, of Harting.

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tion of Lord Privy Seal, died in 1701,<sup>1</sup> leaving an only daughter, Mary, who married Charles Bennet, second Lord Ossulton. The barony of Werke became extinct with the death of Lord Grey's brother Ralph in 1706.

In 1851 some repairs to Harting church necessitated the opening of the Tankerville vault in the chancel, and a coffin bearing the following inscription was discovered: "Ford Grey, Earl of Tankervil, Viscount Glendale, Baron Grey of Werke, & Baronet, Lord Privy Seal, and one of ye Lords of His Maj's most Hon<sup>ble</sup> Privy Council, who dyed y<sup>e</sup> 24 of June 1701 in y<sup>e</sup> 47<sup>th</sup> yeare of his age." A little more than a year ago (May 1901), the paving of the chancel becoming unsafe, the vault again had to be opened, and the coffin, with its red velvet covering and gilt nails, was seen, but the brass plate, with the inscription, was wanting; this, however, was discovered eventually among some rubbish. Upon the first opening of the vault the lid of the coffin was partially open, and disclosed the corpse of Lord Grey clasping in his right hand—a *Dutch clay pipe*!

Notwithstanding his promises to be loyal to King James in the event of his being pardoned, Grey's professed sincerity did not go for much when it came to the test. Shortly before the Stuart monarch's abdication, the following letter was addressed from Up Park:—

<sup>1</sup> "The Right Honourable Earl of Tankerfield [*sic*] Lord Fford Grey Buryed July 1, 1701" (Burial Register, Harting).

## King Monmouth

"UP PARKE, *Novbre.* 10/88.

COUSEN,

I am extremely obliged to you for the just opinion you have of my Loyalty & zeale for his Majesties service, & thinke myself verry unfortunate that I am not in a condition to give those proofs of both, which my inclinations, as well as duty, would carry me to, for I have received lately so violent a fall from my horse (of which M<sup>r</sup>. Turner<sup>1</sup> will more at large informe you) that tis with greate difficulty I now write to you, & that which heightens my misfortune is your asureing me by his Majesties direction that my company & service will be acceptable to him in this expedition; therefore, S<sup>r</sup>, as you have been pleased to acquaint the King with your kind thoughts of me, oblige me yet further by communicating to his Majesty the contents of this: & also that I am what he shall ever find me upon all occasions, his Majesties dutifull & Loyall subject.

"I am, S<sup>r</sup>, your most humble servant,

"(Signed) GREY."<sup>2</sup>

Monmouth's chaplain, Hook, obtained his pardon by throwing himself upon the king's mercy three years after the rebellion, and, different from Grey, remaining loyal, turned Roman Catholic, and followed the deposed monarch's fortunes in exile, and after his death became an agent for the Scottish Jacobites, to whom he was sent as plenipotentiary in 1708.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Presumably Lady Henrietta Berkeley's "husband."

<sup>2</sup> Add. MSS. British Museum, No. 28,226, f. 71.

<sup>3</sup> See his correspondence as agent for the Scottish Jacobites between the years 1703 and 1707 (Roxburghe publications, 1871).

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Wade was pardoned in June 1686, having since his capture been committed to Newgate. On July 26, 1685, the Earl of Stamford and Lords Brandon and Delamere were sent to the Tower, the first having the honour of occupying the same "lodgings" shortly before vacated by the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth.

The most dangerous of these in the king's opinion—Delamere—was tried (January 14, 1686), but nothing definite could be proved against him, so, much to James' displeasure, he was acquitted, and two years afterwards had the satisfaction of asking that monarch to withdraw from Whitehall by the desire of the Prince of Orange.

Lord Macclesfield was condemned, but afterwards pardoned, with the rest of Monmouth's Cheshire and Shropshire friends. Trenchard and Speke, as before stated, escaped to the Continent upon the duke's landing at Lyme. Of the latter's sons, Charles, the youngest, was sentenced at the Bloody Assize, and hanged on a tree in Ilminster market-place. The second son, Hugh, was confined in the King's Bench Prison for treasonable writings at the time of the insurrection, which explains his absence. The final overthrow of James II. was facilitated in a great measure by his devices. Shortly before William of Orange landed, James sought an interview with Hugh Speke in Chiffinch's lodgings, desiring him to meet the prince and act as spy upon his movements. A monetary reward was refused (which the king put down to his loyalty), passports were provided by Feversham, and Speke made his way to Honiton, where he divulged his mission

## King Monmouth

to his friend Colonel Talmash (who commanded a battalion of the Prince of Orange's advance guard) and had an interview with the prince at Exeter. Not only were Speke's letters intentionally calculated to cause James II. alarm, but a declaration he had prepared before leaving London, and the famous third declaration supposed to have been signed by William at Sherborne Castle, November 28, practically carried the day, and culminated in James' flight. Until nine years after his abdication the exiled king corresponded with and believed in the integrity of the traitor into whose hands he had fallen a victim through his own cunning device.<sup>1</sup>

The duke's friend, Edward Strode of Shepton Mallet, was pardoned, and afterwards became high sheriff of Somerset, much to the indignation of those families in the city who had remained loyal throughout the insurrection. One of his first acts in his official capacity was to order the seizure, for some small misdemeanour, of the man upon whose evidence his own arrest had been made. The county magistrates, anxious for an opportunity to express their feelings of resentment, protested, and complaints to the king were sent on both sides. Lord Fitzhardinge, justly indignant at being cited before the Council by a man whose antecedents were so eminently republican, concluded his letter with these words: "I often interceded with his Majesty to save him

<sup>1</sup> See Emanuel Green, "March of William of Orange through Somerset," pp. 61, 62; also Roberts' Biographical Notes, "Monmouth," vol. ii. pp. 331-7.

## After the Rebellion

[Strode], for which I humbly ask God Almighty, the king, and the country's pardon"! <sup>1</sup>

In many parts of England, for years after Monmouth's execution, there was a firm-rooted belief that some one had sacrificed his life in place of the Protestant champion, and that he would reappear. Many impositions were practised upon the credulous by adventurers representing themselves to be the popular duke.<sup>2</sup> King James disbursed £60 to four persons for "looking after Mr. Ferguson and others, and in apprehending John Smith, the counterfeit Duke of Monmouth."<sup>3</sup>

In 1687, the Dissenters in Derbyshire could not be made to believe that the duke was dead.<sup>4</sup> In 1688 much excitement was caused in the west of England by Elias Bragg, of the "Ship" Inn, Bridgewater, who declared Monmouth had just returned from Holland, and that an army was shortly to be landed in Plymouth, Minehead, Porlock, Cornwall, and Wales, with the duke in command. He further stated that several gentlemen of Somersetshire implicated in the rising "had been for some days at Downside, at Esq. Strodes," and also at a house at Otterton, attending conventicle meetings.<sup>5</sup>

Even in 1698, a fraud was practised by the son of an innkeeper at Leicester. Humphrey Wanley, in a letter dated August 25 of that year, gives a

<sup>1</sup> "March through Somerset," p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> "How the West of England was attached to Monmouth," see Ellis, Correspondence, i. pp. 87, 88, 177.

<sup>3</sup> "Secret Service Expenses of Charles II. and James II." (Camden Society).

<sup>4</sup> MS. xxix. f. 64, Tanner Collection, Bodleian Library.

<sup>5</sup> Green, "March through Somerset," pp. 52, 53.

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curious account of a man named Savage, who imposed upon several people, saying that his uncle, King James, executed a common criminal in his stead to satisfy the priests, and that when things were ripe William III. would abdicate in his favour. He was readily provided with a horse and money to go and see the arrival of his fleet at Torbay. When convicted as an impostor he was maintained like a prince in prison by those who still believed his story. The first day he was committed, the gaoler made forty shillings by permitting the curious to see him, at a charge of 2*d.* a head.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See "Letters of Eminent Persons of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, from originals in the Bodleian Library and Ashmolean Museum," 1813, vol. i. pp. 92-95.

## CHAPTER XXI

### JEFFREYS' "CAMPAIGN"

To go back to Bridgewater ; on the day that the battle of Sedgemoor was fought, the wholesale hangings by Feversham and Kirke<sup>1</sup> were checked in some measure by the interposition of either Bishops Mews or Ken.<sup>2</sup>

The western counties are rife with traditions of the commander-in-chief and his cruel colonel, and of the subsequent campaign of Jeffreys. Kirke justified his various acts of cruelty by putting the responsibility upon his general, Lord Feversham, and the king, and said he had put a restraint upon the power and instructions given to him. The same excuse was afterwards made by the inhuman judge when a prisoner in the

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Percy Kirke was son of George Kirke, groom of the bedchamber to Charles II., and brother of Mary and Diana Kirke. He was present at the siege of Maestricht in 1673. Accompanied by his wife and two daughters, he returned from Tangier in 1684. He died at Brussels, Oct 31, 1691. His son Percy, born 1684, also became colonel of the notorious "Lambs" (see "Dict. of Nat. Biography," "Kirke").

<sup>2</sup> Kennet gives the credit to the latter, but confuses the two, referring to the former as the Bishop of Bath, though he had been translated to Winchester. Of Ken's biographers, both Anderdon and Plumtre attribute the interposition to Mews. Markland, however, argues in favour of Ken. Macaulay, also in favour of Mews, points out that Ken was in London on the Thursday before and on the Monday after the battle.

## King Monmouth

Tower, viz.: "I was not half bloody enough for him who sent me thither."<sup>1</sup>

From Bridgewater, Kirke went to Taunton with six prisoners and two cartloads of wounded men, and here several executions took place, as at Bridgewater, by martial law, some of the victims being suspended from the sign of the "White Hart" inn.<sup>2</sup> The same day that his dreaded Tangier regiment encamped on the castle green



AUTOGRAPH SIGNATURE OF  
COLONEL KIRKE

(the west side of which retains the name of "Tangier" in consequence<sup>3</sup>) an order was despatched from Whitehall recalling the commander-in-chief. The colonel, after having been

reprimanded by Sunderland at the king's command for liberating prisoners without permission<sup>4</sup>—and, as Oldmixon asserts, the pretended pardons were sold for twenty, thirty, and forty pounds apiece<sup>5</sup>—was ordered to return to London on August 31, but delaying his march twelve hours, was arrested at Warminster, and when he reached Windsor was severely censured by the Lord Chief Justice for taking the law into his own hands and grant-

<sup>1</sup> See Woolrych, "Life of Jeffreys." Many of the stories of cruelty are exaggerated, and that of the young woman who sacrificed herself to save her brother from the gallows, quoted by several historians, is unauthenticated. This was pointed out at some length by Toulmin in the "History of Taunton," which is repeated by Macaulay (without stating his authority).

<sup>2</sup> The "White Hart" inn has long since disappeared.

<sup>3</sup> Toulmin "History of Taunton."

<sup>4</sup> State Papers, Entry Book, vol. lvi. p. 268.

<sup>5</sup> See Roberts, vol. ii. p. 181.

## Jeffreys' " Campaign "

ing pardons before the rebels had been put to trial.

Jeffreys, with his attendant judges, started upon his memorable journey towards the end of August. The gaols were crowded with prisoners, and in many cases, there being an insufficient guard, several escaped. Captain Fox, of Trelawney's



COAXDON HALL

regiment, reported on September 26 that three rebels had got away from Taunton Castle by filing the window-bars and descending by a rope; but this was scarcely to be wondered at, as only the gaoler's wife and a maid were left in charge, with a few guards to assist.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Letter from C. Lyttleton, Taunton, Sept. 26, 1685, Drayton MSS. Several stories of escapes and hidings are recorded by Pulman in his "Book of the Axe." One rebel, a Colyton man,

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Even after the Bloody Assize, when the executions were still in progress, there remained two hundred and thirty-five prisoners confined in the several gaols.

The "campaign," in which Jeffreys boasted he had hanged more than all the judges of England since William the Conqueror, commenced at Winchester, where there was only one execution—viz., that of Lady Alice Lisle, whose trial will be briefly alluded to presently. At loyal Salisbury there were no convictions. The business really began on September 3, at Dorchester. A picturesque old house in the town is still pointed out as the judge's lodgings, and the chair he sat upon during the Dorchester trials, is now preserved in the town hall.<sup>1</sup>

By his researches Mr. Inderwick, K.C., has considerably reduced the number of deaths hitherto attributed to Judge Jeffreys; but his authority, the gaol delivery rolls, cannot be

while hiding in a bundle of straw, received a dragoon's sword-thrust through his thigh without being discovered. Another man was found hiding among some cabbages, the soldiers having innocently been brought to the spot where he was concealed by his own children. He is said to have been cut to pieces, and a neighbour made to drag the remains round the town in a wheelbarrow as a warning. The horror that pervaded the vicinity of Norton-sub-Hamden, "in the Duking," is mentioned in the history of that district by Mr. Trask, who says some of the fugitives concealed themselves in the Montacute Woods. One of Monmouth's followers, Richard Cogan, of Coaxdon Hall (an old house near Axminster), sought refuge in the "Green Dragon" inn at that town, and was hidden in a bed all the time that the house was being searched (see Wilson, "Memoirs of De Foe," and Roberts, vol. ii. p. 216). See also "Secret Chambers and Hiding Places."

<sup>1</sup> It is of black oak; the carving upon the back represents a crown upon a cushion. To Major R. B. Rudyerd I am much indebted for an excellent sketch of this relic of the Bloody Assize.

## Jeffreys' "Campaign"

implicitly relied upon, and the number, there given of only four executions in Somersetshire is sufficient proof that it cannot be a true record,



JUDGE JEFFREYS' HOUSE, DORCHESTER

neither in support of it can the argument be accepted that it was through James II.'s intercession that the number was so small.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Inderwick, "Side Lights of the Stuarts." In this work the author makes intelligible and reprints in full the various entries in

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Out of two hundred and ninety-two rebels who were sentenced at Dorchester the actual number recorded is only seventy-four. Three



JUDGE JEFFREYS' CHAIR

the gaol-books. Stars are affixed to the names of those who were left for execution. N.B.—A parchment list of eighty Dorset rebels who suffered death was exhibited at Shaftesbury in August 1861 by T. Fraser Grove, Esq. (see *Wilts Archaeological Magazine*, vol. vii. p. 245). The gaol-books deciphered by Mr. Inderwick record only fifty-eight condemnations at Dorchester.

## Jeffreys' " Campaign "

hundred and twenty were indicted for levying war against the king ; thirty-four out of these pleaded " not guilty," and with the exception of five who were acquitted, the rest were condemned, though only one (Matthew Bragg <sup>1</sup>) appears to have been left for execution. Of the others who pleaded " guilty," fifty-seven only were likewise dealt with.

The Treasury minute in the Record Office, and the " Hardwick " MS., now among the additional manuscripts of the British Museum (No. 31,957), are both indorsed " An account of the proceedings against the Rebels & other Prisoners in the severall countyes of South[amp]ton, Wilts, Dorsett, Devon, & Somersett, by vertue of His Mat<sup>ties</sup> speciall comissions of Oyer & Terminer & General Gaole delivery." In these a return is given of the names of the rebels, those who had been executed, those to be executed, and those transported, fined, whipped, pardoned, &c. The numbers given in these documents with regard to Dorchester are seventy-four (the whole twenty-nine who pleaded " not guilty," and forty-five out of those who pleaded " guilty "), yet Henry Pitman, one of the condemned, who pleaded guilty, says, " We were all condemned to be hanged, drawn, & quartered, & by his [Jeffreys'] order *there were two hundred and thirty executed*, besides a great many hanged immediately after the fight." <sup>2</sup>

In a letter dated from Dorchester September 5,

<sup>1</sup> An old house between Winsham and Clapton, called " Cuckold's Hole," now pulled down, had a hiding-place in the wide open chimney, where, according to tradition, Bragg, before he surrendered himself, was concealed.

<sup>2</sup> See Pitman's account of his sufferings, reprinted in Arber's " English Garner," vol. vii. pp. 333-378.

## King Monmouth

to Sunderland, Jeffreys says he has "this day" begun the trial of the rebels at Dorchester, and has despatched ninety-eight, but is so tortured with the stone that he must beg his lordship's intercession with his Majesty for the incoherence of his letter, and also asks his lordship to let him make use of his servant's pen to furnish him with an account of what has passed since his arrival at Dorchester—may he ever be tortured with the stone if he forgets to subscribe himself Lord Sunderland's most faithful devoted servant.<sup>1</sup>

The odious judge left Dorchester on September 11 for Exeter, and on the 14th resumed his condemnations of whipping, fining, hanging, &c. The names of four hundred and eighty-eight Devonshire people were returned by the constables. In the British Museum is a roll containing a full list of the names and places of residence of the majority of those who were suspected of implication in the rebellion. A great part of these were at large, but the fact of their being absent from their homes was deemed sufficient ground for the charge of high treason to be preferred against them, and for their names to be included in the return made out by the constables of the various parishes within the arena of the rebellion. This presentment, a folio volume of forty-seven pages, bound in vellum, was originally purchased among a quantity of waste paper, and afterwards found its way into a library, which was put up to auction at Dorchester Town Hall in 1875.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Another letter is dated September 8, State Papers Dom. Jas. II. Entry Book, vol. lvi.

<sup>2</sup> The number of those presented at Exeter was 488 inclusive. See

## Jeffreys' "Campaign"

Though nearly all the prisoners at Exeter pleaded guilty, the executions did not exceed thirteen (only two are recorded in the gaol delivery rolls).<sup>1</sup>

At Taunton the next step in Jeffreys' "campaign," five hundred and twenty-six rebels awaited trial. The Treasury minute books in the Record Office (also the Hardwick MS. in the British Museum) give the number of those "to be executed"—139, besides 15 who were omitted from the warrant. The gaol-books, strange to say, record only four executions at Taunton (one of the four being reprieved), and Mr. Inderwick puts down the leniency here to the intervention of James II., and attributes the tradition of the large number of executions at Taunton to Kirke's drumhead court-martial. The Treasury minute record given above, however, cannot be ignored, and one can only put down the small number in the gaol-books to omissions of the stars affixed to the names of those who were to suffer death.<sup>2</sup>

The great hall of Taunton Castle (draped in crimson for this occasion), where Jeffreys tried the rebels, has until recently been used for the assizes. Parts of the castle are in good preservation; the moat was filled up and the drawbridge removed about the middle of the eighteenth century. The museum of Sedgemoor relics here has before been alluded to.

From Taunton the judge went to Bristol, and

Add. MSS. No. 30,077; also an excellent article upon the MS. by Bowles Barrett, Esq. (Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club "Transactions," vol. v.)

<sup>1</sup> See Roberts, vol. ii. p. 189.

<sup>2</sup> See Inderwick, "Side Lights of the Stuarts."

## King Monmouth

left that city on the 21st (Sept.) for Wells.<sup>1</sup> Of the more than five hundred prisoners awaiting trial here, close upon a fifth part were put to death, but the gaol-books record no executions.<sup>2</sup> Victims were executed in the principal towns of Somerset, Dorset and Devon, amounting in all to over fifty places. Various gruesome records of the wholesale slaughterings of the autumn of 1685 are to be found amongst the archives of several of them. Heads and quarters "boyled and tarred"<sup>3</sup> were sent to the respective mayors to be set up as a warning against rebellion.<sup>4</sup>

Weymouth was particularly well provided, viz., six quarters and a head on the grand pier, four quarters and a head near the windmill, two heads and a quarter on the bridge, and two quarters at both the town hall and town's end. The expenses at Weymouth record: "Oct. 14.—

<sup>1</sup> See H. B. Irving's "Judge Jeffreys," p. 297.

<sup>2</sup> Among the city records of 1685 is—"The account of monies disbursed by Rich'd Copper for ye entertainment of ye 5 Judges and their attendance by order of Mr. Mayor at his house at the Assizes in Wells in September, '85." Among the items are the following:—

	£	s.	d.
Paid for 2 hogsheads and halfe and 1 tearse of beere and ale brewed . . . . .	3	0	0
Mr. Edward Slade for 5 duz. of October beere . . . . .	1	0	0
For 24 flint glasses . . . . .	0	12	0
For 5 duzzen of bottles and corkes . . . . .	0	11	0
Nicholas Olding, for 1 hogshead of ale . . . . .	2	0	0
Jc Johnson 4 days and nights attendance on my Ld. Jeffries his coach-horses . . . . .	0	6	0

&c. &c. The great tithe barn of the bishop's palace at Wells was used as a prison for the rebels (see *Notes and Queries*, second series, vol. i. pp. 145, 146).

<sup>3</sup> Warrant for the High Sheriff of Somerset, Nov. 16, 1685 (see Roberts, vol. ii. p. 224).

<sup>4</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 5 App. p. 373.



*Geo. Jeffreys*



## Jeffreys' "Campaign"

To a bill of disbursem<sup>ts</sup> for ye gallows. Burning and boyling ye Rebels executed p. ord<sup>r</sup> att this towne, £16 4s. 3d.

"Nov. 20.—Pd. M<sup>r</sup> Mayor all ye beare for so much hee pd. for new setting up a post w<sup>th</sup> the quart<sup>rs</sup> of ye Rebels att Waym<sup>s</sup> Towne End as p his bill, 1s. 6d." <sup>1</sup>

One unfortunate under-sheriff postponed his execution. "It had been donne formerly," he wrote, "had wee knowne how to dispose of his [the prisoner's] quarters!" <sup>2</sup>

Two years after the butcherings, two Dorchester men were pilloried and fined for cutting down the remains of their luckless neighbours. <sup>3</sup>

At Chard, Wellington, Ottery, Colyton and other places there are or were to be seen not long since vestiges of Jack Ketch's apparatus. An old oak, known as "Hang Cross Tree," stood nearly opposite the site of the South Western Railway station at Chard. It was cut down in 1864. At Colyton, on the road leading to Sidmouth, stood not long ago some old elms with iron staples affixed to serve as a gallows. The stumps of the gibbet remained at Spence Cross, Ottery, almost within living memory, "the linhay" by the side of the "White Hart" inn at Wellington, from which three rebels were suspended, goes by the name of 'Gallows House' to this day, <sup>4</sup> and a portion of the gibbet at Wells, formerly standing on a spot

<sup>1</sup> Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club "Transactions," vol. v. p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 5 App. p. 373.

<sup>3</sup> Inderwick, "Side Lights of the Stuarts," p. 393.

<sup>4</sup> See Pulman, "Book of the Axe"; Dr. Cornish, "Records of Ottery St. Mary"; and Hutchins, "History of Wellington."

## King Monmouth

called "Gallows Close," to the south-west of the town, forms the doorpost of a house in Southover Street.

A gruesome story comes from Crewkerne of two old men, tallow chandlers, who were suspected of purchasing the bodies of the Monmouth rebels to be utilised in some way in their business! The rumour having got about, the mob entered the house with the intention of killing them, but they managed to escape.

That his Majesty and the country might be eased of the expense of the numerous prisoners who had been proved guilty, the king directed Jeffreys to deliver them over to certain persons appointed to receive them, who after ten days would be responsible for their embarkation to the plantations of Jamaica and Barbados.<sup>1</sup> The judge hesitated before such booty should be monopolised, and ventured to point out that each prisoner was worth ten or fifteen pounds, and suggested that they should be distributed as rewards to those who deserved compensation.<sup>2</sup> But the transaction had already been settled, and those appointed to reap the harvest, either from the actual sale of the slaves to the planters, or by a still more profitable mode of receiving ransom from their relatives, included the queen, who received a hundred rebels, and asked for a hundred more!

The little maids of Taunton who had presented

<sup>1</sup> Jerome Nipho, Sir William Booth, Sir Christopher Musgrave, Sir William Stapleton, Sir Philip Howard, William Bridgeman, Sir Richard White, Mr. Kendal, &c. The above are among the names of those who received the rebels for transportation (see Roberts, vol. ii. pp. 240, 242).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 241.

## Jeffreys' "Campaign"

the embroidered colours to "the Protestant duke" were also turned to good account, and given as Christmas presents to the maids of honour at Court, who endeavoured to extort from their relatives seven thousand pounds, in which they were supported by the Duke of Somerset, who made inquiries if the children and schoolmistresses were at large, and explained to their representatives that unless the money was forthcoming they would be sued for outlawry.<sup>1</sup>

Sunderland also wrote to one George Penn (a Dorsetshire gentleman who had ransomed one of the queen's rebels from her secretary, Nipho, for £65<sup>2</sup>) asking him in the names of the Court ladies to make "the most advantageous composition" he could in their behalf.<sup>3</sup> This ultimately amounted

<sup>1</sup> His letters relative to the ransom are preserved in the Taunton Castle Museum.

<sup>2</sup> State Papers Dom. Jas. II. Entry Book, vol. lvi. Jerome Nipho, one of the eight to whom the prisoners were allotted, was secretary to Mary of Modena. In 1686 (June 24) he wrote to the queen:—"To have in yor gracious remembrance y<sup>or</sup> late secretary poer Nipho and to intercede to ye king" for him, in consideration "of his long and faithfull service at home and abroad," for a pension for his declining days after thirty years service. Some time after he petitioned for the post of "Register of all Bargains and Sales of Ships, &c., navigated for Trade" (Rawlinson MSS., Bodleian Library), *Academy*, vol. xlvii. pp. 257, 258. George Penn, who interested himself in the ransom of the Taunton maids, paid Nipho £65 for the liberation of one rebel. Roberts, in mentioning this, threw out the suggestion that he might have been the famous William Penn, and Macaulay, taking this up, endeavours to prove that it was the latter. Mr. C. E. Doble, however, has shown without doubt that it was *George Penn*, described in Hutchin's "History of Dorset" as of Toller Welme, Dorsetshire. George Penn, senior, died in 1695, aged 88. His son fought for King James in the battle of the Boyne. See Hutchin's "Dorset," vol. ii. pp. 92-94; *Academy*, vol. xxix. p. 365, also Roberts, "Monmouth," and Macaulay, "History of England."

<sup>3</sup> Letter dated Whitehall, February 13, 1685-6, State Papers Dom. Jas. II. Entry Book, vol. lvi.

## King Monmouth

to some £3000, and the Taunton maids were pardoned, but after they had been exempted from the general pardon of March 10, 1686.

To return to the rebels who were transported. Various receipts for prisoners and certificates of their safe landing at Barbados, with names in full of the slaves and their masters, are to be found among the State papers. John Rose, merchant, of London, signs a receipt of 100 prisoners to be transported from Taunton (October 12, 1685); the oldest is aged forty, and the youngest fifteen. Captain Charles Gardner appears to have shipped many in the *Jamaica Merchant*. Nipho's prisoners were "put on board the *Betty*, of London, at the port of Weymouth," James May in command, and arrived at Barbados minus eight, who died on the voyage. Captain Roger Wadham, of the *Happy Return*, and Captain William Stokes, of the *John* frigate, conveyed prisoners from Poole and Bristol; of the latter, 13 out of 90 died on the way.<sup>1</sup>

One of the slaves, John Coad, joined the Duke of Monmouth at Axminster, was wounded at Philips Norton, and imprisoned at Ilchester Gaol, from whence, though he was not included in the list of those for transportation, he, with 200 other rebels, was shipped at Weymouth, October 17, 1685. Upon their arrival in Jamaica, having endured frightful hardships, those who survived a fever (resulting from close upon a hundred being incarcerated in one cabin) were kindly treated by the merchants. Four years was the extent of

<sup>1</sup> See J. C. Hotten's lists of emigrants, exiles, &c., 1600-1700.

## Jeffreys' "Campaign"

time for which the exiles were sold, when fresh sales took place.<sup>1</sup>

Of all Jeffreys' convictions, the solitary death



MOYLES COURT

sentence at Winchester reveals the judge in his blackest colours, and no would-be whitewashers can justify the brutality displayed in the trial of Lady Lisle for harbouring two fugitives.

Nelthorp (who had been previously implicated in the Rye House Plot) and Hicks of Keynsham

<sup>1</sup> See "Memorandum of the Wonderful Providence," &c., by John Coad, 1849. At the suggestion of Roberts, the original MS. (which was discovered in the possession of Coad's great-granddaughter) was sent to Macaulay, who mentions it in his "History of England" (see "Archæologia," vol. xxx.).

## King Monmouth

sent a messenger named Dunn to Moyles Court, near Ringwood, to ask for shelter. The three, accompanied by a guide, made their way from Warminster to Martin, on the borders of Wilts, where they were entertained by a Mr. Fane. Dunn had previously arranged with Colonel Penruddocke to arrest the fugitives when housed at Moyles. By way of Fordingbridge their destination was reached about ten o'clock on the night of July 28; their horses were turned loose and the steward introduced them into the house. Here they supped, and after a short interview with their hostess were concealed, one in the building, the other in a malthouse.<sup>1</sup>

There is a tradition at Gorely that as Lady Lisle was riding pillion behind a trooper, the horse cast a shoe and was taken to the forge in the village to be re-shod. Noticing the sorrow expressed on her behalf, "Weep not, good folks," she said; "I shall soon return to you," at which the soldier remarked, "Yes, but without your head." The original sentence passed upon the poor lady is recorded in the gaol-books as follows: "To be drawn to the stake and burned by fire till she is dead," and only by much persuasion was the king induced to interfere and alter the sentence to beheading.

In the little Hampshire churchyard of Ellingham may be seen the simple monument recording the poor lady's death. Close by stands the old house of the Lisles, where descendants lived until the early part of the nineteenth century. Before the picturesque Jacobean house was restored by

<sup>1</sup> See "Secret Chambers and Hiding Places."

## Jeffreys' "Campaign"

its present occupant, it was deserted and dilapidated, and its melancholy, owl-haunted appearance well harmonised with its sad associations. But the gloom has long since been dispelled, and the crimson-robed judge now looks complacently out of his picture-frame in the hall, as if exulting over the fate of the former inmate of the mansion.

Mr. Prideaux, who had acted as Monmouth's host during his progress of 1680, and whose horses at Ford were carried off by Dare, upon the duke's landing, was with much

difficulty ransomed for £15,000. The king, as was the custom where money could be extorted, had "given him" to the judge, who used him to the best advantage for acquiring some property he coveted in Leicestershire.<sup>1</sup> The judge's



ELLINGHAM CHURCH

<sup>1</sup> Jeffreys also petitioned to the Crown for the grant of Lord Grey's Seat, Up Park (see Burrell MSS. No. 5705, p. 22).

## King Monmouth

Buckinghamshire seat, Bulstrode, was built by him in 1686, and still bears the date, though the house has been considerably altered since then. The chancellor's house in Duke Street, Westminster, with its "fair flight of freestone stairs"<sup>1</sup> into St. James's Park, specially granted



PORCH, ELLINGHAM CHURCH

by James II., was pulled down in William III.'s reign, and the "Cause Room" converted into a chapel. Upon the Prince of Orange's landing, Jeffreys removed from this house to "the duke's old little chamber at Whitehall," as the Jesuit Petre's lodgings are alluded to by Clarendon. No. 7, Delahay Street, Westminster, pulled down in October 1892, was traditionally

<sup>1</sup> These steps leading into the park are the only remnant left.

## Jeffreys' "Campaign"

connected with the notorious judge, and probably was a portion of the original residence, as Duke Street in the course of alterations became Delahay Street. The "Red Cow Inn," in "Anchor and Hope" Alley, Wapping, where the fallen chancellor was discovered by the mob in disguise, prior to his removal to the Tower, has long since disappeared.

Jeffreys found a last resting-place near the Duke of Monmouth in St. Peter's Chapel in the Tower, but his body was afterwards (1693) removed to a vault under the communion-table of St. Mary's, Aldermanbury. This was opened in 1803, and again seven years later, when the coffin, with its crimson velvet and gilt furniture, was in a perfect state of preservation.<sup>1</sup>

See Woolrych, "Judge Jeffreys."



## APPENDICES



## APPENDIX A

### MARY WALTER

WHEN Charles II. returned to the Hague in 1651, after his defeat at Worcester, Clarendon says he would (for a time at any rate) have no communication with Monmouth's mother on account of her shameless way of living during his absence ; and about this time the Duke's half-sister Mary was born.

Nothing is known of Mary's girlhood, but from a letter addressed to the king in 1683 we may gather that Charles made a liberal provision for her maintenance.<sup>1</sup>

She married twice, firstly to William Sarsfield of Mayo, elder brother of Patrick, Earl of Lucan (a creation of James II. after his abdication). Charles II.'s confidant, Edward Progers, testified that when Sarsfield married her and brought his wife over into England,<sup>2</sup> she "then lived with the Earl of Carlingford." It will be remembered I pointed out (in chapter vi.) that Carlingford probably was Mary Walter's father. About the time of her marriage, Monmouth interested himself in his sister's behalf, with the result that Charles wrote to the Duke of Ormonde, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, about the purchase of lands at Lucan, that £800 might be settled upon her as a jointure ; but four years later Sarsfield died<sup>3</sup> before he had made this promised provision for his wife, and the estates passed to his sisters and other members of his family.

Owing to the nature of the illness (small-pox), both the physician and priest persuaded Mrs. Sarsfield to keep away from the sick-bed, but when at length she saw her husband, he

<sup>1</sup> I quote this letter later on.

<sup>2</sup> State Papers, Dom. Chas. II., vol. 434. Progers, writing in 1683, probably referred to the earl then living—Nicholas, second earl of Carlingford. The first earl was Sir Theobald, second Viscount Taaffe, spoken of in De Grammont's "Memoirs" as "Old Lord Carlingford."

<sup>3</sup> April 13, 1675.

## Appendix A

was both "blind and light-headed," and by her account the will, which sent the property in the wrong channel, was signed only the day before. A year after her first husband's death, Mary married William Fanshawe of St. Martin's in the Fields, eldest son of John Fanshawe of Parsloes,<sup>1</sup> Essex, and nephew of Sir Richard Fanshawe, Bart., and Lady Anne,<sup>2</sup> of Ware Park.

For a time William Fanshawe was master of the Requests to Charles II., but he fell into disfavour and lost his appointment, probably by the Duke of York's influence, because Fanshawe prevailed with his wife to quit the Romish religion. A pension that he was receiving (in lieu of the Sarsfield jointure) of £800 was discontinued. In 1683 he wrote in great distress for help and the letter was supplemented by one from his wife. Two children of the former marriage had been sent to France for their health, "where after a great expense one of them is dead, and the other standing engaged for the expense," and there were no means to cope with the calamity, nor to feed and clothe them nor the mother. The unfortunate man further stated that he was £2000 in debt, never having received a third of the portion the king gave his wife before he (Fanshawe) married her, and he was sure she or "her poore children have never yet offended his Ma<sup>tie</sup>." The wife's letter to the Secretary of State runs thus :

"S<sup>r</sup>,

Haveing heard your intentions to quit the Secretares place I beg before you leave that station you will please to informe the king that the hundred pounds he last was pleasd to order me is bared out of my small portion of two hundred pounds a year of which there is besides a hundred ponds more in arreare, as for my late petition for maintenance referd to the Lords of the Treasury I can not geat them to make any report thereon, and without the king will pleas to order me some speedy relef before his Ma<sup>te</sup> goes out of towne I must sertainly perish. All I beg is some ready money at present to supply my presing onations (*sic*) and a hundred pound a quarter to keep me and my childrean and famely and to carry one suits in Law and Equity for recouping of my jointer, this is but wone halfe of what his Ma<sup>tie</sup> long sines gave me and not ner so much as he was pleasd to alowe me when I was but a child,

<sup>1</sup> This old mansion, near Barking, is fast falling to decay (1901).

<sup>2</sup> Famous for her "Memoirs."

## Appendix A

but I will content myself with that which will but just keep bread in my mouth, rather than be troublesome to his Ma<sup>tie</sup>. S<sup>r</sup> if you will doe me the favor to showe this leter to the King and to add such a favourable mediation in my behalfe as my unfortunat condition requirs and your owen generous charitable temper will I am sure prompt you to, I do not doubt but the King will grant my request, and you will ever oblig me to pray for you whoe am allredy<sup>1</sup>

“ Your most humble Saev<sup>nt</sup>

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Mary Fanshawe". The ink is dark and the handwriting is fluid, with long, sweeping strokes.

The secret service payments of Charles II.'s reign<sup>2</sup> show that at the time of these petitions and before, his allowance of £400 a year was being paid, though, like most other pensions of the reign, it was suffered to fall into arrear.

With Charles' death the "bounty" ceased. We therefore find Fanshawe petitioning James II. in April (27) 1686. His wife was then in childbed, and they and their five children threatened to be turned out of doors for not paying their rent. The Treasury Minute Book (vol. i. p. 96) records the response: "Mr. Fanshawe to have £50 out of secret service." When William III. came to the throne, Mrs. Fanshawe obtained an audience with the queen, who presented her with 250 guineas, and settled £300 per annum upon her husband. We last hear of her being alive in May 1695. In Anne's reign the husband again seeks assistance. He is then a widower, "crippled with gout and confined to his chamber—had been arrested for debt. His paternal estate was mortgaged and the £200 a year he received was insufficient to support him and his poor motherless children," and to keep him out of prison, he begs that the sum may be doubled.<sup>3</sup> Sandford gives the date of his death

<sup>1</sup> State Papers, Dom. Chas. II., vol. 434.

<sup>2</sup> Secret Service Expenses of Charles II. and James II. (Camden Society, 1851).

<sup>3</sup> Calendar of Treasury Papers, July 28, 1693, and Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 12, App. iii. p. 182.

## Appendix A

as 1693, but he lived nearly half through Queen Anne's reign. His will, dated August 26, 1707, desires that his body may be buried (at Barking) by the side of his dearly beloved wife, Mary, sister of the late Duke of Monmouth."<sup>1</sup> There is, however, strange to say, no entry of her interment in the Barking Church Register.

Of his four children, Thomas Edward, of Great Singleton, co. Lancaster, became a volunteer on board H.M. fleet.<sup>2</sup> The eldest daughter, Anne Dorothy, married a Mr. Mathews, a barrister. Lucy Catherine (second) was buried at Barking, September 21, 1705, and Anne Mary (third) married Mr. Mark Newdigate, of Ireland. Of his wife's children by her first marriage, the eldest son, Charles (Sarsfield); died in Paris, July 3, 1683, aged eight years nine months. William, the youngest, died in 1676, aged a little over one year.<sup>3</sup> Charlotte, the eldest, survived her step-father and married Mr. Agmondishan Vesey, of Ireland. On July 1693 William Fanshawe petitioned for his step-daughter about the forfeited estates in Lucan, with the favourable result that her request "should be gratified."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jesse, "Memoirs of the Stuarts."

<sup>2</sup> Sandford.

<sup>3</sup> State Papers, Dom. Chas. II. vol. 434.

<sup>4</sup> Calendar of Treasury Papers, July 28, 1693.





MONMOUTH'S POCKET-BOOK

## APPENDIX B

### MONMOUTH'S POCKET-BOOK

ALLUSION has been made in the Introduction to books found in Monmouth's possession when he was captured after the battle of Sedgemoor. There is therefore no necessity to repeat here any particulars concerning the diary referred to by Welwood, which no longer exists. When the above pocket-book was acquired by the British Museum,<sup>1</sup> Sir F. Madden, in an interesting communication to *Notes and Queries* (July 5, 1851), quoted some of the contents of the volume: he further pointed out that the inscription on the fly-leaf: "This book was found in the Duke of Monmouth's pocket when he was taken and is most of his owne hand writing"—is in James II.'s own hand.

Among the receipts are the following:

"To make the face fair" (with fresh bean blossoms distilled).—"To make hair grow."—"To make hair grow black though any colour."—"For heat in the face, redness, and shining of the nose" (a fair cloth drawn in the morning over the grass until it is saturated with dew—May dew is specially recommended—and applied to the face and allowed to dry).—"To keep the goms (gums) well."—"For to make Bouts and Choos" (boots and shoes) "hold out water."—"To write letters of Secrets," &c. &c.

An alphabetical and numerical cipher.—Magical and astrological receipts and charms in French "pour savoir si une person sera fidelle ou non."—A charm "to procure repose of body and mind" (which the unfortunate duke must have sadly needed in his latter days!).—For deliverance from pains, enemies, &c. &c., charms by Psalms.—"The thirty Commandments by Socrates, Plato, Cicero," &c.

A planetary wheel, dated 1680, with subdivisions of happi-

<sup>1</sup> Egerton MSS. British Museum, No. 1527.

## Appendix B

ness or adversity, life or death (see illustration). Coming down to more matter-of-fact entries, there is a form of a bill of ex-



A PAGE FROM MONMOUTH'S POCKET-BOOK

change on David Nairne, of London, for £200, "to be left with Mr. Peter Persevall at the Black Boy in Lumbar Street,"

## Appendix B

drawn Antwerp, May 16, 1684: "Mony to be payde to Mr. John Archer, a merchant in Gravell Lane in Houndsditch, London." Various addresses of merchants, &c., at Amsterdam, Paris, &c., to whom letters were to be written in 1685—viz., Monsieur Hoult, at Cleave; Captain William Stuart, at Ostend; William Weynriche, Secretary to the Elector of Brandenburg, &c. &c.—"Value of duckatons, pistols, gilders."—Notes upon fortification, &c.—"The Batteryes that can be made at Flushing to keep ships from coming in."—"Traité de la guere ou Politique Militaire."—Arithmetical table of the number 7, multiplied from 1 to 37.—Lists of the christian names of men and women. To return to the superstitious: "Casualties of various reigns, William 1st to Queen Mary." Under the last reign is the following record: "In the second year appear'd on the 15 of February a rayne bow reversed and the two ends slanting upward, also two suns shined at one time, a good distance a sunder w<sup>ch</sup> were taken for ill signes."<sup>1</sup> Under "casualty in Henry the fourths time." "At Danbury in Essexce the divel appeard in likenes of a grey fryer who entring the church put the people in great fear and at the same hour w<sup>th</sup> a tempest of whirlwind and thunder, the tope of the steeple was broken down and halfe the chancel scaterd a brod."

Various songs (some original) with the musical notes accompanying one or two of them. The lines upon his blissful seclusion with Lady Wentworth I give in chapter xi. The music accompanies the song. The following is a better, but probably not an *original*, composition on Monmouth's part:

"O how blest and how innocent  
And happy is a country life,  
Free from tumult and discontent.  
Here is no flattery nor strife,  
For 'twas the first and happiest life

<sup>1</sup> By a curious coincidence the Rev. Andrew Paschall, rector of Chedzoy, close to Sedgemoor, saw a strange phenomena in the heavens of a like description, which he believed to forbode some impending disaster. These are his own words: "In the end of the year 1684, December the 21st, were seen from this place, at sunrising, Parhelii, and this when in a clear, sharp, frosty morning, there were no clouds to make the reflection. It was probably from the thickness of the atmosphere. *The place of the fight, which was in the following summer, was near a line drawn from the eyes of the spectator to these mock suns.*" (Vide Appendix to Heywood's "Vindication to Fox's History," in which Paschall's MSS. is published.)

## Appendix B

When first man did enjoy himself.  
This is a better fate than kings,  
Hence gentle peace and love doth flow.  
For fancy is the rate of things,  
I am pleased because I think it so.  
For a heart that is nobly true  
All the world's arts can ne'er subdue."

" 'The Twin Flame,' sent mee by M. P." commences :

" Fantastick wanton God what dost thou mean,  
To break my rest, make me grow pale and lean."

Twenty-nine pages contain prayers for morning and evening —prayers after the confession of sins, and the sense of pardon obtained, &c. The following passage possibly was written after the disastrous fight of Sedgemoor :

" Mercy, mercy, good Lord ! I ask not of Thee any longer the things of this world ; neither power, nor honours, nor riches, nor pleasures. No, my God, dispose of them to whom Thou pleasest, so that Thou givest me mercy."

The duke's memorandums of the routes of his various journeys form, perhaps, the most interesting feature of the book, and show his movements upon his secret visit to England between November and December 10, 1684, and in Holland up to March 14. Very significant also is the following, the last entry in the book :

" From London to Hamsted.  
From Hamsted to Hendon.  
From Hendon to Edgeworth.<sup>1</sup>  
From Edgeworth to Astra.<sup>2</sup>  
From Astra to St. Steephens.<sup>3</sup>  
From St. Steephens to Dounstable.  
From Dounstable to Teddington (Toddington)."

" The rode that is to be taken from Bruxels to Diren,<sup>4</sup> the Pri of Orange's house.

" From Bruxels to Malins, 4 leagues, ther I dined.  
From Malins<sup>5</sup> to Lier,<sup>6</sup> 3 leagues.  
From Lier to Santoven,<sup>7</sup> 3 leagues, ther I lay.

<sup>1</sup> Edgware.

<sup>2</sup> Elstree.

<sup>3</sup> Adjoining St. Albans.

<sup>4</sup> Dieren.

<sup>5</sup> Malines.

<sup>6</sup> Lierre.

<sup>7</sup> Santhoven.

## Appendix B

From Santoven to Turnhout, 5 leagues.

From Turnhout to Possell, 3 leagues, wher I dined.

From Possell to Bostell, 6 leagues, ther I lay.

From Bostell to Grave, 8 leagues, ther I dined.

From Gave (sic) to Minigen,<sup>1</sup> 3 leagues, wher I lay.

From Minegen to Arnem,<sup>2</sup> 3 leagues.

From Arnem to Diren, 3 leagues, w<sup>ch</sup> is the Princes house."

"The Road from Bruxells to Soudsyck,<sup>3</sup> the Prince of Orange his hous—

"From Bruxells to Mallines, 4 leagues.

From Mallines to Antwerp, 4 leagues.

From Antwerp to Vesel, 5 leagues, wher I dined.

From Vesel to Breda, 5 leagues, wher I lay.

From Breda to Gertruydeberg,<sup>4</sup> 3 leagues, wher I took watter to goe to Gorcome."

"The way that I tooke from Diren when I went for England Nou the 10. 84.

"From Diren to Arnem, 3 leagues.

From Arnem to Nimengen,<sup>5</sup> 3 leagues.

From Nimengen I turned bakgain and went to Wicken,<sup>6</sup> 2 leagues from Nimegen to the right hand.

From Wicken to Harn, 1 league.

From Harn to Haren,<sup>7</sup>  $\frac{1}{2}$  league.

From Haren to Puyfelyck, 1 league.

From Puyfelick to Lewen, 1 league.

From Lewen to Waemel,<sup>8</sup>  $\frac{1}{2}$  league.

From Waemel to Tiel, 1 league.

At Wamel I crost over the river Wall<sup>9</sup> to Tiel.

At Tiel there is wagens to be had. You must crose the Ryn<sup>10</sup> at Husder w<sup>ch</sup> is an hour from Ranekham,<sup>11</sup>

From thence I went to Utrick.<sup>12</sup>

From Utrick to Rotterdam in a wagen.

From Rotterdam to Delfe<sup>13</sup> in a boat.

Delfe is an hour from the Hague."

Monmouth had his secret interview with Charles in the end of November 1684. Under the date December 1 is :

<sup>1</sup> Nijmegen.

<sup>4</sup> Geertruidenberg.

<sup>7</sup> Heerwaarden.

<sup>10</sup> Rhine.

<sup>13</sup> Delft.

<sup>2</sup> Arnhem.

<sup>5</sup> Nijmegen.

<sup>8</sup> Wamel.

<sup>11</sup> Renkum.

<sup>3</sup> Soestdijk.

<sup>6</sup> Wychen.

<sup>9</sup> Waal.

<sup>12</sup> Utrecht.

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“The way from London to East Tilbery.

“From London to Bow.  
From Bow to Stratford.  
From Stratford to Barkin.  
From Barkin to Dagnam.<sup>1</sup>  
It is eleuen miles from London to Dagnam.  
From Dagnam to Rainham, 2 miles.  
From Rainham to Wennington 1 mile.”

and following :

“The way that I took when I cam from England, December the 10<sup>th</sup> 84.

“I came on bord a munday night and landed at Neuport,<sup>2</sup> a wensday morning at a leuen of the clock.

“A Thursday morning at ten I went in to the boat that gos for Bridges,<sup>3</sup> drawn by horsess and came to Bridges at 5 in the afternoon. At 8 a Friday morning I went w<sup>th</sup> the boat that gose from Bridges to Gant<sup>4</sup> and came their between 4 and 5 in the afternoon. Next mg<sup>7</sup> I went by the wagen that gos from Gant to Bruxells at 7 of the clock in the morning, dyned at a host and their the wagens have fresh horsess w<sup>ch</sup> carrys us to Bruxells and wee cam to Bruxells at 5 in the afternoon a Saterdag.

“The way that I took the first day of Jan. n. st. (1684-5). From Bruxells to the Heague.

“From Antwerp to Dort (11-14 March 1685). I came from Antwerp last night the 11<sup>th</sup> March new stile, 85.

“I lay that night at Broschote,<sup>5</sup> that is 2 hours from Antwerp, the next day I went to Risberg<sup>6</sup> wher I lay, w<sup>ch</sup> is two hours from Breda and 8 hours from Antwerp, the 13<sup>th</sup> of March.

“This night I lay at Ramsdorth, w<sup>ch</sup> is over against Gerthredinberg.<sup>7</sup> Could not gett to dort<sup>8</sup> last night the Ice being so mch in the river before Gerthredinberg. The 14<sup>th</sup> I came to dort. Came by water from Ramsdorth and took wagen over against Moordyck,<sup>9</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> is two hours from dort.” Adjoining in the margin is “very frosty weather, a great dell of snow. Then rain.” Following is “direction to writ to Monsieur

<sup>1</sup> Dagenham.                      <sup>2</sup> Nieuport, ten miles S.W. of Ostend.

<sup>3</sup> Bruges.                      <sup>4</sup> Ghent.

<sup>5</sup> Brasschaet.                      <sup>6</sup> Rejsbergen.                      <sup>7</sup> Geertruidenberg.

<sup>8</sup> Dort (or Dordrecht).

<sup>9</sup> Moerdijk (the whole distance from Antwerp, about sixty miles).

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Danel Le Blon<sup>1</sup>: A Monsieur Dirch Van Pas Marchant in Amsterdam." Also "Directions to writ to Mr. Robert Archer: A Myn Heer de Heerÿstraüt Kieft Coopman, Amsterdam." Monsieur Jean Ray Coopman also at Amsterdam has the following mem.: "Must make a scratch upon the inward letter."

The next two entries are from Tergou<sup>2</sup> to Amsterdam. The first, "the footway," runs thus:

- "From Tergou to Bodegrave<sup>3</sup> 2 great hours.
- From Bodegrave to Swanerdam half an hour.
- From Swanerdam to Newcoop<sup>4</sup> 3 quarters of an hour.
- From Newcoope to Senenhofe 1 hour.
- From Senenhove to Newtowner 3 hours.
- From Newtowner to Amsterveine<sup>5</sup> 2 hours.
- From Amstervein to Amsterdam 2 hours."

"The way from Tergou to Amsterdam" is as follows:

- "From Tergou to Wensfild one hour.
- From Wensfild to Midlburg<sup>6</sup> 3 quarters of an hour.
- From Midlburg to Alpa<sup>7</sup> one hour and  $\frac{3}{4}$ .
- From Alpa to Renstervone 2 hours.
- From Renstervone to Lamens half an hour.
- From Lamens to Calsela one hour.
- From Calsela to Calstars alfe an hour.
- From Calsters to Amstervain one hour and a halfe.
- From Amstervain to Amsterdam 2 hours."

Monmouth no doubt journeyed to and from Amsterdam and Tergou [Gouda] when the expedition to England was in active preparation from the middle of March to the beginning of May, the latter place affording him and Lady Wentworth the desired *incognito*.

Under November 1683 (when the duke's reconciliation with the king was being arranged) are three brief entries, possibly referring to this business: "1683. Munday the 5<sup>th</sup> of

<sup>1</sup> It was Le Blon who advanced £3000 for the fatal expedition of 1685.

<sup>2</sup> Terjou, Ter Goude, better known as Gouda, a small town about thirteen miles N.E. of Rotterdam, and fifteen N. of Dort.

<sup>3</sup> Bodegraven is about eighteen miles W. of Utrecht, eighteen N.E. of Rotterdam, and twenty-two S. by W. of Amsterdam.

<sup>4</sup> Nieuwkoop.

<sup>5</sup> Amstelveen.

<sup>6</sup> Middelburg.

<sup>7</sup> Alphen.

<sup>8</sup> Leijmuiden.

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November. H. W. had T."—On the 9<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> are the words "Poupe."

"A matow (motto) Fear nothing but God."

N.B.—The spelling, with the exception of the songs, has been given *literatim*. There are 157 pages in the book; page 25 (with permission of the trustees of the British Museum) is here reproduced, as is also the binding, the same size as the original.

A. F.

## APPENDIX C

### CHRISTOPHER CROFT'S LETTERS

N.B. The writer of these letters (a great-great-grand-uncle of Ernest Crofts, Esq., R.A., to whom I am indebted for these transcripts) was private secretary to the 2nd Earl of Cork and 1st Earl of Burlington. A. F.

“SIR,

“I should sooner have answered your Letter had I not strained my hand, which now is reasonable well again. I do not beleive that the Militia is to be raised so speedily as you mencon'd, only upon this invasion of Monmouths, direcoñs was given for the Militia to bee in a readinesse, but I hope the Rebells will soon bee dispersed, the Monmouth will not stand to fight the King's Forces, yet hee runs up and downe and some skirmishes are between them, but in a little time it is hoped they may surround him Tho 'tis in such a inclosed country 'twill bee hard to force him to fight, and really we haue here such various and different Reports thereof and so many lyes euery one takeing the liberty almost as they please to dis-course as their inclynations would haue it to bee, so as wee scarce know what to beleive some saying hee is strong, and some not, but 'tis said hee has been shott at thrice by his own men and I hope some of them will do his buisnesse ere long. These trouble . . . etc. I question not but you haue heard of the directions sent downe for seizing of all nonconformine Ministers and all such as bore armes agt. King Charles ye first or his late Ma<sup>ty</sup>.

“ Yours etc.

“CHRISTOPHER CROFTS.”

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“CHISWICK, *July 9th*, 1685.

“SIR,

“Yesterday wee had the news of Lord Grayes being taken in the habitt of a Shepheard, and to day we haue that of Monmouths being so, they found him in a bush asleep and a Dutch Colonell with him and three Troopes of Horse are gone downe into Hampshire where hee was taken to bring him up. Gray comes to town this day and now I hope we shall bee at quiett. ’Tis said they have taken Mon<sup>th</sup>s Secretary and with him a List of all the persons who contributed money towards this Rebellion, so as if this bee true there will bee work for my Lord Cheife Justice Jeffreys. I hope now in a short time to tell you the certain day of my Lords coming for Yorkshire. I am sure I can with great truth assure you that I am

“Your most humble Seruant

“CHRIS. CROFTS.”

In another letter from Christopher Crofts, dated from London, June 23, 1685, he says: “Monmouth continues still at Taunton . . . 20 pieces of cannon and 50 waggons with amunition sent out of ye Tower.”

“For Charles Bull Esq<sup>re</sup> at Bolton Abbey To bee left at Mr. Rookes his house in Skipton in Craven Yorkshire.

“LONDON, *July 18*, 1685.

“S<sup>r</sup>

“I came hither from Chiswick this afternoon where I can learne but little news Goonenough, Neltherp and another considerable Rebell are taken, and amongst twelue or thirteen that are secured and Ferguson they think is one which I should bee glad to hear the truth thereof the late Duke of Monmouth telling his Ma<sup>thy</sup> hee was one of the bloodyest rogues that euer Lived. In the late Duke of Monmouths pockett was a manuscript of Spells, Charmes and Conjurations, Songs, Receipts and Prayers all written with his own hand with other manuscripts of Fortification and a computation of the yearly expence of His Mag<sup>ty</sup>s Navy and Land Forces. The Headsman had five strokes at his neck, for which euery one sayes hee deserves hanging, or beheading with an Oyster Knife. There are Orders gon down this post to the Dep<sup>ty</sup> Lieut<sup>t</sup> of the West Riding to release all persons lately seized, upon account of the Rebellion

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without giving Security, only such as haue corresponded with or any wayes abetted the Rebels they are to continue Prisoners. I beg your pardon for the trouble of a second Letter to Geo. Myres which I pray bee pleased to send him. My Lord hold his resolutōn of beginning his Journey towards the North on Monday come senights and shortly after I hope you shall bee waited upon by

“Your most humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

“CHRIS<sup>r</sup> CROFTS.”

## APPENDIX D

### BELVOIR MSS. LETTERS RELATIVE TO THE BATTLE OF SEDGEMOOR

[Historical MSS. Com. Rep. 12. Appendix. Part V.  
Vol. ii. pp. 89-92.]

JAMES WILKINSON to the Countess of Rutland, at  
Belvoir Castle :

1685, "June" (sc. July) 7.—"I am commanded in the first place, by my master, to present his humble servis to your Honour and to my Lord Rutland ; And to let your Ladyship understand that his Honour this afternoone did hear a letter read which came from the camp on the King's side which gave account to this effect, that yesterday morning about two of the clock the Duke of Monmouth did surprize the King's partie about 5 miles from Bridgewater ; for the security of the King's partie there was set three watches, 2 men alone a distance off in the first watch, then 20 men and nearer to the army, more. The Duke of Monmouth had designed a surprize, ordering all his forces to march with great sylence ording what man soever that made a noise should be knocked in the head by the next man, which sylence was performed until by accident they were discovered by the first watch, who shooting of a gun gave notice to the second and so to the camp who upon the alarm were soone in Batalia. However the Duke of Monmouth came very near them and first fired and killed near two hundred of the King's forces, but my Lord Feversham being accidentally upon the scout that night, who a little before did mis the Rebbells a very little way, yet hearing the guns, accidentally did fall on the arrear of the rebbells' horse, who so soone as they perceived it, thought themselves beset strongly both in the van and the rear, and so drew back, which my Lord Feversham perceived went off, having but a small

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parcel of horse and made towards the army so went round another way, but when he came to the army he found the enemy retreating so fell in the rear again and killed many of the rebels.

“The Duke of Monmouth commanded the Foot who fought very valiantly, the Duke being at the head of them with a pike. The Lord Gray commanded the horse but did little execution flying away with them. The rebels are certainly dispersed so that there is hope they will never get head again. The Duke of Monmouth threatens to save the King a labour and hang the Lord Gray when he can secure him because he hath proved a coward twice to him. Coll. Oglethorpe brought the news on which the King was pleased to knight him. My Lord Dunblaine hath received a wound this skirmish. Ringing of bells and bonfires are all over London; I fear it will be a fortnight before my master will leave London.”

*Postscript* :—“It is certainly reported the Duke of Monmouth is taken. *Seal of arms (Noel and Bertie with coronet)*.

Charles Bertie to his niece, the Countess of Rutland, at Belvoir.

1685, July 7.—“This morning Colonel Oglethorpe—now Sir Theophilus—arrived early with the following account from the Camp, vizt.—That on Monday the 6th instant, about 2 in the morning, Monmouth drew out his army consisting of about 6000 foot and 1500 horse from Bridgwater, to attack the King's forces who lay encamped at Sedgmore Common, about two miles distant from the town. He marched with so profound a silence and so strict a discipline—having ordered the next man to stab that person who should make the least noise—that he marched up to our own guards before he was discovered, and brought his canon—they say—within pistol shot of the King's, killing some of our men at first, but our army being in battalia immediately put themselves into order and the dispute grew very warm on both sides till my Lord Grey—who commanded the rebels' horse—fled upon the first firing. Monmouth—with the foot—remaining exposed to the fury of the King's horse and canon which so galled them that they were no longer able to sustain it and so run away in disorder to Bridgwater, in which action the enemy is computed to have lost 1500 men, among the rest that great incendiary Ferguson was found slain with his musket in his hand. Wee

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have taken 24 Colours, 6 of their guns and one Williams servant to Monmouth who confesses that he heard his master say in the battle that he was lost by the cowardice of my Lord Grey. When Colonel Oglethorpe was coming away my Lord Churchill was going with a body of 500 horse to summon the town to surrender. In this action, Monmouth's cloak and star was taken, and what is become of his own person is not yet known. All agree that he acted the part of a great General and charged a foot in the head of his army. The King's Army consisted of 2700 old foot, and 800 horse besides the Militia which last had little part in the action. On our side is said to be lost:—2 or 300 without an Officer. My Lord Dumblain is the only person of quality wounded, and that I hope but favourably in the shoulder. Our horse is now eager in the pursuit and His Majesty is every minute expecting a further account. I hope this will prove a total rout of the enemy, and that we shall spend the remaining part of the summer in peace and quietness."

### Newsletter.

1685, July 7. Whitehall.—“This day Colonel Oglethorpe arrived here with the news of the entire defeat of the rebels of which he gave the following account. On Sunday morning my Lord Feversham marched from Somerton to Weston within three miles of Bridgwater upon the side of Segmore being a spacious plain, he quartered his horse and dragoons at Weston, and encamped his foot in an advantageous post near that village fronting towards the plain having a ditch before them. In the evening he had notice that the rebels were drawing out of the town which made him keep his troops in a readiness and sent out frequent parties to observe them. The rebels so ordered their march and with so great silence that they found a quiet passage into the said moore, and there the next morning formed their foot in battle to the number of between five and six thousand men, the late Duke of Monmouth being at the head of them, and marched near to our camp. My Lord Feversham having notice of it he immediately put His Majesty's forces, being about 1800 foot and 700 horse grenadiers and dragoons, into a posture to receive them. The rebels begun with a great volley of shot and shoutes which was returned by ours in the same manner. In the meantime the rebels were bringing their horse to second their foot but were

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hindered by a party of horse comanded by Colonel Oglethorpe who engaged them till my Lord of Oxford's regiment and the detachment of the guards came in to forme the line. The resistance of the rebells' horse which were between a thousand and twelve hundred comanded by the late Lord Gray was very inconsiderable, being never drawn up in a body but giving way before whoever charged them and soone after quitting the field. All this while the foot stood very firm on both sides and exchanged great volleyes, the ditch before mentioned hindring them from closing, but our canon coming up and our horse breaking in upon them they were at last entirely routed, 22 colours with three pieces of canon, all they had, were taken. About 400 of the rebells were killed upon the place, and the rest being pursued into ditches and enclosures a great slaughter was made of them, in all about 2000. It's said that Ferguson is among the slain. One Humes, an officer of the best repute among them, and one Williams one of the late Duke of Monmouth's servants are taken with 200 guineas all the money he had left; his coat which he usually wore is likewise taken and about 150 prisoners, several parties being in pursuit of the rest and the rebells horse who dispersed and fled. The Earl of Feversham, his Majesty's Lieutenant-General, was everywhere present giving the necessary orders. My Lord Churchill who comanded next under him gave all possible proof of his courage and conduct. The Duke of Grafton who comanded the foot and all the other officers and souldiers behaved themselves with all imaginable resolution and bravery. Of the King's forces about 200 are killed, among which are none of any note that wee yet know of, and divers wounded; of this number are Lord Dumblain, Captain Sarsfield, Captain Ferdinando Hastings, Lieutenant Chevalier and others. The Earl of Pembroke who was quartered with two regiments of foot and four troupes of horse of the Militia of Wilts, by reason they had no tents, at Middle-say about a mile from Weston, came very seasonably into the fight with these troopes and behaved himself with great bravery. After the field was cleared of the enemy, the Earl of Feversham sent my Lord Churchill with 500 horse and 500 foot to summon Bridgwater.

“We have just now a further account that the King's forces are got into Bridgwater and that the rebells are so totally routed that not 50 of them remain in a body.”

## APPENDIX E

### BELVOIR MSS. LETTERS RELATIVE TO THE DUKE OF MONMOUTH'S EXECUTION

[Historical MSS. Com. Rep. 12. Appendix. Part V.  
Vol. ii. pp. 93-4.]

#### LETTER from Chaloner Chute to the Countess of Rutland.

1685, July 16.—“Mr. Noel and I were yesterday to see the Duke of M beheaded upon Tower Hill and tho' we were at a little distance from him we could easily perceive he did not seem to be any way daunted at the great preparations that were made for his dying. He had the Bishop of Bath and Wells, the Bishop of Ely and Dr. Tenotson upon the Scaffold with him. He endeavoured very much to clear the Lady H. Weintworth from those scandalous reflections that have been made upon her and said he could not but make this declaration at his death, that she had always lived very virtuously and very honourably with him, but did not say in express words either that he was or that he was not married to her, tho' it is said he intimated very much as if he were married to her. As for the innocent blood that has been shed, he said he was sorry for the occasion of shedding it, but as Mr. Noel and I were told he referred himself as to that matter to his paper, but I cannot hear of any paper since that he delivered but only one wherein he disclaims all kind of right to the crown in three or four lines under his own hand.”

#### Letter from Charles Bertie to his niece, the Countess of Rutland, at Belvoir.

1685, July 16, London.—“Yesterday about eleven of the clock the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth was executed on

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Tower Hill, having been assisted with Dr. Tenison and severall other divines and Bishops the night before. The Dutchesse his wife had the liberty to see him in the presence of the Earl of Clarendon, whom hee received very coldly complaining that she had not don the part of a wife towards him at the late King his father's death, and told her hee thought shee did not show any great concern for him under his present misfortunes, and indeed seemed little desirous to speak or discourse with her, for his affections were chiefly sett upon my Lady Harriette Wentworth with whom he confessed hee had lived these two years as man and wife, and thought himself the most happy man in the world, saying that the Dutchesse was imposed upon him when hee was very young, and not by his own choice, and that shee was his wife by law, but the other was his wife before God and in his own conscience commending her vertue publickly on the Scaffold and talking many things in her commendation. He also charged his servant to give her his ring and watch as soon as hee could. Yesterday morning before hee died they prevailed with him to speak to the Dutchesse and his children, which hee did more freely than the day before, and charged his son to obey his mother who would carefully bring him up in the Protestant religion, and thus hee took his leave of them. Sir Stephen Fox standing by told him hee was sorry to see him in this sad condition to whom hee replied 'And so am I too, but since it is God Almighty's pleasure I am going to perform his will.' The divines refused to give him the sacrament because of his converse with my Lady Harriette. Hee openly declared a great assurance hee had of being very happy as soon as this life was ended, and was full of those enthusiasticall conceits. Hee carried himself with great sedatenesse of mind on the scaffold, and told them hee was not afraid of death, and called for the axe and run his thumb over the edge and beleevd it was sharp praying the executioner not to mangle him as hee did my Lord Russell, but the rogue served him much worse, for striking two blows at him hee layd down the axe and was faine to take it up agane and give him three more before he could sever his head from his body. The King gave his body to be disposed by the Dutchesse, who I think buries itt at Moore Park."

## APPENDIX F

The following three pages are reduced facsimiles of the contemporary published account of the execution of the Duke of Monmouth (see chapter xix, p. 341).

*M. I have had a Scandal rais'd upon me about a Woman, a Lady of Vertue and Honour. Will name her; the Lady Henrietta Wentworth. I declare. That she is a very Vertuous and Godly Woman. I have committed no Sin with her; and that which hath pass'd betwixt Us, was very Honest, and Innocent in the sight of God.*

*A. In your opinion perhaps, Sir, as you have been often told; (i. e. in the Tower) but this is not fit Discourse in this Place.*

*Mr. Sher. Goslin. Sir, were you ever Married to her?*

*M. This is not a Time to answer that Question.*

*Mr. Sher. Goslin. Sir, I hooped to have heard of your Repentance for the Treason and Bloodshed, which hath been committed.*

*M. I die very penitent.*

*A. My Lord, It is fit to be Particular; and considering the Publick Evil you have done, you ought to do as much good now, as possibly you can, by a Publick acknowledgement.*

*M. What I have thought fit to say of Publick affairs, is in a Paper which I have signed; I refer to my Paper.*

*A. My Lord, there is nothing in that Paper about Resistance, and you ought to be Particular in your Repentance, and to have it well grounded. God give you True Repentance.*

*M. I die very penitent, and die with great cheerfulness, for I know I shall go to God.*

*A. My Lord, you must go to God in his own way: Sir, be sure you be truly Penitent and ask forgiveness of God, for the many you have wronged.*

*M. I am sorry for every one I have wronged. I forgive every Body, I have had many Enemies, I forgive them all.*

*A. Sir, your acknowledgement ought to be Publick and Particular.*

*M. I am to die; pray, My Lord----I refer to my Paper.*

*A. They are but a few Words that We desire: We only desire an Answer to this point.*

*M. I can blest God that he hath given me so much Grace, that for these two years last past, have led a Life unlike to my former Course, and in which I have been happy.*

*A. Sir, Was there no ill in these two years? In these years, these great Evils have happened, and the giving publick Satisfaction is a necessary part of Repentance; be pleased to own a Detestation of your REBELLION.*

*M. I beg your Lordship that you will stick to my Paper.*

*A. My Lord, as I said before, there is nothing in your Paper, about the Doctrine Non-resistance.*

*M. I Repent of all things that a true Christian ought to repent of. I am to die; pray, my Lord----*

*A. Then (my Lord) we can only recommend you to the Mercy of God, but we cannot Pray with that Cheerfulness, and Encouragement as we should, if you had made a Particular acknowledgement.*

*M. God be praised, I have Encouragement enough in myself; I die with a clear Conscience; I have wronged no man.*

*A. How Sir, no man? Have you not been guilty of Invasion, and of much Blood, which has been shed, and it may be of the loss of many Souls who followed you? you must needs have wronged a great many.*

*M. I do, Sir, own that, and am sorry for it.*

*A. Give it the true name, Sir, and call it Rebellion.*

*M. What name you please, Sir, I am sorry for Invading the Kingdom, and for the Blood that has been shed, and for the Souls which may have been lost by my means, I am sorry it ever happened (which he spake softly.)*

*Mr. Secr. Vandoput, (To some that stood at a distance.) he says, he is very sorry for Invading the Kingdom.*

*A. We have nothing to add, but to renew the frequent Exhortations we have made to you, to give some satisfaction for the publick Injuries to the Kingdom. There have been a great many lives lost by this Resistance of your LAWFUL PRINCE.*

*M. What I have done has been very ill, and I wish with all my heart it had never been; I never saw a man that delighted in Blood; I was very far from it; I was as cautious in that, as any man was; the Almighty knows how I now die, with all the Joyfulness in the World,*

*A. God grant you may, Sir, God give you True Repentance.*

*M. If I had not True Repentance, I should not so easily have been, without the fear of Lying. I shall die like a Lamb.*

*A. Much may come from natural Courage.*

*M. I*

M. I do not attribute it to my own nature, for I am fearful, as other Men are; but I have no fear, as you may see by my Face, but there is something within me which does it, for I am sure I shall go to God.

A. My Lord, be sure upon good Grounds: Do you repent you of all your Sins known or unknown, confessed or not confess'd, of all the Sins which might proceed from Error in Judgement?

M. In general for all. I do with all my Soul.

A. God Almighty of his infinite Mercy forgive you. Here are great numbers of Spectators, here are the *Sheriffs*, they represent the *Great City*, and in speaking to them you speak to the whole City; make some satisfaction by owning your Crime before them.

*He was silent here,*

Then all went to solemn Commendatory Prayers, which continued for a good space, the late Duke of *Monmouth* and the Company kneeling, and joining in them with great fervency.

Prayers being ended, before he and the four who assisted him, were risen from their Knees, he was again earnestly exhorted to a true and thorough Repentance.

After they were risen up, he was exhorted to pray for the King; and was asked, Whether he did not desire to send some dutiful Message to His Majesty, and to recommend his Wife and Children to his Majesty's Favour.

M. What harm have they done? do it if you please; I pray for him, and for all men.

A. Then the Versicles were repeated.

O Lord shew thy Mercy upon us.

M. [ He made the Response. ] And grant us thy Salvation.

A. [ It followed ] O Lord save the King.

M. And mercifully hear us when we call upon thee.

A. Sir, do you not pray for the King with us? [ The Versicle was again repeated. ]

O Lord save the King.

M. [ After some pause he answered ] Amen.

Then he spake to the Executioner concerning his undressing &c. and he would have no Cap, &c. and at the beginning of his undressing it was said to him on this manner,

A. My Lord, you have been bred a Soldier, you would do a generous Christian thing, if you please to go to the Rail, and speak to the Soldiers, and say, That here you stand a sad example of Rebellion, and entreat them and the People to be Loyal, and obedient to the King.

M. I have said, I will make no Speeches; I will make no Speeches; I come to die.

A. My Lord, ten words would be enough.

Then calling his Servant, and giving him something like a Tooth-pick-Case; here (said he) give this to the Person, to whom you are to deliver the other things.

M. (To the Executioner.) Here are six Guineys for you; Pray do your Business well; don't serve me as you did my Lord Ruffel; I have heard you struck him three or four times.

Here (to his Servant) take these remaining Guineys and give them to him, if he does his Work well.

Exec. I hope I shall.

M. If you strike me twice I cannot promise you not to stir.

During his undressing and standing towards the Block there were used by those who assisted him, divers Ejaculations proper at that time, and much of the 51<sup>st</sup> Psalm was repeated, and particularly, Deliver me from Blood-Guiltiness, O God, Thou God, &c.

Then he lay down, and soon after he raised himself upon his Elbow, and said to the Executioner, Prethee let me feel the Ax, he felt the Edge, and said, I fear it is not sharp enough.

Executioner. It is sharp enough, and heavy enough.

Then he laid down again.

During this space many pious Ejaculations were used by those that assisted him with great fervency. Ex. G<sup>d</sup>, God accept your repentance, God accept your Repentance, God accept your IMPERFECT Repentance; My Lord, God accept your GENERAL Repentance; God Almighty shew his OMNIPOTENT Mercy upon you; Father into thy Hands we commend his Spirit, &c. Lord Jesus, receive his Soul. Then

Then the Executioner proceeded to do his Office,

This is a true account, Witness our Hands,

Francis Ely, Thomas Tenison, } William Gostlin, }  
Thomas Bath and Wells, George Hooper, } Peter Vandepnt, } Sheriffs.

A Copy of the Paper, to which the late Duke of Monmouth referred himself in the Discourses he held upon the Scaffold.

I Declare, That the Title of King was forc't upon me, and, That it was very much contrary to my Opinion, when I was Proclaimed. For the satisfaction of the World, I do declare, That the late King told me, He was never Married to my Mother. Having declared this, I hope that the King, who is now, will not let my Children suffer on this account. And to this I put my Hand this fiftenth day of July, 1685.

MONMOUTH,

Declared by himself, and Signed in the Presence of Us,

Francis Ely, Thomas Tenison,  
Thomas Bath and Wells, George Hooper.

---

A Copy of the Duke of Monmouth's Letter to the King, Dated from Ringwood the 8th of July, 1685.

SIR,

Your Majesty may think, It is the Misfortune I now lie under, makes me make this Application to you; but I do assure your Majesty, it is the Remorse I now have in me, of the wrong I have done you in several things, and now, in taking Arms against you. For my taking up Arms, it never was in my Thoughts since the King died. The Prince and Princeſs of Orange will be Witnesses for me, of the Assurance I gave them, That I would never stir against you; but my Misfortune was such, as to meet with some Horrid People, that made me believe things of your Majesty, and gave me so many false Arguments, that I was fully led away, to believe, That it was a Shame and a Sin before God not to do it. But, Sir, I will not trouble your Majesty at present with many things, I could say for my self, that I am sure would move your Compassion; the chief end of this Letter, being only to beg of you, That I may have that Happiness, as to speak to your Majesty: For I have that to say to you, Sir, that I hope may give you a long and happy Reign. I am sure, Sir, when you hear me, you will be convinced of the Zeal I have for your Preservation, and now heartily I repent of what I have done. I can say no more to your Majesty now, being this Letter must be seen by those that keep me. Therefore, Sir, I shall make an end, in begging of your Majesty to believe so well of me, That I would rather die a thousand Deaths, than excuse any thing I have done, if I did not really think myself the most in the wrong, that ever any Man was, and had not from the bottom of my Heart an abhorrence for these that put me upon it, and for the Action it self. I hope, Sir, God Almighty will strike your Heart with Mercy and Compassion for me, as he has done mine with the abhorrence of what I have done. Therefore I hope, Sir, I may live to show you how Zealous I shall ever be for your Service; and could I say but one Word in this Letter, you would be convinced of it; but it is of that consequence, that I dare not do it. Therefore, Sir, I do beg of you once more, to let me speak to you, for then you will be convinced how much I shall ever be Your Majesties most Humble and Dutifull.

MONMOUTH,

---

London, Printed for Robert Horne, John Baker, and Benjamin Tooke, 1685.

Edinburgh, Re-Printed by the Heir of Andrew Anderson, Printer to His most Sacred Majesty, Anno DOM, 1685.

FACSIMILE OF ACCOUNT OF MONMOUTH'S EXECUTION (page 4)



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